













# CHRISTIAN MARTYROLOGY.

INCLUDING ACCOUNTS OF THE TEN GREAT PERSECUTIONS<sup>V.C.</sup>  
UNDER THE ROMAN EMPERORS:

AND A MINUTE NARRATION OF THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF  
THE INQUISITION.

THE WHOLE DRAWN FROM THE BEST AUTHORITIES, AND COMPRISING, WITH ADDITIONS, THE  
ENTIRE MATTER OF THE INVALUABLE PROTESTANT MARTYROLOGY

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T OF GREAT TRIBULAT



# ANALYTICAL TABLE

OF

## CONTENTS TO THE BOOK OF MARTYRS.

**INTRODUCTION.**—Definition of the word Martyr. Account of the ancient Martyrologies. Principal writers on the subject. Protestant Martyrology. Character of John Fox. Observations on the utility of works of this nature, page ix.

**MEMOIR OF JOHN FOX**, written by his Son, p. 13. Poetical eulogium on him by Hopkins, 21.

**MARTYRS MENTIONED IN THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.**—Abel, 23. First persecution of the people of God, 24. Martyrdom of Naboth, 26. Zechariah the high priest, *ib.* Isaiah, 26. Uriah the prophet, *ib.* A woman and her seven sons, *ib.* John Baptist, 28. St. Stephen, 29.

**GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE PERSECUTIONS OF THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH,** 30. St. James, 31. Nicodemus, Simon, and others, 30. St. Andrew, *ib.* St. Matthew and St. Philip, *ib.* St. James, the brother of our Lord, 33.

**ACCOUNT OF THE TEN GREAT PERSECUTIONS,** 33. The first under Nero, 34. St. Peter, *ib.* St. Paul, *ib.*

The second Persecution under Domitian, 36. St. John's miraculous deliverance and banishment, *ib.*

The third Persecution begun by Trajan, 36. Epistles of Pliny and the emperor, *ib.* Martyrdom of St. Ignatius, 39.

Persecution continued under Adrian, 40. His letter to Minutianus, 41. Epistle of Antoninus Pius, 42.

Fourth Persecution under M. Antoninus, Verus, and Lucius, 42. Martyrdom of St. Polycarp, *ib.* Account of the martyrs of Lyons and Vienne, 47. Memoir of J—

of Marcus Aurelius on the miracle of the martyrdom of Julius, a R—

and Hilarius, *ib.*

The fifth Persecution, under the emperor of the East, 49. Account of Origen

and his miracles. 50. Account of the martyrdom of the seven sleepers, 51.

*ib.* Apollonia, 61. Scapion, *ib.* Julianus, 61. Mercuria, *ib.* Account of Egyptian martyrs, *ib.* Story of the seven sleepers, 63. The

The eighth Persecution, under Valerian, 63. St. Laurence, 68. Dionysius of Alexand

71. Fructuosus, 72. Judgments on Valerian

The ninth Persecution, under Aurelian and his successors, 74. Eusebius, bishop of Laodicea, *ib.* Cyrillus, 75.

The tenth Persecution, under Dioclesian in Palestine, 77. Pamphilus of Cesarea, 78. Persecutions at Rome,

Pelleas, the martyr, 79. Martyrdom of Victor, 81. Persecution on

Maxentius, 84. Accession of Constantine, 84. Vision of

able vision, *ib.* Edict granted by Constantine on Maximinus, 87. St. Albin,

Amphibalus, 89. Aaror

Martyrdom of Romanus and Gordius, 90; of Menas, 91; of

92. St. Sebastian, Barlaam, Amandus, *ib.* Cassianus, 93. Eu-

Catharine, *ib.* Julitta, *ib.* Rome, martyrs, *ib.*

**ACCOUNT OF MARTYRS IN THE EAST** and Uthmanias, 98

and Constantine

99. *ib.* 100. *ib.* 101. *ib.* 102. *ib.* 103. *ib.* 104. *ib.* 105. *ib.* 106. *ib.* 107. *ib.* 108. *ib.* 109. *ib.* 110. *ib.* 111. *ib.* 112. *ib.* 113. *ib.* 114. *ib.* 115. *ib.* 116. *ib.* 117. *ib.* 118. *ib.* 119. *ib.* 120. *ib.* 121. *ib.* 122. *ib.* 123. *ib.* 124. *ib.* 125. *ib.* 126. *ib.* 127. *ib.* 128. *ib.* 129. *ib.* 130. *ib.* 131. *ib.* 132. *ib.* 133. *ib.* 134. *ib.* 135. *ib.* 136. *ib.* 137. *ib.* 138. *ib.* 139. *ib.* 140. *ib.* 141. *ib.* 142. *ib.* 143. *ib.* 144. *ib.* 145. *ib.* 146. *ib.* 147. *ib.* 148. *ib.* 149. *ib.* 150. *ib.* 151. *ib.* 152. *ib.* 153. *ib.* 154. *ib.* 155. *ib.* 156. *ib.* 157. *ib.* 158. *ib.* 159. *ib.* 160. *ib.* 161. *ib.* 162. *ib.* 163. *ib.* 164. *ib.* 165. *ib.* 166. *ib.* 167. *ib.* 168. *ib.* 169. *ib.* 170. *ib.* 171. *ib.* 172. *ib.* 173. *ib.* 174. *ib.* 175. *ib.* 176. *ib.* 177. *ib.* 178. *ib.* 179. *ib.* 180. *ib.* 181. *ib.* 182. *ib.* 183. *ib.* 184. *ib.* 185. *ib.* 186. *ib.* 187. *ib.* 188. *ib.* 189. *ib.* 190. *ib.* 191. *ib.* 192. *ib.* 193. *ib.* 194. *ib.* 195. *ib.* 196. *ib.* 197. *ib.* 198. *ib.* 199. *ib.* 200. *ib.* 201. *ib.* 202. *ib.* 203. *ib.* 204. *ib.* 205. *ib.* 206. *ib.* 207. *ib.* 208. *ib.* 209. *ib.* 210. *ib.* 211. *ib.* 212. *ib.* 213. *ib.* 214. *ib.* 215. *ib.* 216. *ib.* 217. *ib.* 218. *ib.* 219. *ib.* 220. *ib.* 221. *ib.* 222. *ib.* 223. *ib.* 224. *ib.* 225. *ib.* 226. *ib.* 227. *ib.* 228. *ib.* 229. *ib.* 230. *ib.* 231. *ib.* 232. *ib.* 233. *ib.* 234. *ib.* 235. *ib.* 236. *ib.* 237. *ib.* 238. *ib.* 239. *ib.* 240. *ib.* 241. *ib.* 242. *ib.* 243. *ib.* 244. *ib.* 245. *ib.* 246. *ib.* 247. *ib.* 248. *ib.* 249. *ib.* 250. *ib.* 251. *ib.* 252. *ib.* 253. *ib.* 254. *ib.* 255. *ib.* 256. *ib.* 257. *ib.* 258. *ib.* 259. *ib.* 260. *ib.* 261. *ib.* 262. *ib.* 263. *ib.* 264. *ib.* 265. *ib.* 266. *ib.* 267. *ib.* 268. *ib.* 269. *ib.* 270. *ib.* 271. *ib.* 272. *ib.* 273. *ib.* 274. *ib.* 275. *ib.* 276. *ib.* 277. *ib.* 278. *ib.* 279. *ib.* 280. *ib.* 281. *ib.* 282. *ib.* 283. *ib.* 284. *ib.* 285. *ib.* 286. *ib.* 287. *ib.* 288. *ib.* 289. *ib.* 290. *ib.* 291. *ib.* 292. *ib.* 293. *ib.* 294. *ib.* 295. *ib.* 296. *ib.* 297. *ib.* 298. *ib.* 299. *ib.* 300. *ib.* 301. *ib.* 302. *ib.* 303. *ib.* 304. *ib.* 305. *ib.* 306. *ib.* 307. *ib.* 308. *ib.* 309. *ib.* 310. *ib.* 311. *ib.* 312. *ib.* 313. *ib.* 314. *ib.* 315. *ib.* 316. *ib.* 317. *ib.* 318. *ib.* 319. *ib.* 320. *ib.* 321. *ib.* 322. *ib.* 323. *ib.* 324. *ib.* 325. *ib.* 326. *ib.* 327. *ib.* 328. *ib.* 329. *ib.* 330. *ib.* 331. *ib.* 332. *ib.* 333. *ib.* 334. *ib.* 335. *ib.* 336. *ib.* 337. *ib.* 338. *ib.* 339. *ib.* 340. *ib.* 341. *ib.* 342. *ib.* 343. *ib.* 344. *ib.* 345. *ib.* 346. *ib.* 347. *ib.* 348. *ib.* 349. *ib.* 350. *ib.* 351. *ib.* 352. *ib.* 353. *ib.* 354. *ib.* 355. *ib.* 356. *ib.* 357. *ib.* 358. *ib.* 359. *ib.* 360. *ib.* 361. *ib.* 362. *ib.* 363. *ib.* 364. *ib.* 365. *ib.* 366. *ib.* 367. *ib.* 368. *ib.* 369. *ib.* 370. *ib.* 371. *ib.* 372. *ib.* 373. *ib.* 374. *ib.* 375. *ib.* 376. *ib.* 377. *ib.* 378. *ib.* 379. *ib.* 380. *ib.* 381. *ib.* 382. *ib.* 383. *ib.* 384. *ib.* 385. *ib.* 386. *ib.* 387. *ib.* 388. *ib.* 389. *ib.* 390. *ib.* 391. *ib.* 392. *ib.* 393. *ib.* 394. *ib.* 395. *ib.* 396. *ib.* 397. *ib.* 398. *ib.* 399. *ib.* 400. *ib.* 401. *ib.* 402. *ib.* 403. *ib.* 404. *ib.* 405. *ib.* 406. *ib.* 407. *ib.* 408. *ib.* 409. *ib.* 410. *ib.* 411. *ib.* 412. *ib.* 413. *ib.* 414. *ib.* 415. *ib.* 416. *ib.* 417. *ib.* 418. *ib.* 419. *ib.* 420. *ib.* 421. *ib.* 422. *ib.* 423. *ib.* 424. *ib.* 425. *ib.* 426. *ib.* 427. *ib.* 428. *ib.* 429. *ib.* 430. *ib.* 431. *ib.* 432. *ib.* 433. *ib.* 434. *ib.* 435. *ib.* 436. *ib.* 437. *ib.* 438. *ib.* 439. *ib.* 440. *ib.* 441. *ib.* 442. *ib.* 443. *ib.* 444. *ib.* 445. *ib.* 446. *ib.* 447. *ib.* 448. *ib.* 449. *ib.* 450. *ib.* 451. *ib.* 452. *ib.* 453. *ib.* 454. *ib.* 455. *ib.* 456. *ib.* 457. *ib.* 458. *ib.* 459. *ib.* 460. *ib.* 461. *ib.* 462. *ib.* 463. *ib.* 464. *ib.* 465. *ib.* 466. *ib.* 467. *ib.* 468. *ib.* 469. *ib.* 470. *ib.* 471. *ib.* 472. *ib.* 473. *ib.* 474. *ib.* 475. *ib.* 476. *ib.* 477. *ib.* 478. *ib.* 479. *ib.* 480. *ib.* 481. *ib.* 482. *ib.* 483. *ib.* 484. *ib.* 485. *ib.* 486. *ib.* 487. *ib.* 488. *ib.* 489. *ib.* 490. *ib.* 491. *ib.* 492. *ib.* 493. *ib.* 494. *ib.* 495. *ib.* 496. *ib.* 497. *ib.* 498. *ib.* 499. *ib.* 500. *ib.* 501. *ib.* 502. *ib.* 503. *ib.* 504. *ib.* 505. *ib.* 506. *ib.* 507. *ib.* 508. *ib.* 509. *ib.* 510. *ib.* 511. *ib.* 512. *ib.* 513. *ib.* 514. *ib.* 515. *ib.* 516. *ib.* 517. *ib.* 518. *ib.* 519. *ib.* 520. *ib.* 521. *ib.* 522. *ib.* 523. *ib.* 524. *ib.* 525. *ib.* 526. *ib.* 527. *ib.* 528. *ib.* 529. *ib.* 530. *ib.* 531. *ib.* 532. *ib.* 533. *ib.* 534. *ib.* 535. *ib.* 536. *ib.* 537. *ib.* 538. *ib.* 539. *ib.* 540. *ib.* 541. *ib.* 542. *ib.* 543. *ib.* 544. *ib.* 545. *ib.* 546. *ib.* 547. *ib.* 548. *ib.* 549. *ib.* 550. *ib.* 551. *ib.* 552. *ib.* 553. *ib.* 554. *ib.* 555. *ib.* 556. *ib.* 557. *ib.* 558. *ib.* 559. *ib.* 560. *ib.* 561. *ib.* 562. *ib.* 563. *ib.* 564. *ib.* 565. *ib.* 566. *ib.* 567. *ib.* 568. *ib.* 569. *ib.* 570. *ib.* 571. *ib.* 572. *ib.* 573. *ib.* 574. *ib.* 575. *ib.* 576. *ib.* 577. *ib.* 578. *ib.* 579. *ib.* 580. *ib.* 581. *ib.* 582. *ib.* 583. *ib.* 584. *ib.* 585. *ib.* 586. *ib.* 587. *ib.* 588. *ib.* 589. *ib.* 590. *ib.* 591. *ib.* 592. *ib.* 593. *ib.* 594. *ib.* 595. *ib.* 596. *ib.* 597. *ib.* 598. *ib.* 599. *ib.* 600. *ib.* 601. *ib.* 602. *ib.* 603. *ib.* 604. *ib.* 605. *ib.* 606. *ib.* 607. *ib.* 608. *ib.* 609. *ib.* 610. *ib.* 611. *ib.* 612. *ib.* 613. *ib.* 614. *ib.* 615. *ib.* 616. *ib.* 617. *ib.* 618. *ib.* 619. *ib.* 620. *ib.* 621. *ib.* 622. *ib.* 623. *ib.* 624. *ib.* 625. *ib.* 626. *ib.* 627. *ib.* 628. *ib.* 629. *ib.* 630. *ib.* 631. *ib.* 632. *ib.* 633. *ib.* 634. *ib.* 635. *ib.* 636. *ib.* 637. *ib.* 638. *ib.* 639. *ib.* 640. *ib.* 641. *ib.* 642. *ib.* 643. *ib.* 644. *ib.* 645. *ib.* 646. *ib.* 647. *ib.* 648. *ib.* 649. *ib.* 650. *ib.* 651. *ib.* 652. *ib.* 653. *ib.* 654. *ib.* 655. *ib.* 656. *ib.* 657. *ib.* 658. *ib.* 659. *ib.* 660. *ib.* 661. *ib.* 662. *ib.* 663. *ib.* 664. *ib.* 665. *ib.* 666. *ib.* 667. *ib.* 668. *ib.* 669. *ib.* 670. *ib.* 671. *ib.* 672. *ib.* 673. *ib.* 674. *ib.* 675. *ib.* 676. *ib.* 677. *ib.* 678. *ib.* 679. *ib.* 680. *ib.* 681. *ib.* 682. *ib.* 683. *ib.* 684. *ib.* 685. *ib.* 686. *ib.* 687. *ib.* 688. *ib.* 689. *ib.* 690. *ib.* 691. *ib.* 692. *ib.* 693. *ib.* 694. *ib.* 695. *ib.* 696. *ib.* 697. *ib.* 698. *ib.* 699. *ib.* 700. *ib.* 701. *ib.* 702. *ib.* 703. *ib.* 704. *ib.* 705. *ib.* 706. *ib.* 707. *ib.* 708. *ib.* 709. *ib.* 710. *ib.* 711. *ib.* 712. *ib.* 713. *ib.* 714. *ib.* 715. *ib.* 716. *ib.* 717. *ib.* 718. *ib.* 719. *ib.* 720. *ib.* 721. *ib.* 722. *ib.* 723. *ib.* 724. *ib.* 725. *ib.* 726. *ib.* 727. *ib.* 728. *ib.* 729. *ib.* 730. *ib.* 731. *ib.* 732. *ib.* 733. *ib.* 734. *ib.* 735. *ib.* 736. *ib.* 737. *ib.* 738. *ib.* 739. *ib.* 740. *ib.* 741. *ib.* 742. *ib.* 743. *ib.* 744. *ib.* 745. *ib.* 746. *ib.* 747. *ib.* 748. *ib.* 749. *ib.* 750. *ib.* 751. *ib.* 752. *ib.* 753. *ib.* 754. *ib.* 755. *ib.* 756. *ib.* 757. *ib.* 758. *ib.* 759. *ib.* 760. *ib.* 761. *ib.* 762. *ib.* 763. *ib.* 764. *ib.* 765. *ib.* 766. *ib.* 767. *ib.* 768. *ib.* 769. *ib.* 770. *ib.* 771. *ib.* 772. *ib.* 773. *ib.* 774. *ib.* 775. *ib.* 776. *ib.* 777. *ib.* 778. *ib.* 779. *ib.* 780. *ib.* 781. *ib.* 782. *ib.* 783. *ib.* 784. *ib.* 785. *ib.* 786. *ib.* 787. *ib.* 788. *ib.* 789. *ib.* 790. *ib.* 791. *ib.* 792. *ib.* 793. *ib.* 794. *ib.* 795. *ib.* 796. *ib.* 797. *ib.* 798. *ib.* 799. *ib.* 800. *ib.* 801. *ib.* 802. *ib.* 803. *ib.* 804. *ib.* 805. *ib.* 806. *ib.* 807. *ib.* 808. *ib.* 809. *ib.* 810. *ib.* 811. *ib.* 812. *ib.* 813. *ib.* 814. *ib.* 815. *ib.* 816. *ib.* 817. *ib.* 818. *ib.* 819. *ib.* 820. *ib.* 821. *ib.* 822. *ib.* 823. *ib.* 824. *ib.* 825. *ib.* 826. *ib.* 827. *ib.* 828. *ib.* 829. *ib.* 830. *ib.* 831. *ib.* 832. *ib.* 833. *ib.* 834. *ib.* 835. *ib.* 836. *ib.* 837. *ib.* 838. *ib.* 839. *ib.* 840. *ib.* 841. *ib.* 842. *ib.* 843. *ib.* 844. *ib.* 845. *ib.* 846. *ib.* 847. *ib.* 848. *ib.* 849. *ib.* 850. *ib.* 851. *ib.* 852. *ib.* 853. *ib.* 854. *ib.* 855. *ib.* 856. *ib.* 857. *ib.* 858. *ib.* 859. *ib.* 860. *ib.* 861. *ib.* 862. *ib.* 863. *ib.* 864. *ib.* 865. *ib.* 866. *ib.* 867. *ib.* 868. *ib.* 869. *ib.* 870. *ib.* 871. *ib.* 872. *ib.* 873. *ib.* 874. *ib.* 875. *ib.* 876. *ib.* 877. *ib.* 878. *ib.* 879. *ib.* 880. *ib.* 881. *ib.* 882. *ib.* 883. *ib.* 884. *ib.* 885. *ib.* 886. *ib.* 887. *ib.* 888. *ib.* 889. *ib.* 890. *ib.* 891. *ib.* 892. *ib.* 893. *ib.* 894. *ib.* 895. *ib.* 896. *ib.* 897. *ib.* 898. *ib.* 899. *ib.* 900. *ib.* 901. *ib.* 902. *ib.* 903. *ib.* 904. *ib.* 905. *ib.* 906. *ib.* 907. *ib.* 908. *ib.* 909. *ib.* 910. *ib.* 911. *ib.* 912. *ib.* 913. *ib.* 914. *ib.* 915. *ib.* 916. *ib.* 917. *ib.* 918. *ib.* 919. *ib.* 920. *ib.* 921. *ib.* 922. *ib.* 923. *ib.* 924. *ib.* 925. *ib.* 926. *ib.* 927. *ib.* 928. *ib.* 929. *ib.* 930. *ib.* 931. *ib.* 932. *ib.* 933. *ib.* 934. *ib.* 935. *ib.* 936. *ib.* 937. *ib.* 938. *ib.* 939. *ib.* 940. *ib.* 941. *ib.* 942. *ib.* 943. *ib.* 944. *ib.* 945. *ib.* 946. *ib.* 947. *ib.* 948. *ib.* 949. *ib.* 950. *ib.* 951. *ib.* 952. *ib.* 953. *ib.* 954. *ib.* 955. *ib.* 956.

ECCLESIASTICAL TYRANNY IN THE REIGNS OF HENRY IV. AND V. 105.--Martyrdom of William Sautre, ib. Martyrdom of John Badby, 106. Account of the Statute *Ex Officio*, 108. Constitution of Archbishop Arundel, 109. Mandate of the same prelate for the tolling of the Aves, 113. Notes of parliamentary matters concerning heretics, 114.

THE TROUBLE AND PERSECUTION OF SIR JOHN OLDCASTLE, Lord Cobham, 115. His christian belief, 116; examination, 118; condemnation, 122; execution, 123.

ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE AND MARTYRDOM OF JOHN HUSS, 123. Safe-conduct granted by the emperor Sigismund, 129. The same violated, 131. Account of Wickliffe, 132. Trial of John Huss by the council of Constance, 136. His condemnation, 142; executed, 143.

LIFE AND MARTYRDOM OF JEROME OF PRAGUE, 144. His recantation, 147; his repentance, 149; his heroic defence, ib; sentenced to be burned, 150; character of him by Poggius, 151.

ENGLISH MARTYRS.—John Claydon, 152. William Taylor, 154. John Florence, 155. William White, ib. John Bever and John Skille, 156. Margery Backster, ib. Persecutions in Norfolk and Suffolk, 158.

dom of Thomas Rhedon, a French Carmelite, burnt at, 159.

the invention of printing, 161.

lamentable losing of Constantinople, 162. The execution of the Christians by the Turks, 163.

martyrdom of John Goose, 165. Martyrdom of

ib. Martyrdom and prophecy of Savanant

nt of an aged martyr in Smithfield, 166.

th and others, burnt in Buckinghamshire,

Thomas Chase, ib. Martyrdom of Lau-

isbury, ib. Burning of a faithful woman

martyrdom of William Sweeting and John

Sufferings of John Brown, ib. The

chard Hunne, ib. John Stillman and

, 173. Robert Cosin, a martyr, 174.

175.

7, 175. His first attempts towards

indulgences, 178; his journey to

Worms, 181; his death and

sequent to that event, ib.

and John Esch, 188. Account

martyrdom of John Clerk, of Mel-

martyrdom of John Castellane, ib.

ordered for preaching the gospel,

nt for religion, 195. George

rdom of Leonard Keyser,

a widow, 198. Peter

to death at Colen, ib.

om of Henry Fle-

christian men

Husson, 214. Fourteen persons burnt at Bourdeaux, Peter Chapot, 215. Stephen Polliot, ib. Octavian Blond ib. A poor tailor burnt, 216. Thomas Sannabellus, Jo Joyer and his servant, Martial Alba and five other studen 217. Peter Bergerius, 218. Nicholas Nayle, ib. Pet Serre, 219. William Alencon, ib. Peter du Val, Jo Filieul, and Julian de Ville, ib. Denis Vayre, 220. A mechant hanged for jesting, ib. Thomas Calbergue burnt, i Arnold Moniere and John de Cazes, martyred, ib. Philbe Hamline, 221. The congregation of Paris persecuted, i Nicholas Clinet burnt, 223. Taurin Gravelle; Philip c Luns, ib. Nicholas Cene and Peter Gabart, 224. Freder Danville and Francis Rebezies martyred at Paris, ib. Beni Romain, 226. Francis Civaux, 228.

ACCOUNT OF SPANISH AND ITALIAN MARTYRS, 229.

Franciscus san Romanus, 229. Nicholas Encenas, 231. Fani nus, ib. Dominicus de Basana, 232. Galeazius Treccius 233. Dr. John Mollins, ib. Pomponius Algerius, 225 Account of martyrs in Naples, ib.

HISTORY OF THE PERSECUTION OF THE PEOPLE OF MERINDOL AND CABRIERS, IN PROvence, 236.

Remarkable account of the burning of a bookseller at Avignon, 239. Papal crusade, 240. Cruelties of the Lord of Opede, 243. Lamentable destruction of the Merindolians, 244. Cruelties exercised at Cabriers and Costa, 245.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE WALDENSES AND ALBIGENSES, 246. History of Peter Waldo, 247. Church discipline and doctrine of the Waldenses, 249.

CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH MARTYRS, 250.

Account of Martyrs at Coventry, ib. Martyrdom of Patrick

Hamilton in Scotland, ib. Abstract of the work call'd

Patrick's Places, 251. Other martyrdoms and persecutions

in Scotland, 256. Henry Forest, ib. James Hamilton, &c. ib.

Persecutions in the diocese of Lincoln—Thomas Harding,

at Chesham, 256. Alice Doly, 257. Roger Hackman, 258.

Robert West, ib. John Ryburn, ib. John Eaton and

his wife, ib. John Simonds, ib. William Windgrave and

nine others, ib. Simon Wisdom, 259. James Algar, ib.

John French, ib. T. Hitten, ib.

MARTYRDOM OF THOMAS BILNEY, at Norwich, 260.

Account of the suppression of the monasteries by Henry VIII.

264. The story of Simon Fish, ib. Account of the book

call'd "The Supplication of Beggars," 265.

Prohibition of the New Testament in English, 266. Other

books that were forbidden to be read, 269.

Account of the Martyrdom of Richard Bayfield, 270. Martyr-

dom of John Tewksbury, 272. The apprehension of Edward

Freese, 273. Martyrdom of James Baishe, 274. Of three

men hanged for burning of the rood or crucifix, 277. The

martyrdom of Prith, 278. Account of the fellow and

280. The persecution and death of

ry of the true servant and martyr

story of the worthy martyr John

Robert Packington, 284. The

ing

ib. The

of the

of the



# TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Religion, reformed by King Henry VIII. 308. His letters to Archbishop Cranmer, ib. Proclamation concerning eating of white meats, ib.	422. His examinations by Bonner, 423, 430. He is burnt, ib. The martyrdom of Thomas Watts, of Billericay, 430. His examination and execution, 432.
The persecution of Robert Testwood, 309. The troubles of Henry Filmer, 310. The troubles of Anthony Pearson, 311. Examination of John Marbeck, 312. The martyrdom of Adam Damlip, 315. Story of a poor labouring man at Calais, 316. A Scotchman named Dodd burnt at the same place, ib. Martyrdom of Kerby and Clarke, ib. The trouble and persecution of Anne Askew, 318—325. A brief narration of the trouble of sir Robert Blage, 323.	Concerning the pretended pregnancy of queen Mary, 433. A proclamation for the destruction of all books and writings against the pope and his church, 433.
A short history of the persecution in Scotland, 325. The sentence of condemnation against sir John Borthwicke, ib. Thomas Forrest, John Kelowe, and other martyrs, 326. The condemnation and martyrdom of George Wiseheart, 327. The punishment of God upon the cardinal Beaton, 332. The martyrdom of Adam Wallace, ib. The schism that arose in Scotland about the Paternoster, 334. The martyrdom of Walter Mille, 336.	The blasphemy of the popish primer, 434. Our lady's psalter, by St. Bonaventure, 436. Notes thereon, 439.
Persecution in Kent, 337. A table of true servants of God, who were burned in the diocese of Canterbury, ib. Account of William Carder, ib. A wife accused by her unnatural husband and sons, 338. The martyrdom of Launcelot, John, and Giles German, ib. The story of one Stile, a martyr, 339. John Brown, burned at Ashford, ib.	The story of Thomas Osmond, William Bamford, and Nicholas Chamberlin, martyrs, ib. Articles objected to them, and their answers, 440. Scholia upon the same, 441. The history of the worthy martyr and servant of God, Mr. JOHN BRADFORD, 441. His first examination, 444. His second examination, 446. His last examination, 440. His condemnation and execution, 452. John Leaf burnt with Bradford, ib. The letters of Mr. Bradford, 463, 460. Suffering of William Minge, 461. Singular treatment of a dead body, ib. The history of Mr. John Bland, preacher and martyr, ib. His examinations, 402—469. His confutation of transubstantiation, 468. His death, 472. The sufferings of John Frankesh, Humphrey Middleton, and Nicholas Sheterden, with their examinations and prayers, 469, 472. Nicholas Hill and Christopher Waid, martyrs, ib. The martyrdom of Dierck Carver, and John Launder, 473. Their confessions before Bonner, ib. Account of Thomas Iveson, martyr, 475. The death of John Aleworth in prison, ib. The remarkable history of James Abbes, at Norwich, 475. The apprehension and execution of John Denley, John Newman, and Patrick Packingham, in Essex, 476. The examination and answers of John Newman, 479. The persecution of Richard Hook, and ten other martyrs, 481. The history of Elizabeth Warne, widow, who was burnt at Stratford Bow, ib. The martyrdom of George Tankerfield at St. Alban's, 482. The history and examinations of Robert Smith before bishop Bonner, 483. His letters, 488, 491. The burning of Stephen Harrison and Thomas Fust at Shelford, 491. The martyrdom of William Hale at Barnet, ib. The sufferings of George El Thomas Leyes, and John Wade, in Lollards' Tower. The case of William Andrew, of Horsley in Essex. Martyrdom of Robert Samuel, preacher of the. His letter and confession of faith, 493. The godly women, called Anno Potten and The martyrdom of William Allen, and burning of Roger Coo, of M's. martyrdom of Thomas Cobb, of martyrs burned at Canter. John Goreway, martyr. Robert Glover, of His execution suffering of W"
The history of William Gardiner, who suffered in Portugal, ib. The coming of queen Mary to the throne, 342. Restoration of Popery, 344.	The
The history of Lady Jane Grey, 345. Letter sent by her to her father, 346. Her letter to Harding, 347. Letter to her sister, 348. Her prayer, ib.	
The title of queen Mary altered, 350. Dignity of the priesthood by Bonner, ib.	
History of the martyrdom of John Rogers, 351. His confession, 354. The martyrdom of Laurence Saunders, 356. His letters, 358, 362. The life and martyrdom of John Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, 363. Letter written by him to his friends, 369. His exhortation to patience, 372. Letter to bishop Hooper, 374. The history of Dr. Rowland Taylor, who was burned at Hadley, ib. His letter, 379. His last will and testament, 381. His death, 384.	
The Spanish friar Alphonsio preacheth against persecution for conscience sake, 385.	
The remarkable story of Sir James Hales, 386. History of Thomas Tomkins, who was burned by Bonner, 387. The history of William Hunter, a martyr, 389. The martyrdom of Mr. Higdon and Mr. Gaton, in Essex, 393. Their confession, 394. William Pigot, Stephen Knight, and John Laurence, martyrs, 396. The history of Dr. Robert Farrar, bishop of St. David's, 397. His examination, ibid. Articles devised against him, 399. His martyrdom, 399. Account of Rawlins and Wiles, who were burned at Cardiff, ib.	
Remarkable death of Pope Julius the Third, 402. Letter concerning him, 403. A spectacle for all Christians, ib religion, ib. The life and unalication betw and	

- amined by Bonner, 521. His fourth examination, 522. His fifth examination, 526. His examination before the lords of the council, 529. Condemned and burnt, 534. A reproving letter to Bonner thereon, ib. History of seven martyrs, in London, with Bonner's articles, 536. The answers thereto, 537. Further particulars of the same, 538. The condemnation and martyrdom of Thomas Whittle, 539. The history of Bartlet Green, martyr, ib. His confession and sayings, 540. The martyrdom of Thomas Brown, 541. Martyrdom of John Tudson, 542. History of John Went, a martyr, ib. The constancy of Isabel Foster, who was condemned to the flames by Bonner, ib. The martyrdom of Joan Lashford, ib. Account of five martyrs at Canterbury, John Lomas, Agnes Snot, Anne Albright, Joan Sole, and Joan Catmer, 543. A note of Prest's wife, who suffered at Exeter, 544. The martyrdom of John Snel at Richmond, in Yorkshire, 544. The life, sufferings, and martyrdom of
- THOMAS CRANMER**, archbishop of Canterbury, ib. His long imprisonment, 547. Degraded, ib. His unhappy fall, ib. Repentance, 548. Condemned and burnt at Oxford, ib. His letter to Mrs. Wilkinson, 549. Account of Agnes Potten and other martyrs, ib. The story of John Maundrell, William Coberly, and John Spicer, who suffered at Salisbury, ib. The persecution and martyrdom of Richard Spurg, Thomas Spurg, John Cavill, George Ambrose, Robert Drake, and William Tims, in Smithfield, 550. The letters of William Tims, 552. The sufferings of John Harpole, Joan Beach, and John Hullier, at Rochester, 553. Letter of Mr. Hullier, ib. The martyrdom of six constant professors of Christ at Colchester, 554. Hugh Laverock, an old man, and John Apprice, a blind man, burned at Stratford, 556. Four women burned together in Smithfield, 556. Thomas Drewry, a blind boy, and Thomas Croker, bricklayer, martyrs, ib. Thomas Spicer, John Denny, and Edmund Poole, burned at Beccles, in Suffolk, 557. Thomas Harland, John Oswald, Thomas Avington, and Thomas Read, burned together at Lewes, in Sussex, 558. Thomas Wood, and Thomas Miller, martyrs, at the same place, ib. \* The death of William Slesch at King's Bench, ib. Remarkable story of Gregory Crow, his New Testament, was preserved marvellously another story of a similar kind, 559. Thirteen at Stratford-le-Bow, ib. The troubles of other persons, in the diocese of Litchfield: Robert Bernard, Adam Foster, and Edmund's, ib. The examinations and martyrdom of John Careles, in the martyrdom of Julius Palmer, 564. Letter of John Palmer, 568. An account of Agnes Warburton, with his official
- Martyr's wife taken up at Oxford, and buried in a dunghill, 582. The articles of visitation set forth by cardinal Pole, ib. Ten martyrs burned at Canterbury, 584.
- The bloody commission issued by Philip and Mary to persecute the members of Christ, ib. Twenty-two Protestants sent up from Colchester to London, with their confession, 585. Account of five godly persons burned in one fire, in Smithfield, 586. Three burned in St. George's Fields, in Surrey, ib. Seven martyrs put to death at the same time, at Maidstone, 587. The examination of Edmund Allen, martyr, ib. Three men and four women burned at Canterbury, 589. The tragical sufferings of Alice Benden, of Staplehurst, in Kent, ib. The troubles and examination of Matthew Plaice, 591. History of ten godly disciples and martyrs burnt together, at Lewes, 593. The particular case of Richard Woodman, ib. His examinations before the bishop of Chichester, 596. Condemned and executed, 604. Sufferings of Simon Miller, and Elizabeth Cooper, at Norwich, ib. Ten martyrs burnt at Colchester, ib. The martyrdom of Mrs. Joyce Lewis, at Litchfield, 605. Four martyrs, viz. Ralph Allerton, James and Margery Astoo, and Richard Roth, burned in Islington, 606. The martyrdom of John Rough and Margaret Maring, 607. Three martyrs, Cuthbert Simpson, Hugh Fox, and John Davenish, burned in Smithfield, 608. Three persons, viz. William Seaman, Thomas Carman, and Thomas Hudson, brought to the stake, at Norwich, 609. Six martyrs suffer together at Brentford, 610. Seven burned at the same time in Smithfield, ib. Four martyred at Bury St. Edmund's, ib. The martyrdom of Cicely Ormes at Norwich, ib.
- Alexander Gauch and Alice Driver, burned together at Ipswich, ib.
- Narrative of the extraordinary deliverance of Bernard Gilpin, ib.
- Remarkable escape of Dr. Edwin Sandys, 612.
- Account of bishop Jewell, and his deliverance, 613.
- ACCOUNT OF ENGLISH EXILES IN THE REIGN OF MARY.
- Alexander Nowell, John Aylmer, Thomas Becon, and Katherine, duchess of Suffolk, 614.
- HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN IRELAND.
- Account of George Browne, the first Protestant prelate, ib. his letter to Cromwell, ib. Speech of Sir Anthony St. Leger, 616. Remarkable sermon and prophecy of archbishop Browne, 617. Extraordinary deliverance of the Protestants of Ireland in the time of Mary, 618. History of Dr. Colclough.
- THE SPANISH PROTESTANT MARTYROLOGY.
- Institution of the Inquisition, 619. Nicholas Bort, Juan tine Cazalla, Herexulo, Donna Leonora Clendore, Dr. Pedro, Don Carlos de Seso, Juan Sancho, Dr. John Biddle, Constantino Pontio, Don Juan Pontio de Leon, John de salvio, Juliano Fernando, John de Leon, Dr. Christoforo Losada, Garcias Arias, Ferdinando a. Sandoval, Juan na Maria Bohorquia, martyrs, 619-621.
- Account of the sufferings of Goteschal, 621.
- of Peter de Br...

Remarkable escape of Dr. Bauhin, the physician, 625.

Account of the martyrdom of Annas du Bourg, a counsellor of Paris, 626.

The persecutions which Robert Stephens, the learned printer, suffered from the Sorbonne, ib.

History of the conversion of Francis Alard, and his narrow escape, 627.

The murder of John Diaz by his brother, on account of religion, ib. Reflections thereon, 628. Remarkable instances of popish superstition and inhumanity; related by Mr. Blanco White, ib.

Historical account of martyrs in the Low Countries, 629. A widow in North Holland; Peter Brully, ib. Peter Moys; the wife of a tailor, Mitchel of Tournay, Martin of Ypres, Mary Barber, ib. A whole family at Valenciennes, 630. Walter Capel, ib. Robert Oguier and family at Lisle, ib.

The tragical history of Angelus Merula, an ancient minister in Holland, 631.

The burning of John Van Kuick, a painter, by the Jesuits, 632. Remarkable history of Torrigiano, the sculptor, who died in the Inquisition, ib.

Account of the martyrdom of Anna Van Hove, who was buried alive at Brussels, 633.

Story of JANE, queen of NAVARRE, ib. Her conduct at the siege of Rochelle, 634; accepts an invitation to visit the court of France, and is poisoned there, ib. Her christian end, 635. Her character by bishop Burnet, 637.

Memoir of GASPARD COLIGNY, admiral of France, 637. Murdered by order of the duke of Guise, 638. Account of his younger brother, 639.

HISTORY OF THE SYRIAN CHRISTIANS IN INDIA, ib. Attempts of the Jesuits to bring them to submission, ib. Account of Mar Abraham, ib.; archbishop Meneses, of Goa, his persecutions, ib. Dr. Buchanan visits Malabar churches, 640; their desire to unite with the Protestants, ib. Their doctrines and discipline, 640.

PAPAL CONSPIRACIES AGAINST

Violence of the pope at the death of Pius IV. to the queen, 644. Missions

to pervert her subjects, ib. Rebellion in the North.

Papal bull of excommunication against Elizabeth, ib. Effects, 645; rebellion in Ireland, 647; plots in England, ib.

The Spanish armada fitted out, 648; defeated, 649. Attempts to assassinate the queen, ib.

HISTORY OF THE BURGUNDIAN TRAMON, 649. The reality of the plot proved against the popish writers, 652.

The remarkable history of John Mollé, who languished thirty-eight years in the Inquisition, 652. Letter to him by bishop Hall, 653.

Stranger judgment on a persecutor, 654. Superstition of Justus Lipsius, ib.

Memoir of Cyril Lucar, patriarch of Constantinople, 654.

HISTORY OF THE IRISH MASSACRE IN 1641, 656. Plot laid to exterminate the Protestants, 657. Discovered in time in Dublin, ib.; but carried into effect in other parts, ib.

Account of the sufferings and excellent character of the Protestants, 658.

ciscans, 666. Persecution of the Fratricelli, 667. Brethren and sisters of the Free Spirit, ib. History of Galeacius, count of Milan, ib. Schism in the Pontificate, ib. Crusade against the Hussites, ib. Account of John Ziska, 668. The Flagellants or Whippers, ib. Inquisition in Spain, ib. Persecution of the Jews, ib. Inhumanity of Torquemada, 669. Treatment of the Jews in Portugal, ib. The inquisition established there by a fraud, ib. Shocking treatment of the Jewish converts, 670. Constitution and forms of proceeding of the Inquisition, 672. Case of Balihazar Orobin, 673. Case of William Lithgow, 674. Jane Bohorquia, ib. Galileo imprisoned for asserting the motion of the earth, 675. Persecution of Molinos, ib. Case of Elizabeth Vasconellos, ib. Spirited conduct of Oliver Cromwell, 676. Description of an auto-da-fé, ib. Remarkable cases in Spain and Italy, 678.

PERSECUTIONS IN PIEMONTE, 680. The Waldenses settle in the Alpine valleys, ib.; persecuted in the fifteenth century, ib.; tolerated again, ib.; the troubles renewed, ib. Remonstrance of the elector and palatine to the duke of Savoy, ib. Tragical story of Bartholomew Copin, 681. Persecution of the inhabitants of Saluces, ib. General edict against the Vaudois, 682. Cruelties committed by the marquis of Piombessa, and the monks, ib. Particular instances of barbarity collected by Samuel Morland, 683. Milton's account of the massacre in Piemont, ib. Exoneratory declaration of the Sieur de Petitbourg, 684. Recantation and recovery of Peter Gros and Francis Aguit, ib. Interest excited in behalf of the suffering Piemontese, 685. Letter of the Jesuits of Hesse to the duke of Savoy, ib. Cromwell sends relief to the sufferers, and a remonstrance to the duke, ib. Speech of Morland, 687. A toleration granted, ib. Renewal of the persecution, ib. The Vaudois rise in their own defence, 688. Cruelties of marshal Catinat, ib. Expulsion of the Protestants of the valleys, ib. Account of the band of religious fugitives from the Tyrol, ib. Extraordinary history of Henry Arnaud, 689. Rupture between Louis XIV. and the duke of Savoy, ib. New oppressions, ib. Ingratitude of the king of Savoy, ib. Massacre in 1704, providentially prevented, 690.

PENALTY

Lesna on the Protestants, ib. Affecting Declaration of Cromwell at Thorn in 1724, 693.

PERSECUTION IN HUNGARY the galleys, 645; 1<sup>st</sup>

HISTORY OF P

edict of N<sup>o</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> suffering of

Memoir of the life, labours, and martyrdom of <b>CLAUDE BROUS-</b> <b>SON</b> , ib. Religious worship kept up among the French Pro- testants, 713. Account of the labours of Paul Rebaut, 714. Remarkable case of <b>JOHN CALAS</b> , who was broken on the wheel for the supposed murder of his son, ib. The trial reviewed, and Calas declared innocent, ib. Account of that affair by <b>Voltaire</b> , ib. Persecution of another Protestant family on	a similar charge, 715. The martyrdom of <b>Francis Rochette</b> , and three noblemen, ib. Toleration of the <b>Protestants</b> , and anecdotes of marshal Richelieu, 717. Horrible massacre at <b>Thoulouse</b> , 718. Effect of the revolution on the <b>French Pro-</b> <b>testants</b> , ib. Persecuted again after the restoration of the monarchy, ib. Account of the Irish Rebellion in 1798, 719.
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## INTRODUCTION.

THE word *Μάρτυρ* *Martyr*, is pure Greek, and signifies a person who *gives evidence* or *testimony* to a particular fact:—a *witness*. It is derived either, 1st, from *Μεῖρω* (*meiro*) to *divide* or *decide*, because a true witness by his testimony *divides* between right and wrong, truth and falsehood, and *decides* controversies, putting an end, by his *evidence*, to litigation and dispute. Or it may come, 2dly, from the old Greek word *Μάρη* (*mare*) the *hand*, because *witnesses* anciently held up their hands in giving evidence. This was a custom among the ancient Hebrews, as appears from Gen. xiv. 22. God himself is represented as swearing in this manner, Exod. vi. 8. "I will bring you into the land concerning which I did swear," (*lift up my hand, as the margin properly reads it.*) See also Dent. xxxii. 40. Ezek. xx. 5, 6, 15. The same custom was observed among the ancient Greeks, as appears from Pindar, Olym. vii. lin. 119, 120.

In the New Testament, the word signifies, 1st, A *witness* in general, Matt. xviii. 16. xxi. 27. Acts vi. 13. 2dly, A *herald*, or *preacher*, Luke xxiv. 48. Ye are witnesses, *Μάρτυρες*, *heralds*, or *preachers*, of these things. See also John i. 7, 8. iii. 11, 32. Matt. x. 18. Mark xiii. 9. 3dly, One who gives testimony to Christ and his doctrine, and seals it with his blood, Acts vii. 55. *When the blood of thy Martyr Stephen was shed, I was standing by, and consenting to his death.* And, 4thly, One who, on account of his steady persevering faith in Christ, endures persecutions, sufferings, and afflictions, though they proceed not so far as to take away his life. See Heb. xii. 1. 1 Pet. ii. 21. 1 Tim. iii. 16. 2 Tim. iii. 12. This circumstance of suffering grievously for the truth, without being put to death, gave birth to a distinction in the primitive church between *Confessors* and *Martyrs*. The former *Confessors*, i. e. Persons who confessed themselves Christians, and who were afflicted unto death, had their enemies chosen to proceed to that extremity, rather than renounce the faith. But this title was in general restrained to those who had made public profession of the gospel of Christ before kings or magistrates.

they were often per-

At last, the moderns, desirous of reforming the defects of the old Martyrologies, compiled new ones. *Belinus* of *Padua*, in the sixteenth century, is the first who began this reform: after him, *Francis Maruli*, called *Meurolycus*, abbot of *Messina* in *Sicily*, drew up a Martyrology, in which he has entirely changed the text of *Usuardus*. *John Vander Meulen*, known by the name of *Molanus*, a doctor of *Louvain*, restored it in two succeeding editions, adding many learned notes. At the same time, *Galesinus*, apostolic protonotary, drew up a Martyrology, and dedicated it to Pope *Gregory XIII.* but this was not approved at Rome. In 1586, Cardinal *Baronius* published a Martyrology at Rome, with notes: this contained Martyrs who never existed; but many corrections were made in the subsequent editions. This had the approbation of Pope *Sixtus Quintus*, and continues to be the Martyrology of the Roman Church. *Chatelain*, canon of Notre Dame at Paris, translated the text of this into French, with notes, which was published in 1709.

The last work of this kind, of any considerable note, is that published by the very learned *Stephen Evodius Asseman*, at Rome, 1748, 2 vols. fol. under the title of *Acta SS. Martyrium Orientalium et Occidentalium*: The Acts of the holy Eastern and Western Martyrs. *Asseman* was a very eminent scholar and sound critic, and all his works are deservedly esteemed.

From what has been observed above, the reader will perceive, that the preceding Martyrologies rest on a very dubious and frail foundation. Much of the matter contained in them is puerile, and sometimes ridiculous to the last degree. The narrations are often contradictory, and multitudes of the facts destitute of all sound evidence and proof.

The want of genuine documents for those early periods may be accounted for on the following considerations: 1. In some of the early ages of the church there were some memorials, either spurious, or interpolated by heretics: of this kind are the greater part of the *Lives of the Apostles*.

2. Notwithstanding the primitive Christians had been careful in collecting the acts of the Martyrs in the Dioclesian persecution, and in the calamities which happened when the Goths, Vandals, &c. invaded the western empire, yet the greatest part of these narrations perished in the ignorance and barbarity of the following centuries; and new relations were drawn up from counterfeit records.

3. Some heretics made alterations in those that remained, blotting out some things, and inserting others.

In the eighth and succeeding centuries, several writers, both of the Greek and Latin church, wrote Acts of the Martyrs, and Lives of the Saints, as their fancy directed them, and these were used in the offices of the church. *Simon Metaphrastes*, a Greek author of the ninth century, wrote a sort of spurious lives of the Martyrs, which were in great use of a great part of the east.

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The foregoing Martyrologies were composed to shew the persecutions of the primitive Christians by *Heathens*; but a new species of Martyrdom, in succeeding ages, was exercised against genuine Christianity, by what called itself *holy mother church*, alias *Popery*. The Popes of Rome, who arrogated to themselves supremacy over the whole church of Christ, and the principal attributes of God Almighty, changing times and seasons, deposing and setting up kings, emperors, &c. at pleasure, not only perverting the truth of God, by false glosses and impious explanations, but even taking away the key of knowledge from mankind, by forbidding the Scriptures to be read by the people; thought it proper to persecute, torment, burn, and by various deaths to destroy, all those who differed from their church, in faith or practice. The indescribable corruption of the doctrines of this church, the profligate manners of its clergy, and the insolence of its demands, at last became the means of awakening the oppressed people from their stupidity and ignorance. What was the consequence? Why, the claims of the Pope of Rome were examined and confuted, and the *Scriptures* appealed to as the *only rule both of faith and practice*. *Martin Luther* was a principal agent in this business: by his writings, *Popery*, the abomination that maketh desolate, was unmasked, and several of the German princes received his doctrine, and protected him and his followers. In 1529, his adherents got the name of *Protestants*, because they *protested* against a decree made at the diet of *Spires* by *Ferdinand*, archduke of Austria, and other German princes. They demanded liberty of conscience, and appealed to a general council. Hence all that have abjured *Popery*, have been called *Protestants* to the present day.

In the time of Henry VIII. some struggles were made in England, to cast off the Popish yoke. That prince, as full of ambition as he was of impurity, could not brook a head superior to himself in his own dominions; and finding that the authority and influence of the Pope stood in the way of the gratification of his desires, he cast off allegiance to him, and declared himself Supreme Head of the Church in England. In consequence of this, the Scriptures were allowed to the people, and publicly read, and the whole nation began to receive the pure light of the Gospel. This good work was farther advanced under the reign of his pious successor, *Edward VI.* but these halcyon days were soon clouded, by his death, and the accession of *Mary*, emphatically called by Britons, *the bloody queen*. She began her reign in 1553, with the destruction of her state enemies, and afterwards with the persecution of the *Protestants*, designed to exterminate with fire and sword. During this persecution, which shall be particularly in its proper place, *two hundred and seventy-seven* persons were punished by fine, imprisonment, and confiscation; *one* archbishop, *four* bishops, *twenty-one* clergymen, *four* tradesmen, *one* hundred husbandmen, *fifty-five* women, and was done with circumstances of cruelty of Pagan antiquity. It was at this time that *Mr. John Fox* composed his great work, in which he has faithfully detailed the persecution of Christianity down to the end of the *Protestant* reformation in it.

## PREFACE TO THE PRESENT EDITION.

To write a *Martyrology* after *Fox*, is supposed by some to be as useless an attempt as to write an *Iliad* after *Homer*. It is true, that no man can pretend to furnish more documents, or better authenticated, than Mr. Fox has done, especially on the subject of *English Martyrology*. But his work, which makes three large volumes, folio, may be safely reduced to less than one half of its present size, and no part of what may be properly termed Martyrology left out; as the major part of this work is *Church History*, and often *State History*, with frequent long and (to us) uninteresting details of prosecutions, dialogues, &c., which suspend the narrative, and often prevent the effect which would otherwise be produced in the mind of the reader. Besides this, there are in the original *many thousands* of words and phrases which are either *obsolete* or *redundant*, and which vastly swell the book, without increasing its value to the purchaser.

In a new edition of this work, it was necessary to make a *thorough revision* of the whole—to *leave out the uninteresting* church history, correspondence of kings, queens, ministers of state, &c. &c., to *retrench superfluities*, and to *compress* the narrative where too much dilated. The editor hopes he has performed this task in such a manner as to be entitled to the thanks of the reader. He has given the public *Fox's Martyrology* as nearly as possible in Fox's words. He has done more—he has prefixed *an account of the martyrs mentioned in the Bible*, which, as far as he knows, was never attempted before in a work of this kind. He has also subjoined later persecutions of different sects of Christians, merely to shew the folly and iniquity of *intolerance*, and to guard professing Christians from troubling, and consequently from murdering, each other, on account of difference in religious sentiments. In short, he has done what he could to make the present work a valuable addition to every Christian's library. The *additions* which he has made are many, and he hopes respectable; and the *emendations* innumerable. May God accompany it with his blessing to every reader!

### UTILITY OF THIS WORK.

that in all times the spirit of the wicked one has been exerted against the truth of which furnishes a manifest proof of the excellence of that truth.

tion so fortified its genuine professors by the consolations it imparted, that their lives dear unto them, so that they might continue to enjoy the appro-

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## LIFE OF MR. JOHN FOX,

WRITTEN BY HIS SON.

JOHN FOX was born in Boston, in Lincolnshire, A. D. 1517: while he was very young, his father dying, and his mother being married again, he came into the tutelage of his father-in-law, with whom he dwelt during his childhood; which he had scarce passed over, when his friends observing his forwardness in learning, sent him to study at Oxford. The first nurse of his more serious studies was Brazen-nose College, where he was chamber-fellow with Dr. Nowel, who was afterwards dean of St. Paul's. The native excellence and sharpness of his wit, were well seconded by the fitness of the place; where the emulation of equals was frequent, and where each student's proficiency was narrowly sought into; neither was industry wanting, which, as it seldom accompanies the greatest wits, so where it is conjoined is most available. He soon gained the admiration of all, and the love of many; and, in reward of his learning and good behaviour, he was chosen fellow of Magdalen college, which being accounted a principal honour in the university, and usually due to the students of that house, was seldom, and not unless in regard of singular merit, bestowed upon any others. He devoted the first efforts of an early wit to the exercises of poetry, and wrote divers comedies, yet to be seen, in a copious and graceful manner. He began to give earnest of what he was: a diligent student in sacred history, the study of divinity with some circumspection, and discovered information then in hand, before he

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the breach thereof, they were sure of punishment. So that as long as the king held the middle way between his own genius, and the advice of his counsellors, feeding them with favours, upon which they could build no assurance, and pleasing himself in his own severity, fear and hope equally prevailed.

But when the protectors themselves, and pillars of the reformed religion, were taken away, the Duke of Suffolk by untimely death, the Lord Cromwell by the sword, the Archbishop Cranmer and his friends borne down by those of the contrary side; and that neither in the laws, nor the protection of the peers, there was any the least help remaining, then began all things to hasten back again headlong to their former abuses, and that with so much the more violence, because the conquest seemed a kind of revenge.

This was the state of the church affairs when Mr. Fox began attentively to seek into the substance of the controversy then in agitation.

He found the contention to have been of great antiquity, and no age to have been free from some debate in the church. But those first quarrels were rather of dominion and increase of territory: the Romans endeavouring, by subtle promises and pretext of religion, to retain under the jurisdiction of their city, which by open

cess, began to

Mr. Fox has often been heard to affirm, that the first matter which occasioned his search into the Popish doctrine, was, that he saw divers things, in their own natures most repugnant to each other, forced upon men at one time, to be both believed; as, that the same man might in matters of faith be *superior*, and yet in his life and manners *inferior*, to all the world besides. On this ground his attachment to that church began to be shaken.

His first care was to look into both the ancient and modern history of the church: to learn what beginning it had; what growth and increase; by what arts it flourished, and by what errors it began to decline; to consider the causes of all those controversies which in the mean time had sprung up, and to weigh diligently of what moment they were, and what on either side was produced, sound or infirm.

This he performed with such diligent study, and in so short time, that before the thirtieth year of his age he had read over all that either the Greek or Latin fathers had left in their writings, the schoolmen in their disputations, the councils in their acts, or the consistory in their decrees; and acquired no mean skill in the Hebrew language.

By report of some who were fellow-students with him, he used, over and above his day's exercise, to bestow whole nights at his study, or not betake himself to rest till very late. Near to the college was a grove, wherein, for the pleasantness of the place, the students took delight to walk, and spend some idle hours for their recreation. This place, and the dead time of the night, had Mr. Fox chosen, with the horror of solitude and darkness, to confirm his mind in the truths he had now embraced.

How many nights he watched in these solitary walks; what combats and wrestlings he suffered within himself; how many heavy sighs, and sobs, and tears, he poured forth with his prayers to Almighty God, I had rather might be spared from this discourse, than touched with any show of ostentation; but it was necessary to be mentioned, because from hence sprang the first suspicions of his alienated affections: at length, those with whom he was intimate, being led to suspect him, there were some employed to admonish him, might observe his activity into his work.

shew itself in his behalf, procuring him a safe refuge in the house of Sir Thomas Lacy, of Warwickshire, by whom he was sent for, to instruct his children. In which house he afterwards married a wife, and there continued till the children, coming to riper years, had now no longer need of a tutor. But the fear of the Popish inquisitions hastened his departure thence; which now relying on the favour of the laws, were not contented to pursue public offences, but began also to break into the secrets of private families.

Mr. Fox consulted therefore with himself what was best to be done, and of two ways only left, whereby he might free himself from further inconvenience, long debated whether he might with most safety make choice of; either to go to his wife's father, or his father-in-law by marriage of his mother.

His wife's father dwelt nearest, being a citizen of Coventry, nor yet bearing any hatred towards him, and more likely to be entreated for his daughter's sake. His father-in-law was better known to him, but more suspected. At last he resolved to go first to his wife's father, and in the mean while, by letters, to try whether his father-in-law would receive him or not. His father-in-law's answer was, That it seemed to him a hard condition, to take one into his house whom he knew to be guilty, and condemned for a capital offence; neither was he ignorant what hazard he should undergo in so doing: nevertheless, that he would shew himself a kinsman, and for that cause neglect his own danger. If he would alter his mind, he might come, on condition to stay as long as himself desired; but if he could not be persuaded to that, he should content himself with the shorter tarriance, and not bring him and his mother into hazard of their lives and fortunes, who were ready to do any thing for his sake.

Mr. Fox, in his present circumstances, thought no condition to be refused; besides, he was underhand advised by his mother to come, and not fear his father-in-law's severity; for that (perchance) it was needful to write as he did, but when occasion should be offered, he would make recompense for his words. The truth is, he had better them, than he any way hoped for: that he should rely long upon (in coming to and fro, from one to another, in show of business,) he required after him, and



of money into his hand, bidding him be of good cheer, adding withal, that he knew not how great the misfortunes were which oppressed him, but supposed it was no light calamity; that he should therefore accept in good part that small gift from his countryman, which common courtesy had forced him to offer; that he should go and take care of himself. At the same time the stranger let him know, that within a few days new hopes were at hand, and a more certain condition of livelihood. Never could Mr Fox learn who that man was, by whose so seasonable bounty, in that extreme necessity, he had been relieved, though he earnestly endeavoured to find him out. Some who looked further into the event which followed that prophecy, believed that this man came not of his own accord, but was sent by some others, who by all means desired Mr Fox's safety, and that it might (perchance) be through the servant's negligence, that he suffered the greatest of all miseries before any relief came. Certain it is, that within three days' space, the issue seemed to make good the promise, there being some sent from the Duchess of Richmond, who upon fair terms did invite him into her service. It had so fallen out, not long before, that the Duke of Norfolk, the famous warrior, and most renowned general of his time, together with his son, the Earl of Surrey, a man, as far as may be imagined, of sincere meaning and sharp understanding, were committed to custody in the Tower of London; for what crimes is uncertain. While they were in prison, the Earl's children were sent to the aforesaid duchess, to be brought up and educated. Thomas, who succeeded in the dukedom, Henry, who was after Earl of Northampton; and Jane, afterwards Countess of Westmoreland.

To these young lords was Mr Fox appointed tutor; in which charge he deceived not the dependence which the duchess, a woman of wisdom and prudence, had on him. For the two sons grew to that height of proficiency in polite literature, that building in their riper years upon this foundation, the elder, Thomas, seemed to deserve more than the kingdom could bestow upon him; and the younger, Henry, came to such affluence, that he was able to measure his fortunes, not by the opinion of others, but by his own wishes.

The young lady, Jane, profited so wondrously in Greek and Latin, that she might well stand in competition with the most learned men of that time, for the praise of elegance in both

languages. <sup>There is a story</sup> <sup>of a young man</sup> <sup>who was</sup> <sup>sent during those golden</sup> <sup>years of King Henry</sup> <sup>the first</sup> <sup>in the soundness of his</sup> <sup>mind</sup> <sup>and</sup> <sup>modesty</sup> <sup>in his fortunes, is</sup> <sup>always</sup> <sup>fresh</sup> <sup>and</sup> <sup>vigorous</sup> <sup>for</sup> <sup>any</sup> <sup>illustrious</sup> <sup>undertaking</sup>. For Mr. Fox, being for his abilities famous, and supported (as I before shewed) with the friendship of great personages, might with ease have attained to whatsoever his desires had inclined him: but affecting neither riches nor authority, the wishes of worldly men, yet was he well contented to keep the conscience of well-doing to himself, and that rewards should remain in the possession of others. <sup>Thus I neither</sup> <sup>admit, as wholly</sup> <sup>to his commendation, nor yet</sup> <sup>to</sup> <sup>himself</sup> <sup>with, as many have done: let us, at least, favour</sup> <sup>him</sup> <sup>as far, as to allow</sup> <sup>virtue</sup> <sup>to choose</sup> <sup>what degree of</sup> <sup>reward</sup> <sup>it lists</sup> <sup>to shipe in; or if we will</sup> <sup>needs</sup> <sup>restrain</sup> <sup>it</sup> <sup>to</sup> <sup>those</sup> <sup>who</sup> <sup>are</sup> <sup>good</sup> <sup>with</sup> <sup>us</sup> <sup>of</sup> <sup>reward</sup> <sup>as for</sup> <sup>them</sup> <sup>who</sup> <sup>are</sup> <sup>so</sup> <sup>for</sup> <sup>no</sup> <sup>design, if</sup> <sup>their</sup> <sup>rewards</sup> <sup>are</sup> <sup>not</sup> <sup>we</sup> <sup>shall</sup> <sup>not</sup> <sup>need</sup> <sup>to</sup> <sup>fear</sup> <sup>their</sup> <sup>envy</sup>

I shall write of a life, bearing continually true, and solid ground, but not such whereto the reader's senses may surfeit: where neither the rage of stratagems of war or peace shall be

brief, nothing on all sides but flight, slaughter, and abjects, and that the bishop of Winchester was the principal intermediary in all this, who for private respects was already his enemy; he then began to fear what might become of him, and to think of some speedy way for his departure. As soon as the duke knew his intent, gently chiding his fearfulness, he used many words to persuade him to leave all thought of going away; affirming it "neither agreeable to honour or modesty for him to suffer his tutor, so well deserving at his hands, at any time of his life, to be taken from him, but that it should *then* be done, was not becoming for him that desired it. Let him but think with himself, how great a burden of hatred his scholar must needs bear among those who were ignorant, whether he forsook him of his own accord, or were forsaken by him: yet that he entreated not to be excused from any hatred which might light upon him, it at least he might do it with Mr Fox's commodity. But in flying, what misery would be wanting? Banishment, poverty, contempt, and, among those which knew him not, the reproach of a runagate. That he acknowledged all this less evil than death, but that it was not yet come to such extremity, neither would he suffer it should: that he had yet wealth, and favour, and friends, and the fortune of his house; if the mischance prevailed further, himself would partake of the danger, and make the destruction common: that he remembered, with what precepts he had fortified his younger years; neither had he with more attention hearkened to his instructions, than he would with constancy put them in practice; only let him be of good courage, and so avoid the violence of his enemies, as not to be weary of his friend's company: he added, that he spoke this, hoping by his authority to prevail with him, but if that might not be obtained, he would then further him in the course he intended."

The duke's speech was the more to be credited, because it was known to proceed from sincerity of heart, and a most tender good-will towards him: and he grew now ashamed not so much of what he had done in asking leave, as that he had believed his request might have been granted: but his modesty excused him; his answer being, "That the duke's care befitted not the lord, and his servant: that it was his duty for the duke's honour to defend his tutor from any injury; but his own part to have a care, lest <sup>some</sup> <sup>thing</sup> <sup>by</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>duke</sup> <sup>might</sup> <sup>incur</sup> <sup>an</sup> <sup>anxiety</sup> <sup>there, was the only</sup> <sup>thing</sup> <sup>that</sup> <sup>he</sup> <sup>could</sup> <sup>do</sup> <sup>to</sup> <sup>be</sup> <sup>helpful</sup> <sup>to</sup> <sup>others</sup>. But <sup>more</sup> <sup>abundantly</sup> <sup>he</sup> <sup>took</sup> <sup>upon</sup> <sup>him</sup> <sup>in</sup> <sup>general</sup> <sup>to</sup> <sup>say</sup> <sup>something</sup> <sup>of</sup> <sup>it</sup> <sup>will</sup> <sup>not</sup> <sup>be</sup> <sup>amiss</sup> <sup>and</sup> <sup>how</sup> <sup>either</sup> <sup>by</sup> <sup>good</sup> <sup>advice</sup> <sup>comfortable</sup> <sup>persuasions</sup> <sup>or</sup> <sup>a</sup> <sup>charitable</sup> <sup>hand</sup> <sup>he</sup> <sup>either</sup> <sup>relieved</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>wants</sup> <sup>or</sup> <sup>satisfied</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>desires</sup> <sup>of</sup> <sup>innumerable</sup> <sup>persons</sup> <sup>whereupon</sup> <sup>no</sup> <sup>man's</sup> <sup>house</sup> <sup>was</sup> <sup>in</sup> <sup>those</sup> <sup>times</sup> <sup>thronged</sup> <sup>with</sup> <sup>more</sup> <sup>strangers</sup> <sup>than</sup> <sup>his</sup>. There repaired to him both citizens and strangers, noblemen and common people of all degrees, and almost all for the same cause, to seek some salve for a wounded conscience. At length, some who were likewise sick in heart, would needs be carried to him: but this, to stop running, he would not suffer to be used; for, because they were brought thither, they were by some reported to be cured.

Thus spending the day at home in such like duties, frequently preaching abroad, and going to visit those who were not able to come themselves to him, he both fulfilled that which by the courtesy of his own disposition was enjoined him, and neglected not the performance of that duty which the office of his ministry had imposed upon him. That time which his friends either called away by other business, or ashamed of being too tedious, had left free to him, was

city, or within the same see, against the force of a crafty, and then open, deceiver; but, by all means, the bishop's being sick must be prevented. From that time he caused all things necessary for his flight, with the least noise that might be, to be provided; sending one of his servants before to Ipswich haven, to hire a bark, and make ready all things needful for the voyage: and because it seemed scarcely safe for Mr. Fox to stay in any city, or place of resort, he chose out the house of one of his servants, a farmer, where he might with convenience expect the warning of a fair wind to put to sea. Thither Mr. Fox went as secretly as he could, taking his wife as companion in his travels, then great with child, but resolved to go with him, not yielding to the entreaty of those who persuaded her to the contrary; and as soon as it was told him his company expected him, he made haste to the port, and went on board.

Scarce had they weighed anchor, when suddenly a rough wind rising from the contrary shore, troubled the sea with so great violence, that the stoutest mariners began to tremble. Then followed a dark night, with continual showers, and a great multitude of clouds gathered together into a thick storm of rain and hail, which both hindered the seamen's work, and took away all possibility by the compass any longer to direct their course. That night with much ado they lay at anchor, and as soon as the day appeared, when the tempest seemed not likely to cease, they began to cast about, and make back again to shore; so that the tide a little favouring them, at length, with much difficulty, they arrived in the evening at the same haven again, whence they had loosed the day before. In the mean while that Mr. Fox had been at sea, a messenger from the bishop of Winchester had broke open the farmer's house, with a warrant to apprehend him, wheresoever he might be found, and bring him back prisoner to the city; but understanding he was gone already, after he had pursued him even to the port, and there found that the ship he had embarked in was yet scarcely out of sight, he returned back without his errand. Mr. Fox, as soon as he came ashore, hearing what had passed, although the news somewhat amazed him, yet recollecting himself, presently took horse, and made as if he would have left the town; but the same night returning, he bargained with the master of the ship to come again with the first convenience of the winds; tell

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Mr. Fox, when he had spent some few days at Newport in refreshing himself and his company, went to Antwerp, and from thence, by short journeys, to Basil.

This city was at that time much spoken of for the great friendship and courtesy shewed to those of the English nation: for which cause many famous men, withdrawing themselves from the cruelty of the times, had escaped thither out of England. Of these were many, but of slender estate, who, some one way, and some another, but the most part, gained their livelihood by reviewing and correcting the press; this place, for careful printing, and plenty of diligent and wealthy men in that profession, then surpassed all the cities of Germany, and preferred the industry of our men, in that employment, before any of their own countrymen.

To these men Mr. Fox joined himself, so much the better liked of, because having been always inured to hardness, and in his youth put to the trial of his patience, he had learned how to endure labour; and that which seemed the greatest misery to others, to suffer want, to sit up late, and keep hard diet, were to him but the sports of fortune. This (perhaps) may seem strange to many, who remember Mr. Fox to have been all his life long but a very slender-bodied man, and in his elder somewhat sickly; but let no man compare his old age, worn out, and eaten up with cares, and even by the course of nature ruinous, with the flourishing prime of his youth, which by his many works appears to have been very healthful; whether it be, that in those of indifferent size, an upright shape of the limbs and members may sufficiently serve for health; or that the mind, inflamed with desire of virtuous actions, being content with its own abilities to pursue those things it greatly desires, needs the less help from the body.

His industry may be from hence abundantly testified, that being so full of employment at Basil, there, nevertheless, he began to write his *History of the Acts and Monuments of the Church*; a work by the title alone seeming beyond man's belief. At first it sufficed only to mark it out, and to draw the first lines or rudiments, or as it were to fasten the warp to the loom: the whole body of the history he added after he returned into his own country. First he wrote it in Latin, and sent the copy to Basil to be printed; where the work is still in great estimation, as also in divers other foreign nations, among our own men hardly known, whilst we seek after and admire strangers only; either through carelessness

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for their own. But at home what could be devised to assure their safety, or relieve their distresses, which they did not sooner enjoy than presume to hope for? They who had forsaken their houses, were now called home; they who had suffered imprisonment, were now released; they who by loss of goods were decayed, were now by gifts repaired; they who had been thrust from places of honour, were now restored to their former dignities. Unjust laws were in the mean while abrogated, and wholesome laws established in their place; their minds were at quiet, their conscience at liberty; all degrees at peace among themselves, and every man's goods without danger. For in such sort did queen Elizabeth, even in the infancy of her reign, disperse the affairs of the commonwealth, that whatsoever the long and prosperous government of other princes hardly produces in many years, at her first entrance all at once brake forth, beyond the people's wish, as if some deity had diffused itself, and poured forth felicity upon the world.

M. Fox, when by his friends he understood the happy news in England, that queen Elizabeth reigned, and that the state of religion was sure, and so likely to continue, about the end of that year, in which this was in hand, he came back to his country. So much space he had taken to bethink himself, lest (if by any inconstancy of the people they should grow weary of their present estate) he should again be forced to seek his fortunes abroad, besides (his family being then increased with two children) he was obliged to stay till money might be sent him from home, to bear his charges in travelling. But before he could get from thence, he was informed that some hard speeches had passed of him, as if through pride he had delayed to come, thereby seeking a shorter and more speedy way to preferment, as being due to him, when he should be sent for. This he knew to be a part of their cunning, who themselves with all earnestness striving for honours, feared Mr. Fox, as a man of merit, and likely to be preferred before them. Yet he thought it not worth his labour, to make any excuse for such a crime, as would of itself come to nothing, but equally despising injuries, and neglecting his own right, hid himself wholly in his study.

As it is commonly seen, that those men are more healthful, which use moderate diet and exercise, than those which exceed in either: so I suppose the case stands with the mind, that he, who, if providence has given him no rule, prescribes one to himself, can hardly persist in the soundness of his study; whereas he who uses modesty in his fortunes, is always more fresh and vigorous for any illustrious undertakings. For Mr. Fox, being for his abilities famous, and supported (as I before shewed) with the friendship of great personages, might with ease have attained to whatsoever his desires had inclined him: but affecting neither riches nor authority, the wishes of worldly men, yet was he well contented to keep the conscience of well-doing to himself, and all rewards should remain in the possession of others. I neither admit, as wholly to his commendation, nor yet as fault with, as many have done: let us, at least, favour him so far, as to allow virtue to choose what degree of fame it likes to shine in; or if we will needs restrain it, let us do it to those who are good with no design, as for them who are so for no design, if their virtues be not rewarded, we shall not need to fear their decay.

And when a life, bearing continually true and solid testimony, has been the reader's eyes may perceive: neither the rage of factions, nor war or peace shall be able to disturb the course of his study, which he has chosen to pursue to the end of his days.

intend to captivate the ears of the hearers. I am to speak of a life passed over without noise, of modesty at home and abroad, of continence, charity, contempt of the world, and thirst after heavenly things; of unwearied labours, and all actions so performed as might be exemplary or beneficial to others.

I have shewed before, that Mr. Fox first applied himself to write the History of the Church, whilst he was at Basil; and that the cause he did not finish it there was, that he might afterwards use the testimony of more witnesses. This work not a little vexed the minds of the Papists. For well they saw that they had spilt so much blood to no effect, been guilty of so great cruelty, if an account of these proceedings must be rendered to succeeding ages; and that the work itself could not be taken out of men's hands, they well understood. There was therefore no other hope left, but by charging the author with falsehood, and feigning some cavils against him, so to lessen his credit and authority; which whilst Mr. Fox endeavoured to remove, and take away from himself, he could not avoid it, but needs pass much the lawful bounds of an history, by an addition of matters and testimonies. And let us but by this judge of the industry of our author, that he not only gathered together so many several things as the materials of this work, from all distances of times or places, and through all shires of the kingdoms collected the acts both of courts, and the records of matters judged; but also alone, by a most puzzling kind of diligence, searched out, examined, freed even partly as it were rusty, and eaten out by antiquity, partly by hatred or flattery of authors corrupted, and partly hid in the rugged and short form of old writing. I find, by the author's own notes, that in the eleventh year after he began to write it, the work was finished; neither in all that time used he the help of any servant about his writing or other business: so much doth industry employed to one purpose, and gathered into itself afford more useful assistance, than it can in being scattered, and the mind divided into many cares at once, though it hath never so many helping hands.

From this time Mr. Fox began to be much spoken of, as a good historian; the other virtues of his mind, which were less known abroad, being by that which was soon overshadowed. Shortly after, he began also for other endowments to wax famous, not only as a man, but as a useful friend, and no less by his own inclination made to be helpful to others. But now, by way of journal, to rehearse the voice which took upon him; (in general, to say something of it will not be amiss;) and how, either by good advice, comfortable persuasions, or a charitable hand, he either relieved the want, or satisfied the desires, of innumerable persons: whereupon no man's house was in those times thronged with more clients than his. There repaired to him both citizens and strangers, noblemen and common people of all degrees, and almost all for the same cause, to seek some salve for a wounded conscience. At length, some who were likewise sick in body would needs be carried to him: but this, to stop, as he would not suffer to be used; for, because they were brought thither, they were by some reported to be cured.

Thus spending the day at home in such like duties, frequently preaching abroad, and going to visit those who were not able to come themselves to him, he both fulfilled that which by the courtesy of his own disposition was enjoined him, and neglected not the performance of that duty which the office of his ministry had imposed upon him. That duty, which his friends, either called away by other concerns, or ashamed of being too tedious, had left him to his own care.

posals, he bestowed not in sleeping, or taking his pleasure, but in prayer and studying; in both which, he always retired into some private place, or made use of the night's silence for secrecy, unless by chance sometimes the vehement groans he mingled with his prayers being heard, gave notice how earnest he was in his devotions. For at no time of the night could any man come to find his labours ended; but often has the next morning's light seen the last of his night's care despatched.

I will now bring the last argument, I know not whether I should say, of his ability or industry; that he, who so wholly hath given himself to please his friends, that he had set apart no time for his other business, yet wrote so much, as it might well have been believed he had wrote nothing else.

I have here, for their sakes who may desire it, set down the titles of those books he wrote; which are these: *Camædianum, libri 2.*—*Syllogisticum.*—*Admonitio ad Parlamentum.*—*De lapsis per errorem in Ecclesiam restituentis.*—*Oliva Evangelica.*—*De Christo gratis justificante.*—*De Christo Crucifixio.*—*Papa confutatus.*—*Contra Osorium de Justitia.*—*Meditationes supra Apocalypsim Rerum in Ecclesia gestarum Commentarii.*—*The Acts and Monuments of the Church.*

We are now come so far, as to be able from hence to give the readers a full sight at once of the rest of Mr. Fox's life; which ought (I suppose) in like manner to please them, as we see those that travel, when they have been long tired with continual rugged ways and rough forests, and come at length into the plain and open countries, are with the very change of soil not a little delighted and refreshed.

We shall first observe that which might well be thought the chief of his virtues; to wit, a deliberate and resolved contempt of all things which are in great esteem among men, and especially of pleasures: which mind of his, whether inspired by nature, acquired by discipline, or infused by God, did of necessity give him great ability to perform with commendation whatsoever he listed to take in hand; there being nothing which can mislead the mind into errors, which would otherwise of itself hold the right way, but what proceedeth from some pleasure or other, lying in wait to entrap us in our journey. But so did Mr. Fox oppose these enemies, as one who desired not to save himself by flying, or shelter himself in some secret place; but by often skirmishing, and experience in fight, to increase his own strength, and give the enemy using to say,

modesty of his modesty in his fortunes, is fresh and vigorous for any illustrious undertakings. For Mr. Fox, being for his abilities famous, and supported (as I before shewed) with the friendship of great personages, might with ease have attained to whatsoever his desires had inclined him: but affecting neither riches nor authority, the wishes of worldly men, yet was he well contented to keep the conscience of well-doing to himself, and that rewards should remain in the possession of others. This I neither admit, as wholly to his commendation, nor yet find fault with, as many have done: let us, at least, favour good men so far, as to allow virtue to choose what degree of fortune it lists to shine in; or if we will needs restrain it within certain limits, let us do it to those who are good with hope of reward: as for them who are so for no design, if their glory overwhelms us not, we shall not need to fear their multitude.

I shall write of a life, bearing continually true and solid fruits, but not such whereon the reader's senses may surfeit: where neither the rare stratagems of war or peace shall be related, nor any such discourses as writers use, when they

so far was he from thirsting after honour, riches, applause, or any outward good, that he would at no time suffer the care of his private estate to enter his mind, much less that it should, by taking thought for his household affairs, be overcome or drawn aside; which security of his, or, as some called it, slothfulness in his own fortunes, I will hereafter declare whence it proceeded. In the mean time, whilst I consider the cause why he thought all other things so contemptible, was only the love of God, wherewith his mind was so filled, and so much delighted, that he left no room nor any affection free for other pleasures; of his own accord separating himself from the fashions of the world, of which he was not otherwise incapable; and devoting himself wholly to this care, like one who had found an invaluable treasure, he bent his eyes and his mind upon this only, neither hoping nor expecting any thing besides, but resolved to make this the scope of all his wishes and desires: whereby (as in such a case must needs happen) it so fell out, that they who observed his mind so steadfastly fixed upon God, and that he both spoke and did many things beyond the opinion of an ordinary good man, believed that he could not be void of some divine inspiration; and now some began, not merely to honour him, but to consider him as one sent from heaven.

I will neither mince the truth of any story, nor will I with additions flatter report. Many things did Mr. Fox foretell, by occasion of comforting the afflicted, or terrifying those that were stubborn, to which the event proved after answerable; and (perchance) in many things he was deceived.

It hath been already related, with what precision, whilst he remained at Basil among his banished countrymen, he signified the time of their return. It is likewise well known what answer he gave concerning that noble and virtuous woman, the lady Ann Hennage, who lying sick of a violent fever, when the disease had so far increased that the physicians had pronounced it deadly, Mr. Fox was called to be present at her ending, whose counsel and fidelity she had often made use of, in matters appertaining to her soul's health: After he had performed what he came for, in reading prayers, and comforting the sick woman, with such persuasions as seemed good to him: You have done well (said he) and according to your duty, to prepare yourself for all events; but know this from me, that of this sickness you shall not die.

Among those who stood by, was Sir Moyle Finch, a well-honourable knight, the lady's son-in-law, who, and no less by a speech, or desirous to get made to be helpful to others. But he was a little me, by way of journal, to rehearse the voice took upon him; (in general, to say something of it will not be amiss;) and how, either by good advice, comfortable persuasions, or a charitable hand, he either relieved the wants, or satisfied the desires, of innumerable persons; whereupon no man's house was in those times thronged with more sick than his. There repaired to him both citizens and strangers, noblemen and common people of all degrees, and almost all for the same cause, to seek some salve for a wounded conscience. At length, some who were likewise sick in heart, would needs be carried to him: but this, to stop, he would not suffer to be used; for, because they were brought thither, they were by some reported to be cured.

Thus spending the day at home in such like duties, he frequently preaching abroad, and going to visit those who were not able to come themselves to him, he both fulfilled that which by the courtesy of his own disposition, was required of him, and neglected not the performance of that duty which the office of his ministry had imposed upon him. But which his friends, either called away by other duties, or satiated of being too tedious, had left the house empty.



The lady recovered: nor can I in this tell an untruth, there being yet many living who could reprove me.

Like to this, and no less true, was that story of Mrs. Honeywood, an honourable gentlewoman, who had lain almost twenty years sick of a consumption, through melancholy! neither did any one seem to have advice or courage sufficient against the force of so mischievous a disease, though she had already consulted with the gravest divines, and the best physicians, and with all who, either in the art of curing, or power of persuading, were accounted to excel the rest. At length she sent also for Mr. Fox. They who went along with him thither related afterward, that never had they entered into a more heavy or afflicted house. There sat by the sick woman to attend her, her friends, kinsfolk, children, and servants, some upon seats, and some on the chamber floor, not weeping or sighing, as those commonly do that lament, but having spent all their tears, resolutely silent, neither rising to those that came in, or answering those who asked any question, as if that also became their mourning; you might have thought them so many statues of mourners in human likeness. The sick woman lay upon her bed, without any hope of life; together with her frequent sighs, faintly breathing forth some few words, the effect whereof was, that she desired to end her days. Mr. Fox, when he had so many patients under his hands at once, not thinking fit, where a grief so violent would make strong resistance, to attempt any thing in vain, left all her means of consolation, and what he thought necessary to cure their afflicted minds he diligently mingled with his prayers. At length, having farther endeared himself, he then told her, that she should not only grow well of that consumption, but also live to an exceeding great age. At which words the sick gentlewoman, a little moved, and earnestly beholding Mr. Fox: As well might you have said (said she) that if I should throw this glass against the wall, I might believe it could not break to pieces.—And holding a glass in her hand, out of which she had newly drank, she threw it forth; neither did the glass, first by chance lighting on a little chest standing by the bed-side, and afterward falling upon the ground, either break or crack in any place about it; and the event fell out accordingly. For the gentlewoman, being then threescore years of age, lived afterward for an example of felicity seldom seen in the offspring of any family; being able, before the ninetieth year of her age, (for she lived longer,) to reckon three hundred and threescore of her children's children and grandchildren.\*

I could here relate many stories of like nature, but they, the most part, being dead, who might justify the particular, I do not desire to be believed where I cannot bring proof enough to deserve it. That which follows is more commonly known, and does not require to be confirmed by witnesses.

Mr. Fox went one day to see the earl of Arundel, son to the duke of Norfolk. The earl, in his courtesy, when he was going away, brought him to the water-side, at the lower end of his garden; but observing the river very rough by the great force of the winds, he counselled Mr. Fox not to travel in so boisterous a tempest upon the waters: Mr. Fox, continuing in his resolution of going;—So, my lord, let these waters deal with me, as I have in truth already delivered to you all that I have spoken: and he stepped into the boat, before they could put off.

from the bridge, the wind ceased, and the river began to run with a smoother stream.

Being often asked by his familiar friends, why he had no more regard to the straitness of his own estate, it being the first precept of charity to begin at home; his answer was, that God by his covenant had the charge of his affairs, who well knew both what was fit for him, and when to bestow it; and since he had never yet failed him, how could he begin to doubt of him, without manifest ingratitude?

There was nothing that won Mr. Fox the love of the people so much, as the pity he usually shewed to all sorts of men in distress; and some you may find, who affirm that Mr. Fox not only gave away his money to the poor, but his clothes and household stuff also, without his wife's knowledge: true it is that Mr. Fox gave largely to the poor, and therein exceeded the measure of his own substance, but by the liberality of others he was supplied with money for that purpose, and never wanted sufficient means to shew his charity.

All these virtues of his were fenced about, as with a bulwark, by a singular modesty and integrity of life; which suffered not any thing either to enter into his manners, or to break forth in his actions, but what was first with much diligence searched into and examined whether it might become him or not.

And thus having seen his moderation, it will not be out of the way to add in general what he thought of the Church of Rome, and the bishop thereof, as far as they may be gathered out of his speeches, when being of riper years, he had strengthened his judgment with much experience.

The heads of his opinions were these:

That among the Christian churches the Roman had been in dignity always chiefest, and of most antiquity. That it retained this dignity and opinion many ages after, by little and little growing to greater authority, not by consent of the people, or by any right to that claim, but by reason of a certain inclination and custom among men, that where any chance far to excel others, they first begin to be powerful among the rest, and at length to exercise command over them. That the greatest honour and authority it had was among these western kingdoms, which, as every one affected the Christian religion, so were they by the diligence and piety of the Romans most assisted; in which respect it had not deserved to be called the mother of those churches. That the occasion of so great an increase, was the city of Rome being of so ancient renown, and as it were by destiny appointed monarch of the world, in all ages abounding with men of great courage and virtue, being well peopled, wealthy, usefully seated, and always under the emperor's sight, easily afforded this convenience. That at first the Christians could no where meet together with less trouble, more plentifully be provided for, more safely be concealed, or when need was die with more constancy; all which made posterity so ready to admire and honour them. That the church at first flourished rather in good discipline, and the approved holiness of the professors, than in abundance of riches, there being yet no looseness, no pride or ambition, found in the manners of the clergy; and money, servants, lands, houses, and such like goods, altogether unknown to them; in all things so restrained, either by modesty in using what they had, or contentedness in wanting what they had not. That in Rome only seemed to be the seat of the Christian religion. That all this was with most strictness observed in the church nearest to the church's infancy. But as princes of little and little, began to be neglected and corrupted, in the same manner as rivers, whose streams are first being sweetest and clearest, the further they proceed, the more they are corrupted, so the church of Rome, being first

a large channel, but with more troubled waters, till at length, by mixture with the sea, they grow also unwholesome; and though in no one place we can perceive where they are any jot changed from the first purity, yet may we easily enough find a great difference, if we compare the extremes together. For that in the church it so fell out, that having brought all nations to the Christian faith, after they once began to think it for the honour of the empire, that the priests should no longer (as they had formerly accustomed) endure poverty, but live in a more plentiful way; to which purpose the emperors granted many things to the churchmen, both as an ornament and reward to them; then also the priests began first to be taken with the love of riches, then by degrees to grow wanton through abundance, and not care how little pains they took, after (as always the succeeding age addeth to the vices of the former) they affected power also, which when they had once obtained, and by the emperor's gift received the government of the church, they gave not over, till (having cast down the the emperors, by whose bounty they had so prevailed) they both invaded the privileges of the empire, and now laid claim to both spiritual and temporal dominion; in the mean while, neglecting those rules of religion which their predecessors had prescribed them, neither themselves much searching the scriptures, nor permitting others to do it, and esteeming the worship of God to consist rather in outward devotion, and pompous ceremonies, than in the obedience of faith. That by this means it so came to pass, that the church of Rome (as all other immoderate empires) not only fell from that high degree it once held, but also subverted in itself the very substance and state of a church.

Mr. Fox had many friends, among which I have already shewed, with how great affection he was beloved by the duke of Norfolk, being by his bounty maintained in his life, and, after his death, by the pension he bestowed on him, which his son, the right honourable earl of Suffolk, to whom those revenues descended, out of his liberality confirmed.

His fortunes were increased by the Lord William Cecil, then lord treasurer, a man beyond expression excellent, whom it as much availed queen Elizabeth to have for her minister, as it availed the kingdom to have Elizabeth for their queen; and without doubt most deserving, that in himself and his posterity he should flourish in that kingdom, which he had by his wisdom and advice made most flourishing. He of the queen's gift obtained for Mr. Fox the rectory of Shipton, upon no other inducement but his public desert; and when Mr. Fox delayed, and after his manner entreated leave to excuse himself, the lord Cecil politely overcame his bashfulness, by telling him that he neither accepted that for an answer, nor had he deserved that the blame of Mr. Fox's refusing the queen's gift should be laid upon him, as if he had been his hinderance.

The earls of Bedford and Warwick were also among his particular friends.

He was very intimate with Sir Francis Walsingham, secretary of state, a prudent and vigilant man, and one who was deservedly the first that advanced the power of the secretaryship.

The two brethren, Sir Thomas Hennage and Mr. Michael Hennage, he greatly esteemed: the first for the sweetness of behaviour, the other for his solid learning and singular modesty of life; and though they were each of them in their kind most accomplished gentlemen, yet he used to say, that Sir Thomas Hennage had as much as was requisite to a complete courtier, but that Mr. Michael Hennage had both all his brother in himself, and that besides of his own which the court had not corrupted.

To Sir Drue Drury he bore, likewise, singular affection, as to a man of sincere intentions, and of great constancy in all states, and perchance the only man in the court who continued in favour, without the loss of his freedom.

Among the prelates, he principally revered Dr. Grindol, archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Elmar, bishop of London, Dr. Pilkington, bishop of Durham, and Dr. Nowell, dean of St. Paul's, who were his partners in banishment at Basil.

Among the writers of his time, he preferred before the rest, Dr. Humphrey, Dr. Whittaker, and Dr. Fulk, with whose learning he was wondrously delighted, and esteemed it no small benefit to be again beloved by them.

But with none had he more familiar acquaintance, than with Mr. John Crowley, and Mr. Baldwin Collins, whose counsel he made use of in all his affairs, especially Mr. Collins, concerning whom he used to say, that he knew not which prevailed more in him, excellence of knowledge, or modesty of mind.

Among military men, Sir Francis Drake was much delighted with his familiarity; whom to commend near the times he lived in, were needless; but to commend him to posterity, according to his desert, many volumes would scarcely suffice.

Among the citizens of London he always found great goodwill; especially with Sir Thomas Gresham, Sir Thomas Roe, Alderman Bacchus, Mr. Smith, Mr. Dale, and Mr. Sherrington, who had him in great account and estimation, being part of them such as had borne the highest places of honour in the city, and part of them merchants of great substance.

I pass by many, who (probably) had as great share in Mr. Fox's friendship as any of these; nor ought it to be accounted a fault, if I either knew not or remembered not all; but this I ought not to slip, (as being the chief cause why I thought fit to mention the fore-named worthy men,) that these were they from whom, as I before said, Mr. Fox received such large sums of money to divide amongst the poor; which, although, they did with so much privacy, as that they trusted not to messengers in delivering it, nor regarded any outward praise their well-doing might procure them, knowing a consciousness thereof to be as much as they needed to desire.

He used always among his friends a pleasant kind of familiarity, wherewith he seasoned the gravity and severity of his other behaviour.

Being once asked at a friend's table, what dish he desired to be set up to him, to begin his meal with? He answered, the *last*; which word was pleasantly taken, as if he had meant some choicer dish, such as usually are brought for the second course; whereas he rather signified the desire he had to see dinner ended, that he might depart home.

Going abroad (by chance) he met a woman whom he knew, who pulling a book from under her arm, and saying, See you not that I am going to a sermon? Mr. Fox replied, But if you will be ruled by me, go home rather, for to-day you will do but little good at church. And when she asked, At what time therefore he would counsel her to go? He answered, when you tell nobody beforehand.

It happened at his own table, that a gentleman there spoke somewhat too freely against the earl of Leicester; which when Mr. Fox heard, he commanded a bowl filled with wine to be brought him: which being done, This bowl said he was given me by the earl of Leicester; and thus he stopped the gentleman in his intemperate speeches, without seeking to reprove him.

When a young man, a little too forward, had in the presence of many said, That he could conceive no reason, in the reading of the old authors, why men should so greatly admire them. No marvel, indeed, said Mr. Fox; for if you could

conceive the reason, you would then be constrained to admire them yourself.

He never denied charity to any one who asked it in the name of Christ. One asking him, whether he knew a certain poor man whom he used to relieve? he answered, "Yes, I remember him well; and I tell thee, I *forgot* lords and ladies to *remember* such."

I could speak of many stories of this kind, but that I will not exceed my intended limits too far.

At length, having in such actions, and such behaviour, spent out his age, being now full of years, and stored with friends, ere he had quite passed through his seventieth year, he died, not through any known disease, but through much age. Yet did he foresee the time of his departure, nor would suffer his sons (whom notwithstanding he entirely loved), to be present at his death, but forbid the one at any hand to be sent for, and sent the other on a journey three days before he died; then calling both of them unto him, when he well

knew, though they made never so great haste, they should come too late: whether it was that he thought them unable to bear so sad a spectacle, or would not have his own mind at that time troubled with any thing that might move him to desire life. Which to me and my brother was a most grievous affliction, that thereby we should neither come to close his eyes, to receive his last blessing and exhortations, nor satisfy our minds with that last sight of him. Perchance we could with more patience have endured to see the fainting approaches of his death drawing on, than to have lost in him so good an example how to die.

Upon the report of his death, the whole city lamented, honouring the small funeral which was made for him with the concourse of a great multitude of people, and in no other fashion of mourning, than as if among so many each man had buried his own father, or his own brother.—Mr. Fox quietly resigned his spirit to God, A D. 1587, aged seventy years.

*The following Lines, on Mr. Fox and his Martyrology, the intelligent Reader will not be displeased to find. They contain no bad Specimen of the Poetry of those Times, and a true Eulogium on the Author and his Work.*

In quiet peace thou sleepest now at rest,  
O learned FOX, the phoenix of our age;  
Most happy thou with crown of glory blest  
For ever freed from persecuting rage:  
With comfort great thou gainedst hast the shore,  
And stormy tempest now need'st fear no more.

Thy life not stain'd with spot of foul defame,  
Thy learning great; who dare the same deny?  
Thy worthy works abroad do sound thy name,  
And shall for ever to posterity.  
So long as learning and the learned live,  
Thy works to thee immortal praise shall give.

Thy famous work, of those that witness bear  
To Christ his truth, and seal'd it with their blood,  
That with Alcides' labours may compare,  
Shall witness still thy zeal for churches' good:  
Shall witness still to ages yet to come,  
Thy hatred just against that whore of Rome.

Thy hand was always stretched out to give,  
Thy eye from poor was never turn'd aside:  
What one of thee might not have learn'd to live,  
Who in thy life so many ways was try'd?  
And yet the same didst always still endure,  
No change thy heart to change could once procure.

Th' afflicted soul by thee did comfort find,  
The conscience weak by thee did strength attain;  
Thy sermons sweet rais'd up the feeble mind,  
And many a soul from hell to Christ did gain;  
Such care thou hadst God's mercies still to preach,  
Such grace thou hadst the truth of Christ to teach.

Thy tongue and pen the truth did still defend,  
Thou banishment for Christ didst gladly bide;  
In him thou liv'dst, in him thou mad'st thy end,  
Most happy thou that hadst so good a guide.  
Most happy thou while life thou didst retain,  
Most happy now, that dost with Christ remain.

J. HOPKINS

*IT* appears, from the preceding Biographical Sketch, that the Author of the justly celebrated MARTYROLOGY which forms the basis of this Work, was not a stranger to persecution, although he providentially escaped its bloody fangs. Hence, the sufferings which he experienced, witnessed, and eluded, taught him to sympathize with others when pursued by this unrelenting monster, and to take a lively interest in those calamities, which it was their destiny to endure, and his to describe.

We learn from the history of the Church, a considerable portion of which is written in characters of blood, that Power invading the territories of Right, assumes a dominion over Conscience, and that dungeons, racks, gibbets, and flames, are the instruments to which those resort by whom it is exercised. By agents such as these, men may be exterminated, but not regenerated. Reasons formed of steel, hemp, and faggots, may awaken corporeal feeling, but they can neither extinguish intellectual energy, nor give direction to thought. Under every form of civil and ecclesiastical government, the trial has been made; but in every instance it has proved unsuccessful.

PERSECUTION HAS BEEN IN OPERATION NEARLY TWO THOUSAND YEARS, DURING WHICH PERIOD IT HAS MADE MANY HYPOCRITES, AND MANY MARTYRS; BUT IT HAS NEVER YET ERADICATED ONE VICE, GIVEN BIRTH TO ONE VIRTUE, OR CONVERTED ONE SOUL TO GOD. Detestable in all its forms, this infernal monster, with an inscription written on its forehead, proclaiming both its character and name, marches through the world, armed with implements of torture, and, trampling on humanity and virtue, extorts at once the groans and the execrations of mankind.



## CHRISTIAN MARTYROLOGY,

ETC. ETC.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE MARTYRS MENTIONED IN THE SACRED WRITINGS.

*ABEL, the first Martyr.*

ABOUT one hundred and thirty years after the creation of the world, Eve, the mother of mankind, bore Cain, with his younger brother Abel, probably at one birth. The sacred text informs us, that Cain was a husbandman, and Abel a shepherd. Both were acquainted with the true God, and the reasonableness of acknowledging his Being and Providence by acts of religious worship. From Genesis iv. 3. we learn, that each was accustomed at particular times, probably every seventh or Sabbath-day, to bring an offering unto the Lord. Cain's offering was of the fruits of the earth, being a husbandman or farmer; and Abel's some of the first-born of his flock, he being a shepherd. It seems that no mark of the Divine approbation accompanied the offering made by the elder brother; whilst God signified, in the most evident manner, his acceptance of that which the younger brother had brought to his altar. The reason why the one was accepted, and the other rejected, seems by the apostle, Heb. xi. 4. to be attributed to that faith in which Abel offered his sacrifice. *By faith* (says he) *Abel offered a more excellent sacrifice than Cain.* The faith here spoken of, not only refers to his belief in the Being of a God, but also to his faith in that sacrifice, which, in the fulness of time, was to be slain for the salvation of a lost world. Abel's religion evidently comprised the following particulars: 1. An acknowledgment of the Being of a God. 2. Obedience to the Divine Will. 3. Faith in the promised Messiah. 4. Confession of his own sinfulness; and, 5. Dependence on the sacrifice (which had an undoubted reference to Christ) for acceptance with God. Cain's religion was of a widely different complexion: by bringing the *fruits of the field*, without any sacrifice, he certainly, 1st, acknowledged the existence of the Supreme Being; and, 2dly, that Providence by which the earth is rendered fruitful; but he neither acknowledged a *Saviour*, nor his need of one, though he had undoubtedly the same information on the subject which his brother had: therefore his offering was not accepted; God could not, consistently with his justice and purity, receive any thing in the way of religious adoration from the hand of a sinner, but through the medium of that sacrificial Lamb which he had appointed, and which he looked on as *sent from the foundation of the world*, 1 Pet. i. 10. Rev. xiii. 8. The religion of Cain differed as essentially from that of Abel, as modern *Deism* does from genuine *Christianity*. Where *self-interest* reigns not, enmity to God and man will preside. This was in this case. Cain, jealous of the preference which was given to his brother, gave full scope to the spirit of per-

secution, which was one of the very first fruits of sin; and thus, uninfluenced by the benevolent Being he professed to worship, and regardless of the strong ties of fraternal affection, he determined on the destruction of his rival, and soon imbrued his hands in his brother's blood! This was the first and terrible exemplification of what the true religion was to expect and meet with from false religionists and infidels, to the end of the world.

The circumstances accompanying the martyrdom of this holy man, are not marked in the sacred text; but some of the ancient Jewish writers supply them; but with what foundation of truth, must be left to the reader to determine. The pieces to which I particularly refer, and of which I subjoin a translation, are the *Targum*, or Chaldee Paraphrase of *Jonathan ben Uzziel*, and the *Targum Joushemey*, on Gen. iv. 3.

"And Cain said unto Hebel his brother, Let us go out into the field. And it came to pass, that when they were in the field, Cain said to his brother, I understand that the world was created in righteousness, but it is not governed according to the fruit of good works; nor is there any judge or judgment, nor shall there be any future states in which good rewards shall be given to the righteous, or punishment exacted on the wicked; and even now, there is respect of persons in judgment;—on which account it is, that thy sacrifice has been accepted, and mine has not been received with complacency. And Hebel answered, The world was created in righteousness, and it is governed according to the fruits of good works. There is a judge, a future world, and a coming judgment, where good rewards shall be given to the righteous, and the impious shall be punished; and there is no respect of persons in judgment: but because my works were better and more precious than thine, my oblation was received with complacency.—And because of these things they contended on the face of the field; and Cain rose up against his brother Hebel, and struck a stone into his forehead, and killed him.—See both *Targums* on the place in *Walton's Bib. Polyglott* vol. iv.

I shall make no comment on this, but only observe, that these ancient authors supposed that the first murder committed in the world was the consequence of a religious dispute; he who had the weakest argument and the most power, chose to use the latter for the destruction of his opponent. The following work will shew, that on this very ground every persecution for conscience sake has regularly proceeded, from that time to the present day.

*The first general STATE PERSECUTION of the People of God.*

IN the reign of Pharaoh, surnamed *Ramesses Miumun*, king of Egypt, about A. M. 2298, a famine happened in the land of Egypt, which extended through Canaan, &c. Its evil effects had been in a great measure counteracted in Egypt, by the foresight and good management of Joseph, as may be seen at large in Gen. xli. who had before been raised up, by the providence of God, to be chief governor in that land. The famine having been exceedingly severe in the land of Canaan, Jacob sent his sons to Egypt to buy corn. How they became known to their brother, and how Jacob and his family, seventy souls in all, Gen. xlv. 27. were brought into Egypt, where they dwelt long in great peace and prosperity, are particularly mentioned in the sacred writings. See Gen. xlv. to l.

Ramesses Miumun dying after having reigned about sixty-six years, was succeeded by *Pharaoh Amenophis*, who was the king the scripture says *knew not Joseph*. Observing that the Hebrews had increased greatly, and enjoyed much prosperity; fearing their influence, and hating their religion; he determined on a mode of eventually destroying them, without appearing to proceed to acts of open hostility. He ordered *Egyptian* midwives to attend all the Hebrew women in time of travail, with the strictest injunctions to destroy all the male children as soon as born. Besides this, he enslaved all the people, causing Israel, says the scripture, Exod. i. 13, 14. *to serve with rigour, making their lives bitter with hard bondage, in mortar, and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field: and all the service that they made them to serve was with rigour*, i. e. was accomplished with great oppression, and acts of unheard-of cruelty. See Exod. v. 5—14.

*Josephus*, Antiq. b. 2. c. 9. gives us farther information concerning this *state persecution*. "The Egyptians (says he) forced the Israelites to learn several painful trades, and tied them up to a perpetual restlessness of labour. They obliged them to drain rivers into channels, wall towns, and cast up dikes and banks to keep off the inundations of the Nile. They set them also (says he) to build pyramids." It is true, there are some who argue that the Egyptian pyramids are of a much later date; but as there are several of them, perhaps nearly a hundred, great and small, some of them were probably built at this time; and indeed this is the opinion of some very eminently learned men. It is likely then that some of those pyramids, which are deservedly ranked among the wonders of the world, are proofs not only of the severe labour the people of God were obliged to go through, but also of their consummate skill in architecture; and standing monuments of God's providential goodness in supporting and preserving his people, when every thing seemed to conspire their utter extirpation. It is generally allowed, that *Amenophis* (which was the name of that Pharaoh who persecuted the Israelites) built several pyramids, and particularly the *great pyramid*, which is still standing. Pliny says, *Hist. Nat. lib. ii. c. 12*: that three hundred and sixty-six thousand men were employed twenty years in building of this pyramid; and that, during the building of this and two others, there was not less than *one thousand eight hundred talents* expended in *radish, garlic, and onions*, for the workmen. These three hundred and sixty-six thousand men were in all likelihood *Israelites*, and were as many as could be spared from their slavish employments; and it is likely that the *radish, garlic, and onions*, mentioned by Pliny, were the whole of the food with the addition of melons and some fish; Numb. xi. 4. *these persecuted people had from their crust of bread*. Hence we may learn how much they had degenerated afterwards, when they preferred the *onions and garlic*

which they had in Egypt, to the *manna* which God sent; Numb. xi. 5. In other words, they became so corrupt, that they were capable of preferring their Egyptian bondage, to the service of the Lord of hosts! But to return to their persecuted state: We find that the *cunning and malice* of the king, the *unreasonableness and cruelty* of their *task-masters*, and the *scantiness* of their *fare*, could not prevail against them; for that God, in whom they put their trust, undertook for them, and brought them out of the house of bondage by the most signal display of his power and goodness, after their persecutors had been scourged with *ten grievous plagues*, and at last the impious king, with all his host, (while meditating the blow of utter excision against these followers of Jehovah,) were overwhelmed by his power in the waters of the Red Sea.

Such has been the end of the persecutors of the people and truth of the Most High in all ages; and such *must* be their lot: for he who opposes the truth, opposes the God of truth; and he who contends against Omnipotence, must certainly be cut off. As this was the *first CHURCH* of God established in the world, what happened to it may be considered as *typical* of what should happen to the true church, to the conclusion of the world; and teaches us what true religion had to expect from heathen emperors and kings, impious magistrates, corrupt judges, and Christless popes; and the event has fully proved, that succeeding persecutors have not only acted on the same principles, but have improved on the murderous schemes of their cruel predecessors; for as the religion of Christ gave no quarter to vice, the vicious have never given any quarter to religion.

The deliverance of the Israelites from their Egyptian bondage happened in the 2513th year from the creation of the world, about 1490 years before Christ.

This persecution, like every succeeding one, was both *wicked and impolitic*. The Egyptians owed the salvation of their country to the Israelites; and Pharaoh owed his crown and all its splendour to the wise and politic management of Joseph, Gen. xlvii. 13—26. To *forget* such benefits, was *abominable*; and to *persecute* the authors of them to *death*, was the *excess of cruelty*.

But it was not less *impolitic* than wicked. The Israelites, by their numbers, were a great accession to the strength of the country; and there was nothing to be dreaded from their multitudes, as the religion they professed would never permit them either to rebel against, or to injure, the state. When they were numbered after their expulsion from Egypt, they amounted to six hundred and three thousand five hundred and fifty persons, from twenty years old and upwards, Num. i. 46. not reckoning the tribe of Levi, nor the many thousands of young people. What a stroke was this to the population, the strength, and wealth, of the kingdom! A blow which, in the nature of things, the nation could not recover from for some centuries. One would have imagined, that the bad success of this *state persecution* would have prevented its repetition in any nation, where the history that recorded it was publicly and commonly read. But the following truth shows that it was repeated, and re-repeated, even in Christian countries, and with the same bad success in the beginning. The persecutors lost their strength and their numbers; and the cause of the persecuted was strengthened by the unprovoked sufferings of its votaries; and gained in numbers and respectability. But such is the carnal mind against God and his truth, that it will persecute, not only at the risk of its own ruin, but with the manifest injury of their *several nations*. See the fully exemplified in the consequences of the revocation of the

Edict of Nantz in 1615, and in every state persecution, where those who took joyfully the spoiling of their goods, rather than defile their consciences, were obliged to seek refuge in other nations, whither they carried their *arts* and *sciences*, and thereby added both to the *population* and *prosperity* of those countries which opened the arms of benevolence to receive them.

*Martyrdom of NABOTH the Jezreelite.*

**NABOTH** was an Israelite, of the city of Jezreel, and lived under the government of Ahab, king of Israel, in the year of the world 3105, about eight hundred and ninety-nine years before Christ. The sacred text informs us, that he possessed a vineyard contiguous to the king's palace, 1 Kings xxi. 1, &c. which was a part of his paternal inheritance, i. e. the lot that fell to his ancestors when the promised land was divided among the tribes and families, according to the command of God.

Abah required him to *sell* this vineyard to him, or *exchange* it for another; desiring to make a kitchen or pleasure garden of it; probably because the addition of it to his own gardens would make them have a more finished appearance. This; Naboth positively refused, on the ground that it would be a *sin against God* for him to alienate from his family the inheritance of his fathers. To understand the ground of his refusal the better, we must observe, that the law, Lev. xxv. 23, 24. had forbidden the Israelites to alienate their lands, unless in cases of the utmost necessity; and even then, they were allowed to redeem them continually; and God, by the institution of *jubilee*, had provided that no land should be ultimately alienated from the family to which the divine ordinance had originally given it; as in that year, which was every fiftieth, each person was allowed to re-enter on his inheritance, which could not have been the case with Naboth or his family, had he agreed to deliver up his vineyard to the king, either in the way of *sale* or *exchange*. Besides, it was not only a *sin against God*, but it was a kind of *infamy* for an Israelite to *sell* the inheritance of his fathers. Naboth, therefore, who appears to have truly feared God, chose rather to expose himself to the king's resentment, than to do a thing dishonourable in itself, and contrary to the law of his God, and the custom of his country.

Despotic and wicked as Ahal was, it appears he could not, consistently with the then existing laws, force Naboth to give up the vineyard; but his covetousness and pride were so hurt with this unexpected refusal, that, deeply affected, he went home, threw himself upon his bed, turned his face to the wall, and refused to eat. Jezebel his wife, who appears to have been a monster of iniquity, and highly qualified for every species of criminality, having learned the cause of his distress, reproved him for not fulfilling his own will in this matter, saying, he had the supreme authority in his hand, 1 Kings xxi. 7; and immediately shewed him how she could get him in possession of the vineyard of Naboth, without any difficulty. She therefore wrote letters to the elders, the magistrates, of the city of Jezreel, and sealed them with her own seal, commanding them to proclaim a public fast, which ranked in an elevated station among the chiefs of the nation. He then procured witnesses against him, who should declare that Ahal and Abimelech, God and the King, &c. was dead, and so he was buried, and returned to his palace, entirely satisfied with his success. Jezebel did what this wicked man could not do, there the innocent and righteous man was murdered, and the wife of the king was made a witness against him, and the wife of the king was made a witness against him.

death. When this martyrdom was completed, there remained no obstacle but God's justice, in this wicked king's way to the possession of the vineyard : for as Naboth had been condemned and executed as having been guilty of *high treason*, consequently his goods and estates were forfeited to the crown.

Though God did not see proper to restrain these wicked men, but permitted his faithful servant to be hurried thus into his glory, yet the eye of his justice was open on all their proceedings. As Ahab was preparing to go down to take possession of the vineyard, God commanded the prophet Elijah to meet him on the way, and to inform him, that his iniquity was known to the Most High, and that divine justice would require blood for blood. Therefore, said the prophet, (ver. 19.) *Thus saith the Lord, In the place where dogs licked the blood of Naboth, shall dogs lick thy blood, even thine :* and of Jezebel the Lord spoke also, saying, *The dogs shall eat Jezebel by the wall of Jezreel,* ver. 23. And this was literally accomplished, as may be seen, 1 Kings xxii. 37, 38, and 2 Kings ix. 30—37. From all this we learn, that though, for wise reasons, God may permit his faithful servants to seal the truth with their blood, and thus go the nearest road to glory, yet those who stretch out their hands against them, do it to their own ruin : for the persecutors of his truth and followers shall ultimately fall by his wrathful indignation.

***Martyrdom of ZACHARIAH the High-priest.***

ZACHARIAH was the son of Jehoiada, high-priest of the Jews, who, with his wife Jehoshabeath, preserved Joash, son of Ahaziah, king of Judah, from the fury of Athaliah: See 2 Chron. xxii. 10, 11. On the death of Jehoiada, Zachariah succeeded him in the high-priest's office. In his time the house of Judah departed grievously from God, and served Ashtaroath and Baalim: the princes and rulers of the people were chief in this apostasy, and utterly perverted the worship of the true God. God sent prophets to testify against them, but they would not hear. "Then the Spirit of God came upon Zachariah, who stood above the people, and said unto them, Why transgress ye the commandments of the Lord, that ye cannot prosper? because ye have forsaken the Lord, he hath forsaken you." This faithful reprove was not long permitted to vindicate the injured rights of his Lord and Master. Joash, the king, unmindful of the kindness of Jehoiada, the prophet's father, who not only saved his life, but raised him also to the throne of Judah, conspired with the princes against him; and his guards, at his command, slew him to death, even in the court of the Lord's house! His dying words were, *The Lord will look upon and reward me*; and this was soon fulfilled, for at the end of the year he sent the army of Syria against Judah and Jerusalem, who destroyed all the princes of the people, and sent all the people of them to the king of Damascus, 2 Chron. xxi. 24. — He himself did not escape; the Lord plagued him with great diseases, and his own servants conspired against him, and slew him, ver. 25. and the inspired penman states, that the judgment came upon him because of the blood of the son of Jehoiada, the priest, which he had shed.

It is supposed that our Lord refers to the martyrdom of this holy man, Matt. xxiii. 35, whom he there calls *the son of Barnabas*. In the vindication of this opinion may be observed - First, That *our Lord* was the same among the Jews, compare 1 Sam. ix. 1, with 1 Chron. xii. 20, whence it appears that the father of King David was called *Barnabas*.

Abiel and Ner. Matthew is called Levi, compare Matt. ix. 9. with Mark ii. 14. So Peter was named Simon; and Lebbeus was called Thaddeus, Matt. x. 2, 3.

Secondly, St. Jerom observes, that the Hebrew copy of St. Matthew's Gospel read Jehoiada, instead of Barachiah.

Thirdly, Jehoiada and Barachiah have the same meaning; both signifying, in Hebrew, *the praise or blessing of Jehovah*.

Fourthly, as the Lord *required* the blood of Zachariah so fully, that in a year all the princes of Judah and Jerusalem were destroyed by the Syrians, and Joash, who commanded the murder to be executed, slain by his own servants, as before related, and the Jewish state grew worse and worse, till at last the temple was burned, and the people carried into captivity by Nebuzaradan: so, our Lord said, it should be with the Jews of his time; the Lord, after the crucifixion of Christ, would *visit* upon them the murder of all those righteous men, from Abel to Zachariah, that their state should grow worse and worse, till at last the temple should be burned, and they and their princes should be finally ruined by the Romans.

From all which it appears, that it is the same person who is spoken of by the writer of the book of Chronicles, and by our Lord, though the name be a little different in *sound*, while the *sense* is precisely the *same*.

Zachariah was martyred A. M. 3164, about eight hundred and forty years before Christ.

### *Martyrdom of ISAIAH.*

ISAIAH the prophet, the son of Amos, began to prophesy at the conclusion of the reign of Uziah, and continued till some time in the beginning of the reign of Manasseh: This prince succeeded his pious father Hezekiah, but did not tread in his steps. He did nothing but what was evil in the sight of the Lord; he worshipped idols, and rebuilt the idolatrous temples which his father had destroyed; and even built altars to idols in the very temple of God! He caused his son to pass through the fire to Moloch, used enchantments, dealt with familiar spirits, and seduced the people so much, that they became more scandalous and impious in their conduct, than the idolatrous nations which God had cast out. See 2 Kings xxi. 1—11. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 1—4. To all these iniquities he added the persecuting the followers of God unto death; for it is said, that he shed innocent blood so much, that he filled Jerusalem from one end to the other, 2 Kings xxi. 16. These *innocents*, we may presume, were those who continued faithful to the Lord, and were steadfast in his covenant.

It is a regular tradition, both among Jews and Christians, that the prophet Isaiah reproved, and denounced the judgments of the Lord against, these enormities; in consequence of which this impious king caused him to be *cut asunder* with a wooden saw. Origen, Tertullian, Justin Martyr, Chrysostom, Jerom, and Augustin, have all handed down this account to us. It is said, that the pretence made use of by this wicked king for the murder of this holy man, was an *examination* made use of by him, chap. vi. 1. *I saw the Lord sitting in the throne*; Therefore (said the impious king) you must be put to death, for God hath said to Moses, Exod. xxiii. 20. *No man shall see me, and live*. Thus, as in numerous succeeding cases, the scriptures of truth were perverted, to afford persecutors the colour of a pretence for shedding the blood of the saints of the Most High! Isaiah was martyred A. M. 3306, about six hundred and eighty years before Christ.

### *Martyrdom of URIJAH the Prophet.*

AMONG the righteous men who suffered for their fidelity to God, under the Israelitish kings, Urijah deserves to occupy a distinguished place. We know nothing of this person, but what is noted in the twenty-sixth chapter of the prophet Jeremiah. He is there said to be the son of Shemaiah, of Kirjathjearim; that he prophesied in the name of the Lord against Jerusalem, and against the land, according to all the words of Jeremiah. It appears that he had boldly denounced the judgments of God against the wickedness of the nation, in the presence of king Jehoiakim and his princes. Jehoiakim was incensed at this liberty, and determined to slay the prophet. Urijah got notice of the murderous intention of the king, time enough to effect his escape into Egypt. Jehoiakim, who was a most vile character, cruel, covetous, oppressive, and a shedder of innocent blood, Jer. xxii. 17, was determined to extinguish this light of Israel. He accordingly sent a troop of men, under the command of Elnathan, son of Achbor, to seize Urijah in Egypt, and bring him back to Jerusalem: this was accordingly done, and Urijah, by the king's commandment, was slain by the sword, and his dead body cast into the graves of the common people; being denied that decent and honourable burial with which the prophets of God had been honoured in the times in which the word and ordinances of God were respected among the Jews. This wicked king did not escape from divine justice. Jeremiah prophesied, chap. xxii. 18, 19, that he should die unlamented, have the burial of an ass, and be drawn and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem. Thus every act of *disrespect* and *cruelty* towards this righteous man met with its just recompense. He slew the prophet of God with the sword; and the Lord slew him by the sword of the Chaldeans. He refused the prophet a decent burial; and the Lord caused him to be buried like a dead ass. Calmet says, he was thrown into a common sewer, without the walls of Jerusalem; see his Dictionary. Josephus, Antiq. lib. x. c. 6, says, Nebuchadnezzar slew him, and commanded him to be thrown before the walls, without any burial.

The martyrdom of Urijah happened A. M. 3396, and about 605 years before Christ.

### *Martyrdom of a Woman and her seven Sons, taken from Josephus.*

WHEN the tyrant Antiochus had seated himself on a tribunal, surrounded by his counsellors, and a strong body of armed men, he commanded many of the Hebrews to be brought by force before him, and compelled them to eat of swine's flesh, and meats offered to idols, upon pain of the torture in case of a refusal.

In compliance with this order, there were brought before the tyrant seven sons, and their mother, who was very old. The men, from the symmetry of their form, and elegance of their deportment, attracted his notice; and therefore, after beholding them with a sort of approbation, he thus accosted them.

"I invite you to comply with me, under an assurance of my particular friendship, for I have it in my power to oblige and advance them that obey me, in as eminent a manner as I have to punish those who withstand my commands. Be assured, then, you shall not fail of preferments, but be places of honour and profit under me, provided you will renounce your country's customs, and be content to live after the Greek manner; but if I assure you, that in case of disobedience, you have nothing to expect but racks, tortures, and death."



The tyrant had no sooner thus spoken, than he commanded the instruments of torture to be produced, in order to work the more strongly on their fears. When the guards had set before the brethren the wheels, racks, manacles, combustible matter, and other instruments of horror and execution, Antiochus, taking the advantage of the impression he supposed this spectacle would make, once more applied to them to this effect: "Young men, consider the consequences; your compliance is no longer a wilful offence; you may rest assured that the Deity you worship will consider your case, in being compelled to violate your law." But they were so far from being terrified at the consequences of a refusal, that their resolutions became stronger! and through the power of reason, aided by religion, they secretly triumphed over his barbarity.

These intrepid youths, exulting in the magnanimity of their conduct, made Antiochus the following reply:

"To what purpose, O king, is this delay? If with design to know our final resolution, be assured we are ready to encounter death in its most frightful forms, rather than transgress the laws of our forefathers; for, besides the reverence due to their example on other accounts, this is what our obedience to the law, and the precepts of Moses, particularly requires from us. Do not then attempt any more to persuade us to apostasy: do not put on a counterfeit pity for those who know you hate them; even death itself is more supportable than such an insulting dissembling compassion, as would save our lives with the loss of our innocence. Try us, therefore, and see if it be in your power to destroy our souls, when we suffer in the cause of God and religion. Your cruelty cannot hurt us; for all the effect our pains can have, will be, to secure us the glorious rewards due to unshaken patience and injured virtue."

The tyrant, enraged at their contumacy, gave the word of command, and the guards immediately brought forth the *eldest* of the seven brethren; and having torn off his garment, and tied his hands behind, cruelly scourged him; and continued their lashes till they were tired: but it availed nothing. They then put him on the wheel, where his body being extended, he underwent the severest tortures of the rack. They then put fire under him, and exposed his body as much extended as possible to the devouring flames, inasmuch that he exhibited a spectacle horrible beyond description; and thus continued till nothing was left of the human form but a skeleton of broken bones.

This brave youth was not heard to utter a single groan; he bore his torments with such invincible fortitude, as if he had been translated to immutability in the midst of the flames.

The guards now advanced with the *second* brother, and fixed his hands in manacles of iron; but before they put him to the rack, they demanded if he would accept the conditions? Finding by his reply that he possessed the same resolution as his brother, they tore off his flesh with pincers, and flayed the skin off his face and head. He bore his torture with singular magnanimity, saying, "How welcome is death in any form, when we suffer for our religion and laws!"

The *third* brother was next produced, and pressed with arguments and entreaties to preserve life. But he nobly replied, with some vehemence, "Are you ignorant that I am the son of the same father and the same mother, with those that went before me? Shall I then, at this awful period, renounce the honour of that alliance? The same institutions were taught us all; and I will abide by them while I breathe." The tyrant, at this speech, enraged, the executioners, who to express their malice and resentment, stretched his hands

and his feet on the engine, and broke them to pieces; but when they found it did not deprive him of life, they drew off his skin at the ends of his fingers, and flayed him from the very crown of the head. Not content with mangling his body in this merciless manner, they dragged him to the wheel; where, being yet more distended, his flesh was torn from him, and streams of blood gushed from his body, till at last he expired.

The guards now produced the *fourth* brother, whom they persuaded to bethink himself, and be wiser than those who had gone before him. But his answer was, "Your fire has not heat enough in it to make me renounce my opinion. I solemnly vow I will not renounce the truth." Antiochus, on hearing these words, was so excessively enraged, that he gave immediate orders to have his tongue cut out; whereupon the intrepid youth thus proceeded,—“You may deprive me of the instrument of utterance; but that God who seeth the heart knows the inward sensations of the silent. Here is the member: you cannot by this act deprive me of reason. O that I could lose my life by inches, to support the cause of religion. Though you take away the tongue which chants the praises of God, remember that his high hand will very soon let its vengeance fall down on your guilty head!”

When this brother, quite exhausted with pain, and miserably mangled, had resigned his breath, the *fifth* instantly sprang forward of his own accord, exclaiming, "Prepare your torments! I am here ready to suffer the worst you can inflict. I come voluntarily to die in the cause of virtue: what have I done, wherein have I transgressed, to deserve this merciless treatment? Do we not worship the universal Parent of nature, according to his own decrees? Do we not act in conformity to the institution of his most holy law? These are truths that ought to meet with reward, instead of punishment."

While these words were in his mouth, the tormentors bound, and dragged him to the wheel; to which, fastening his knees with iron rings, they stretched him round the engine, and then broke his joints. Thus, after undergoing similar torments with his heroic brothers, he expired.

The *sixth* youth was then brought before Antiochus; and being asked by the tyrant whether he would accept deliverance on the terms afore-mentioned? resolutely answered, "It is true, indeed, I am younger than my brothers; but my mind is as firm as theirs was. We had all of us the same parents, and the same instructions; and it is but necessary that we should all die alike for them: therefore if you are determined to put me to the torment on my refusal to be tormented me at once!" Hereupon they fastened him to the wheel; and having broken his bones, put fire under him; the guards then heated their spears, and thrust them into his back and sides, till his very entrails were burnt up. In the midst of these torments he exclaimed, "O glorious company, in which so many brethren have engaged so victoriously for the sake of their religion. I will accompany my brothers, and relying on my God as my defence, cheerfully submit to death."

The sixth brother was at length despatched by being thrown into a boiling caldron; when the *seventh* and youngest appeared, whom the tyrant saw fettered and pained, his heart began to relent. Calling upon him therefore to approach the tribunal, he endeavoured to soothe him.

"You see what horrid kinds of deaths your brothers have undergone; but their disobedience and contumacy, have been the sole cause of all the torments and cruelties they have sustained. Yet you, if you obey not my commands, shall be exposed to the same, nay, worse torments, and so shall

premature death; but if you comply with my desires, I will take you into the number of my friends." Not content with these persuasions, he addressed himself to the mother with a seeming compassion for her loss, entreating her to prevail upon her child, in pity to her at least, to save this small remnant of the family. But his mother addressed him in the Hebrew tongue, and exhorted him to suffer. Upon this he suddenly exclaimed, "Take off my fetters, for I have something to communicate to the king and all his friends." The king and his nobles hearing this promise, seemed greatly rejoiced, and his chains were immediately knocked off. Taking the advantage of this circumstance, he thus exclaimed:

"Tyrant! have you no fears nor apprehensions in your mind, after having received at the hands of the Almighty the kingdom and riches you enjoy, than to put to death his servants, and torment his worshippers? Is your conscience touched with no scruples, thus to deprive of their tongues those who share alike the same nature and passions with you? My brothers have undergone a glorious death, and shewn how much their piety and uprightness were for the honour of the true religion. For this reason I will suffer death, and in my last pangs discover how much my desire was to follow the brave example of my brothers. I beg and entreat the God of my fathers, that he would be propitious and merciful to our nation." Having finished his address, he instantly threw himself into the boiling caldron, and expired.

The dauntless mother of these young men, after being scourged and otherwise severely tortured by order of Antiochus, finished her existence by voluntarily throwing herself into the flames.

### *Life and Martyrdom of JOHN the BAPTIST.*

JOHN THE BAPTIST, the forerunner of our Lord Jesus Christ, and son of Zachariah and Elizabeth, was born about six months before our Saviour. His birth was foretold by an angel, sent on purpose to deliver this joyful message, when his mother Elizabeth was barren, and both his parents well stricken in years. The same divine messenger foretold, that he should be great in the sight of the Lord, and should neither drink wine nor strong drink; that he should be filled with the Holy Ghost, even from his mother's womb; that he should convert many of the Jews, and prepare the way of the Lord; and should be the greatest of all the prophets, Luke i. 7, 10, 15.

St. Chrysostom and St. Jerome believe, that John was brought up from his infancy in the wilderness; but Paulinus informs us, that he spent the first five years of his life in his father's house; and when he had learned the law, and his body was fortified by a maturity of life, he retired into the wilderness, where he fed upon wild honey and locusts, and was clothed with camel's hair, and a leathern girdle, which he wore about his loins, Matt. iii. 4. and xi. 18.

About the twenty-eighth year of the Christian æra, this holy forerunner began to exercise his ministry, by publishing the coming of the Messiah. He went therefore to the country about Jordan: and beyond this river preached repentance, saying, that the kingdom of heaven was at hand, that the axe was already laid to the root of the tree; giving to all persons who came to see him such instructions as were necessary in their respective conditions. He obliged them to confess their sins, and at the same time baptized them in the river Jordan, telling them, that they should believe in him who came after him, who would baptize them with the Holy Ghost and with fire, and would grant to them the pardon of their sins. From

this baptism St. John derives the surname of Baptist, or Baptizer. There were some persons who adhered to him, and became his disciples, John i. 37--40. and Luke xi. 1. exercising themselves in acts of repentance, and preaching it to others; and some of his disciples afterwards followed our Saviour.

The virtue of John Baptist was so eminent throughout all the country, that many of the Jews took him for the Messiah; but he plainly declared that he was not so, Luke iii. 15. Nevertheless, he was not as yet acquainted with the person of Jesus Christ; only the Holy Ghost had told him, that this was he whom he should see the Holy Spirit descend and rest upon, John i. 31--34. And when Jesus Christ came to present himself, in order to receive baptism from him, as well as other Jews, John, who by the assistance of supernatural light discerned who he was, excused himself, saying, I stand in need rather of being baptized and purified by thee, Matt. iii. 13, 14, 15. But Jesus prevailed with him to baptize him, saying, that he would fulfil all righteousness. Some time after, the Jews sent a deputation to John, desiring to be informed whether he were the Messiah; but he answered, that he was not the Christ, nor Elias, nor a prophet; and that he was only the voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare the way of the Lord; that, besides, he whom they sought was in the midst of them, and they knew him not. The next day, Jesus coming to him, John said publicly, "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world." John i. 19, &c.

Herod Antipas having married his brother's wife while he was yet living, had occasioned great scandal throughout all the land. John the Baptist spoke of it with his usual liberty and vigour, reprov'd Herod for it to his face, and told him, that it was not lawful for him to have his brother's wife, while his brother was yet alive. Herod, incensed at his freedom, commanded him to be taken into custody, and imprisoned in the castle of Machærus.

This in all probability happened about the end of the thirtieth year of the vulgar æra. Josephus relates the motives of his imprisonment thus: "John, surnamed the Baptist, was a man of great piety, who zealously exhorted the Jews to embrace righteousness, and to perform all the duties of justice to each other. He was followed by a great multitude of people, who were delighted with his discourses; and the Jews appeared disposed to enter upon any enterprise that he should recommend to them. Herod grew uneasy at it, and was apprehensive that he would stir up some sedition; he thought therefore it was necessary to prevent this evil, and so shut him up in prison." This, Herod might state in vindication of his conduct; but the true motive which led him to act thus, was that which has already been mentioned. John remained a good while in prison, and his disciples it appears were not prevented from visiting and conversing with their teacher. Even Herod respected and feared him, heard him often, and did many things which John commanded, but still retained his bosom sin. Herodias, his brother Philip's wife, whom he had forcibly taken from him, delighted more with her incestuous connexion with her brother-in-law, than with her husband, than with her lawful husband, still alive, was continually afraid lest Herod should set John at liberty, and was seeking a favourable opportunity of putting him to death. At last she met with it. Herod having made a great entertainment for his friends and nobles on his birth-day, his daughter Salomé, whom she had by Philip her lawful husband, into the hall, to dance before the king and his guests. She acquitted herself so much to the prince's liking, that he promised to give her any thing she should desire.

him. Having consulted with her mother Herodias, she desired her to ask the head of John the Baptist. She returned to the room where the company was entertained, and requested it. Herod was much disturbed at her request; but not daring to be worse than his word before his nobles, he sent an executioner, who struck off the head of this man of God in the prison, and it was given in a dish to Salome, who immediately carried it to her mother. St. Jerome relates, when Herodias received it, she drew out the tongue, and thrust it through with her bodkin!

What an awful price for a dance! the head of the greatest man that had lived from the foundation of the world! Behold here, ye parents, the fruits of elegant breeding, and accomplished dancing! Fix your eyes upon that *vicious mother*, that *prostituted daughter*, and especially on that *murdered ambassador of God*, and then determine, if you can, to send your children to *genteel boarding-schools*, to learn the *accomplishment of DANCING*!

As the ministry of John was a kind of connecting link between the Old and New Testaments; so his martyrdom was a sort of connecting link between the martyrs of the old and new covenants.

The Jews had such an opinion of this prophet's sanctity, 'at they ascribed the overthrow of Herod's army, which he had sent against his father-in-law, Aretas, to the just judgment of God for putting John the Baptist to death.

The death of John the Baptist happened, as is believed, about the end of the thirty-first year of the vulgar æra, or in the beginning of the thirty-second. The Greek and Latin churches celebrate the festival of St. John's beheading, on the 29th of August. The disciples of John being informed of his death, gave notice of it to Jesus Christ, and came and carried away his body, Matt. xiv. 12. The gospel does not tell where they buried him; but in the time of Julian the apostate, his tomb was shewn at Samaria, where the inhabitants of the country opened it, and burnt a part of his bones; the remainder were saved by some Christians, who carried them to an abbot of Jerusalem, named Philip. This abbot made a present of them to St. Athanasius, and St. Athanasius put them in a well, till they were lodged in a more honourable place. Some time after, Theodosius having demolished the temple of Berapis, a church was built in the room of it in honour of St. John the Baptist, and here these holy relics are said to have been placed in 395, or 396.

The Mahometans cite several expressions of the gospel, as used by St. John, which in reality were spoken by Jesus Christ; and they have composed dialogues between Jesus Christ and John the Baptist.

### *Life and Martyrdom of St. STEPHEN.*

STEPHEN, the first martyr, was probably of the number of those Hellenistical Jews that believed in Jesus Christ. Epiphanius thinks he was of the number of the seventy-two disciples; but this is not very certain. Jesus Christ appointed his seventy-two disciples to teach and preach; but it seems that St. Stephen, and the six other first deacons, had as yet no particular designation, when they were chosen for the service of the tables. It was in the year fifty-three of Jesus Christ, that the seven deacons were chosen. St. Stephen is always placed at their head, as their chief and most worthy. It is believed that he studied at the feet of Gamaliel. As he was full of the Holy Ghost and of zeal, &c. he performed many wonderful works in his story. He was the first of the apostles who occupied at Rome, of the apostles, of the mission, only for preaching and suffering.

into dispute with him, could not withstand the wisdom and the spirit that spoke from his mouth.

Then they suborned false witnesses, to testify, that they heard him blasphemize against Moses, and against God, and they stirred up the people by their calumnies, so that they drew him before the council of the nation, or the Sanhedrim; and they produced false witnesses against him, who deposed, that they had heard him speak against the temple, and against the law, and affirmed that Jesus of Nazareth would destroy the holy place, and abolish the observance of the law of Moses. Stephen appeared in the midst of the assembly, having his countenance shining like that of an angel; and the high-priest asking what he had to answer to these accusations, Acts vii. 1, 2, 3, &c. he made his defence, in which he shewed he had not said any thing, either against Moses or the temple, but that the Jews themselves had always opposed themselves to God and the prophets; he upbraided them with the hardness of their hearts, with their putting the prophets of God to death, and lastly, Jesus Christ himself.

At these words they were in a rage, and gnashed their teeth against him. But Stephen, lifting up his eyes to heaven, saw the glory of God, and Jesus Christ standing at the right hand of God. Upon which he said, I see the heavens open, and the Son of man standing at the right hand of God! Then the Jews cried out against him with one voice, stopped their ears, as if they had heard some dreadful blasphemy, and, falling upon him, they drew him out of the city, and stoned him. The witnesses laid down their clothes at the feet of a young man, whose name was Saul, who was then one of the most eager persecutors of the Christians, and who was afterward one of the most zealous preachers of the gospel. Stephen, all the time that they stoned him, called upon the Lord, and said, Lord, impute not this sin to them; after which words he gave up the ghost; and some pious persons took care to bury him, and to accompany his funeral with great mourning. Acts viii. 2.

As Abel was the first martyr of the Old Testament, so Stephen, four thousand years after, was the first martyr of the New. As Abel suffered first, through his faith in the sacrifice which in the fulness of time was to be offered for the sins of the world; so Stephen suffered in consequence of his faith in the sacrifice that, according to the prediction and type, had lately been offered up. As Abel's blood marked the way for the blood of the martyrs of the Old Covenant to flow in; so the blood of Stephen marked the way in which that of the New Covenant martyrs was to be shed. It is only the *true religion* that in every age can boast in the testimony of *Martyrs*.

### A GENERAL ACCOUNT OF THE PERSECUTIONS RAISED AGAINST THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH; THE MARTYRDOM OF SEVERAL OF THE EVANGELISTS, DEACONS, &c. AND THE JUDGMENTS INFLICTED ON THE PERSECUTING ROMAN EMPERORS.—FROM MR. FOX'S MARTYROLOGY.

AT the first preaching of Christ, and coming of the Jews, who should rather have known and received him than the Pharisees and Scribes of that people which had his law, yet who persecuted and rejected him more than they? Who followed? They, in refusing Christ to be their king, and choosing rather to be subject unto Cæsar, were by Christ length destroyed; whereas Christ's subjects the same have escaped the danger. Whence it is to be learned, what a glorious thing it is to relate the gospel of God, when it is so gently offered.

The like example of God's wrath is to be noted no less in the Romans themselves. For when Tiberius Cæsar, having received letters from Pontius Pilate concerning the acts of Christ, his miracles, resurrection, and ascension into heaven, and how he was received as God by many, was himself also moved with belief of the same, and did confer thereof with the whole Senate of Rome, to have Christ adored as God: they not agreeing thereunto, refused him, because that, contrary to the law of the Romans, he was consecrated (said they) for God before the Senate of Rome had so decreed and approved him, &c. *Tertul. Apol. cap. 5.* Thus the vain Senate, following rather the law of man than of God, and which were contented with the emperor to reign over them, and were not contented with the meek King of glory, the Son of God, to be their king; were, like the Jews, scourged and entrapped for their unjust refusing, by the same way which they themselves did prefer. For as they preferred the emperor, and rejected Christ; so the just permission of God did stir up their own emperors against them in such sort, that both the senators themselves were almost all devoured, and the whole city most horribly afflicted for the space almost of three hundred years together. For, first, the same Tiberius, which for a great part of his reign was a moderate and a tolerable prince, afterward was to them a cruel tyrant, who neither favoured his own mother, nor spared his own nephews, nor the princes of the city, such as were his own counsellors, of whom, to the number of twenty, he left only two or three alive: and so cruel was he to the city, that, as the story recordeth, *Nullus a pœna hominum cessabat dies, ne religiosus quidem ac sacer.* Suetonius reporteth him to be so stern of nature, and tyrannical, that in the time of his reign very many were accused, and condemned, with their wives and children; maids also first deflowered, then put to death. In one day, twenty persons were drawn to the place of execution. By whom also, through the just punishment of God, Pilate, under whom Christ was crucified, was apprehended and accused at Rome, deposed, then banished to the town of Lyons, and at length slew himself. Neither did Herod and Caiaphas long escape; of whom more followeth hereafter. Agrippa also by him was cast into prison, though he was afterward restored. In the reign of Tiberius, the Lord Jesus, the Son of God, in the four and thirtieth year of his age, which was the seventeenth of this emperor, by the malice of the Jews suffered his blessed passion, for the conquering of sin, death, and Satan the prince of this world, and rose again the third day. After whose blessed passion and resurrection, this aforesaid Tiberius Nero (otherwise called Biberius Mero) lived ~~in years~~, during which time no persecution was yet stirring in Rome against the Christians, through the commandment of the emperor.

In the reign also of this emperor, and the year after the passion of our Saviour, or somewhat more, St. Paul was converted to the faith. After the death of Tiberius, when he had reigned three and twenty years, succeeded C. Cæsar Caligula, Claudius Nero, and Domitius Nero; which three were likewise such scourges to the senate and people of Rome, that the first not only took other men's wives violently from them, but also deflowered three of his own sisters, and afterward banished them. So wicked was he, that he commanded himself to be worshipped as God, and temples to be erected in his name, and used to sit in the temple among the gods, requiring his image to be set up in all temples, and ~~also in the temple at Jerusalem~~; which caused great disturbance among the Jews, and then began the abomination of desolation to be set up in the holy place, spoken of in the gospel. His cruelty was such towards the Romans, that he wished all the people of Rome had but one neck, that he might at once

blow destroy such a multitude. By this said Caligula, Herod, the murderer of John the Baptist, and condemner of Christ, was sentenced to perpetual banishment, where he died miserably. Caiaphas also was the same time removed from the high-priesthood, and Jonathan put in his place. The raging fierceness of this Caligula, incensed against the Romans, had not thus ceased, had not he been cut off by the hands of a tribune and other gentlemen, which slew him in the fourth year of his reign. After his death, two little libels were found in his closet, one called a *Sword*, the other a *Dagger*: in the which libels were contained the names of those senators and noblemen of Rome whom he had purposed to put to death. Besides this Sword and Dagger, there was also found a coffer, wherein divers kinds of poisons were kept in glasses and vessels for the purpose, to destroy a wonderful number of people; which poisons afterwards being thrown into the sea, destroyed a great number of fish.—*Gofri. Viterb.*

But that which this Caligula had only conceived, the same the other two which came after brought to pass. Claudius Nero reigned in Rome. So prodigious a monster of nature was he, more like a beast, yea, rather a devil, than a man, that he seemed to be born for the destruction of men. Such was his monstrous uncleanness, that he abstained not from his own mother, his natural sister, nor any degree of kindred. Such was his wretched cruelty, that he caused to be put to death his mother, his brother-in-law, his sister, his wife great with child, all his instructors, Seneca and Lucan, with divers more of his own kindred. Moreover, he commanded Rome to be set on fire in twelve places, and so continued it six days and seven nights in burning, while that he, to see the example how Troy burned, sung the verses of Homer. And to avoid the infamy thereof, he laid the fault upon the Christians, and caused them to be persecuted.—This miserable emperor reigned fourteen years, till at last the senate proclaimed him a public enemy to mankind, condemned him to be drawn through the city, and to be whipped to death. For the fear whereof, he flying the hands of his enemies, in the night escaped to a manor of his servant's in the country, where he was forced to slay himself, complaining that he had then neither friend nor enemy left that would do so much for him. In the latter end of this Domitius Nero, Peter and Paul were put to death for the testimony and faith of Christ, A. D. 68.

This may be seen more especially by the destruction of the Jews, who about this time, in the year 73, about forty years after the passion of Christ, were destroyed by Titus and Vespasian his father, to the number of 110,000, besides them which Vespasian slew in subduing the country of Galilee, over and besides those which were sent into vile slavery, to the number of 17,000. Two thousand were brought with Titus in his triumph, of which he gave part to be devoured of wild beasts, and the rest were otherwise put to death.

And as this wrathful vengeance of God thus hath been shewed upon his rebellious people, both of the Jews and of the Romans, for their contempt of Christ, whom God so punished by their own emperors; so neither the emperors themselves, for persecuting Christ in his members, received without their just reward. For among so many emperors which put so many Christian martyrs to death, during the space of these first three hundred years, few or none of them escaped punishment. First, of poisoning of Tiberius, and in the slaughter of the other three Neros after him, which has already been noted. After Nero, Domitius Gaius, within seven months, to slay by Otho. And so did Otho himself slay himself, so much by Vitellius. And Vitellius was shortly combed to give her the city of Rome, and then was slain by the soldiers. After Titus, a great



[illegible]

And thus have we briefly collected out of the chronicles the unquiet and miserable state of the emperors of Rome, until the time of Constantine, with the examples, no less terrible than manifest, of God's severe justice upon them, for their contemptuous refusing and persecuting the faith and name of Christ their Lord.

The like examples I could also infer of this our country of England, concerning the terrible plagues of God against the churlish and unthankful refusing or abusing the benefit of his truth. First, we read how that God stirred up Gildas to preach to the old Britons, and to exhort them unto repentance and amendment of life, and to warn them of plagues to come if they repented not. What availeth it? Gildas was laughed to scorn, and taken for a false prophet and a malicious preacher. The Britons with unrepentant hearts went forth to sin, and to offend the Lord their God. What followed? God sent in their enemies on every side, and destroyed them, and gave the land to other nations. Not many years past, God, seeing idolatry, superstition, hypocrisy, and wicked living, used in this realm, raised up that godly learned man, *John Wickliff*, to preach unto our fathers repentance, and to exhort them to amend their lives, to forsake their Papistry and idolatry, their hypocrisy and superstition, and to walk in the fear of God. His exhortations were not regarded, he with his sermons was despised: his books, and he himself, after his death, were burnt. What followed? They slew their right king, and set up three wrong kings, under whom all they of noble blood were slain, and half the commons, some in France, and some by their own sword in fighting among themselves for the crown; and the cities and towns were decayed, and the land brought half to a wilderness in respect of what it was before. But this by the way of digression. It remaineth, that as I have set forth the justice of God upon these Roman persecutors; so now we declare their persecutions raised up against the people and servants of Christ, within the space of three hundred years after Christ. Which persecutions are commonly counted to be ten, besides those persecutions first moved by the Jews in Jerusalem and other places against the apostles. In which, first St. Stephen the deacon was put to death, and divers others in the same time were either slain or cast into prison, whereof the history is plain in the Acts of the Apostles, set forth at large by St. Luke.

**Martyrdom of St. JAMES.**

AFTER the martyrdom of St. Stephen, James the holy apostle of Christ, and brother of John, suffered next. Of which James mention is made in the twelfth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. Where is declared, how that not long after the stoning of Stephen, king Herod stretched forth his hand, to take and afflict certain of the congregation; among whom James was one, whom he slew with the sword, &c. Of this James, Eusebius also makes mention, alleging Clement, who writing a memorable story of him. When James was brought to the tribunal, he that brought him (and was the cause of his trouble) seeing him about to be condemned, and that he should suffer death; as he went to the execution, being moved therewith in heart and conscience, confessed himself also of his own accord to be a Christian; and so were they led forth together, where in the way he desired of James to forgive him what he had done. After that James had a little parled with himself upon the matter, turning to him, he said, in the most affectionate manner, *Peace be to thee, brother, and I will forgive thee; and both were beheaded together, in the year of our Lord's birth and death, seven hundred and seventy-two.*



*Martyrdom of JAMES, the Brother of our Lord.*

Recorded by Clement and Hegesippus.

AFTER that Festus had sent the apostle Paul to Rome, after his appeal made at Cesarea, and that the Jews by this means had lost their hope of performing their malicious vow against him, they fell upon James, the brother of our Lord, who was bishop at Jerusalem, against whom they being bent with like malice, brought him forth before them, and required him to deny before all the people the faith of Christ. But he, otherwise than they looked for, freely and with great constancy before all the multitude confessed Jesus to be the Son of God, our Saviour, and our Lord. Whereupon, they not being able to abide the testimony of this man any longer, because he was thought to be the justest among them all, for the extent of divine wisdom and godliness which appeared in his life, they killed him, finding the more opportunity to accomplish their mischief, because the kingdom at that time was vacant. For Festus being dead in Jewry, the administration of that province was destitute of a ruler and a deputy. But after what manner James was killed, the words of Clement declare, that he was cast down from the pinnacle of the temple, and being smitten with the instrument of a fuller, was slain; but Hegesippus, who lived in the time next after the apostles, describeth the cause diligently in his fifth commentary, as follows:

James, the brother of our Lord, took in hand to govern the church after the apostles, being counted of all men, from the time of our Lord, to be a just and perfect man. Many and divers other James's there were beside him, but this was born holy from his mother's womb; he drank no wine, nor any strong drink, neither did he eat any living creature; the razor never came upon his head, he was not anointed with oil, neither did he use the bath; to him only was it lawful to enter into the holy place, neither was he clothed with woollen, but with silk; and he only entered into the temple, falling upon his knees, asking remission for the people, so that his knees, by kneeling lost the sense of feeling, being benumbed and hardened like the knees of a camel. He was (for worshiping God, and craving forgiveness for the people) called *just*, and for the excellency of his life, *Oblivion*, which signifies the safeguard and justice of him; the prophets declare of him; therefore when many of the people, which were among the people, asked him, *Where is Jesus should be?* he answered, *That he is dead.* Whereof some believed him to be Jesus Christ, said heretics neither believe the resurrection, neither shall come, which shall render unto every man according to his works; but as many as believe, they believed for James's sake. When many therefore of the princes did believe, there was a tumult made of the Scribes, Jews, and Pharisees, saying, *It is dangerous, lest that all the people do look for this Jesus; as for Christ.* Therefore they gathered themselves together, and said to James, *"We beseech thee restrain the people, for they believe in Jesus as though he were Christ; we pray thee persuade them all which come unto the feast of the passover of Jesus; for we are all obedient unto thee, and all people do testify of thee that thou art just, neither that thou dost respect the person of any man; therefore persuade the people that they be not deceived in Jesus; and we and all the people will obey thee."* Wherefore do thou stand upon the temple, that thy martyrdom be seen from above, and that the words might be replenished with people, for to thee shall be added all the tribes of Israel. And he, proceeding in his story, describeth how James was then occupied at Rome; and how he was then, not only for preaching new, but also

this people is led after Jesus, which is crucified, tell of what is Jesus crucified the doer." And he answered with a great voice, "What do you ask me of Jesus, the Son of man, seeing that he sitteth on the right hand of God, in heaven, and shall come in the clouds of the sky?" But when many were persuaded of this, they glorified God upon the witness of James, and said, "Hosanna in the highest to the Son of David!" Then the Scribes and Pharisees said among themselves, "We have done evil, that we have caused such a testimony of Jesus; but let us go up, and let us take him, that they, being compelled with fear, may deny that faith." And they cried, saying, "O! O! this just man is seduced!" and they fulfilled that scripture which is spoken of in Wisd. chap. x. *Let us take away the just man, because he is not profitable for us; wherefore let them eat the fruits of their works.* Therefore they went up to throw down the just man, and said among themselves, "Let us stone this just man James; and they took him to smite him with stones, for he was not yet dead when he was cast down. But he turning, fell down upon his knees, saying, "O Lord God, Father, I beseech thee to forgive them, for they know not what they do!"

But when they had smitten him with stones, one of the priests of the children of Rechas, the son of Charobim, spake to them the testimony which is in Jeremy the prophet, *Leave off, what do ye? The just man prayeth for you.* And one of those which were present took a fuller's club, wherewith they did use to beat and purge cloth, and smote the just man on his head, and so he finished his martyrdom; and they buried him in the same place, and his pillar abideth still by the temple. He was a true testimony to the Jews and the Gentiles. And shortly after, Vespasian, the emperor, destroying the land of Jewry, brought them into captivity.

This James was so notable a man, that for his justice he was had in honour of all men, inasmuch that the wise men of the Jews, shortly after his martyrdom, did impute the cause of the besieging of Jerusalem, and other calamities which happened unto them, to no other cause but unto the violence and injury done to this man. Also Josephus hath not left this out of his history, where he speaketh of him after this manner: "These things so chanced unto the Jews for a punishment, because of that just man, James, which was the brother of Jesus, whom they called Christ, for the Jews killed him, although he was a righteous man." *Joseph. lib. x.*

The same Josephus declareth his death in the same book and chapter, saying, "Caesar hearing of the death of Festus, sent Albinus the lieutenant into Jewry; but Ananias the younger, being bishop, and of the sect of the Sadducees, trusting that he had obtained a convenient time, seeing that Festus was dead, and Albinus entered on his journey, he called a council, and calling many unto him, among whom was James, by name, the brother of Jesus which is called Christ, he stoned them, accusing them as breakers of the laws."

Whereby it appeareth, that many others besides James, also at the same time were martyred and put to death among the Jews, for the faith of Christ.

## A DESCRIPTION OF THE TEN FIRST PERSECUTIONS OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH.

HAVING thus spoken of the Martyrdom of the Apostles, and the persecution by the Jews, now let us relate with brevity the persecutions raised by the Romans against the primitive Christians, during the space of three hundred years, till the coming of Constantine, which persecutions are reckoned by Eusebius, and most other writers, to have been ten in number.

It is astonishing to read of the vast numbers of Christian innocents that were slain and tormented, some one way, some another, as Rabanus saith, and saith truly, " Alii ferro perempti; alii flammis exusti; alii flagris verberati; alii vectibus perforati; alii cruciati patibulo; alii demersi pelagi periculo; alii vivi decoriati; alii vinculis mancipati; alii linguis privati; alii lapidibus obruti; alii frigore attriacti, alii fame cruciati; alii truncatis manibus, aliq. cæsis membris spectaculum contumeliæ nudi propter nomen Domini portantes, &c." that is, Some slain with sword; some burnt with fire; some scourged with whips; some stabbed with forks; some fastened to the cross or gibbet; some drowned in the sea; some flayed alive; some had their tongues cut out; some were stoned to death; some killed with cold; some starved with hunger; some had their hands cut off, or were otherwise dismembered, and so left naked to the contempt of the world, &c. Whereof Augustine also in his book *De Civit.* 22. cap. 6. thus saith, " Ligabantur, includebantur, cadebantur, multiplicabantur, non pugnantes pro salute, sed salutem contemnentes pro servatore." Yet notwithstanding the sharpness of so many and sundry torments, and cruelty of the tormentors, yet such was the number of these constant saints that suffered, or rather such was the power of the Lord in his saints, that as Jerome, in his epistle to Chromatius and Heliodorus, saith, " Nullius esset dies cui non ultra quinque millium numerum martyrum reperi posset ascriptus, excepto die calendarum Januarii;" that is, There is no day in the whole year, unto which the number of *five thousand* martyrs cannot be ascribed, except only the first day of January.

### *The First Persecution.*

THE first of these ten persecutions was stirred up by Nero Domitius, the sixth emperor before mentioned, about the year of our Lord 67. The tyrannous rage of which emperor was so fierce against the Christians, (as Eusebius relates,) that a man might then see cities lie full of men's bodies, the old there lying together with the young, and the dead bodies of women, cast out naked, in the open streets, &c. without any reverence of that sex. Likewise Orosius, writing of the said Nero, saith, that he was the first which in Rome did raise up persecution against the Christians; and not only in Rome, but also through the provinces thereof, thinking to abolish and to destroy the whole name of Christian in those places.

To this persecution, among many other saints, the blessed apostle PETER was condemned to death, and crucified, as some do write, at Rome; although some, and not without cause, do doubt thereof; concerning whose life and history because it is sufficiently described in the text of the gospel, and in the Acts of St. Luke, iv. v. xii. I need make no particular mention here. As touching the cause and manner of his death, the words of Jerome are these;—"Simon Peter, the son of Jona, of the province of Galilee, and of the town of Bethsaida, the brother of Andrew, &c. after he had been bishop of the church of Antioch, and had preached among the dispersion of them that believed of the circumcision, in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, in the second year of Claudius the emperor, (which was about the year of our Lord 41,) came to Rome to withstand Simon Magus, and kept the priestly chair the space of five and twenty years, unto the last year of the aforesaid Nero, which was the fourteenth year of his reign, of whom he was crucified, being laid down, and his feet upward; himself so requiring, because he was, he said, unworthy to be crucified after the same form and manner as the Lord was, &c." Hieronymus

prosecuting this matter something more at large, saith, That Simon Magus, being then a great man with Nero, was required upon a time to be present at the raising up of a certain noble young man in Rome, of Nero's kindred, lately departed : whereas Peter also was desired to come to the reviving of the said personage. But when Magus, in the presence of Peter, could not do it, then Peter, calling upon the name of the Lord Jesus, did raise him up, and restored him to his mother ; whereby the estimation of Simon Magus began greatly to decay, and to be detested in Rome. Not long after the said Magus threatened the Romans, that he would leave the city, and in their sight fly away from them into heaven. So the day being appointed, Magus taking his wings to Mount Capitolinus, began to fly in the air ; but Peter, by the power of the Lord Jesus, brought him down, with his wings, headlong to the ground, by the which fall his legs and joints were broken, and he thereupon died. Then Nero, sorrowing for his death, sought matter against Peter to put him to death. Which, when the people perceived, they entreated Peter with much ado that he would fly the city. Peter, persuaded through their importunity, at length prepared himself to depart : but coming to the gate, he saw the Lord Christ come to meet him ; to whom he, worshipping, said, " Lord, whither dost thou go ? " To whom he answered and said, " I am come again to be crucified. By this Peter perceiving his suffering to be understood, returned back into the city again, and so was he crucified in manner as is before declared.

Eusebius, moreover, writing of the death not only of Peter, but also of his Wife, affirmeth, that Peter seeing his Wife going to her martyrdom (probably as he was yet hanging upon the cross) was greatly rejoiced, and crying unto her with a voice, and calling her by her name, said, "Re-  
member, Lord Jesus." Such was then, saith Eusebius, the bond of marriage among the saints of God.

P/ greed of C and W/ the tribe of Benjamin, and of a town of Jewry called Giscalis, which town being taken by the Romans; he, with his parents, fled to Tarsus, a town situated in Cilicia; afterwards was sent up by his parents to Jerusalem, and there brought up in the knowledge of the law, at the feet of Gamaliel, and was concerned in the death of Stephen. And when he had received letters from the high-priest, to persecute the Christians, in the way, going to Damascus, he was struck down by the light of glory, and of a persecutor was made a professor, - a martyr, a witness of the gospel, and a chosen

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As in the flow above, a particular instance given of a strong will. After that, and that of the most worthy of the hall to deny Guiso. At the end of the history I will add myself to the by Viceroy of the Pacific first, and I want to give to the city of London, on the second



year of Nero, at what time Festus ruled in Jewry, was sent up in bonds to Rome, where he remaining in his own hired house two years together, disputed daily against the Jews, proving Christ to be come. And here is to be noted, that after his first answer, or defence, there made at Rome, the emperor Nero, not yet fully confirmed in his empire, and yet not bursting out into those mischiefs which histories report of him, he was at that time by Nero discharged, and went and preached the gospel in the western parts, and about the coast of Italy, as he himself, writing unto Timothy, 2 Tim. 4. afterward in his second apprehension witnesseth, saying, "In my first answer no man stood with me, but did all forsake me; the Lord lay it not to their charge! but the Lord stood by me, and did comfort me, that the preaching of his word might proceed by me, and that all the Gentiles might hear and be taught; and I was delivered out of the lion's mouth," &c. In which place, by the lion, he plainly means Nero. And afterwards likewise he saith, "I was delivered from the mouth of the lion," &c. And again, "The Lord hath delivered me out from all evil works, and hath saved me unto his heavenly kingdom," &c. speaking this because he perceived then the time of his martyrdom to be near at hand. For in the same epistle before, he says, "I am now ready to be offered up, and the time of my departure is at hand."

Thus, then, this worthy preacher and messenger of the Lord, in the fourteenth year of Nero, and the same day in which Peter was crucified (although not in the same year, as some write, but in the next,) was beheaded at Rome for the testimony of Christ, and was buried in the *Ostrian way*, the thirty-seventh year after the passion of our Lord. He wrote nine epistles to seven churches; to the Romans one; to the Corinthians two; to the Galatians one; to the Ephesians one; to the Philippians one; to the Colossians one; to the Thessalonians two. Moreover, he wrote to his disciples; to Timothy two; to Titus one; to Philemon one.

The epistle which beareth the title to the *Hebrews*, is not thought to be his, for the difference of the style and phrase; but either judged to be written of Timothy, as Tertullian supposeth, or of St. Luke, as others think; or else of Clement, afterward bishop of Rome, who, as they say, was adjoined with Paul, and, compiling together his sayings and sentences, did phrase them in his style and manner. Or else, as some do judge, because St. Paul wrote unto the Hebrews, for the odiousness of his name among that people, therefore he suppressed it, and confessed not his name in the first entry of his salutation, contrary to his accustomed condition. And as he wrote to the Hebrews, he being an Hebrew, so he wrote in Hebrew, that is, his own tongue, more eloquently. And that is thought to be the cause why it differeth from his other epistles, and is after a more eloquent manner translated into the Greek, than his other epistles be. Some also read the epistle written to Laodicea, but that is exploded of all men. Thus far Jerome.

As touching the time and order of the death and martyrdom of St. Paul, as Eusebius, Jerome, Maximus, and other authors, do but briefly pass it over; so Abdias (if his book be of any substantial authority) speaking more largely of the same, doth say, That after the crucifying of Peter, and the ruin of Simon Magus; Paul, yet remaining in custody, was dismissed, and delivered at that time from martyrdom by God's permission; that all the Gentiles might be replenished with the preaching of the Gospel by him. And the same Abdias, proceeding in his story, declareth, moreover, that as Paul was then occupied at Rome, he was brought to the emperor, not only for preaching new doctrine,

but also for stirring up sedition against the empire. For this he being called before Nero, and demanded to shew the order and manner of his doctrine, there declared what his doctrine was, To teach all men peace and charity, how to love one another, how to prevent one another in honour: rich men not to be puffed up in pride, nor to put their trust in their treasures, but in the living God; mean men to be contented with food and raiment, and with their present state; poor men to rejoice in their poverty with hope; fathers to bring up their children in the fear of God; children to obey their parents; husbands to love their wives: wives to be subject to their husbands; citizens and subjects to give their tribute unto Cæsar, and to be subject to their magistrates; masters to be courteous, not churlish, to their servants; servants to deal faithfully with their masters: and this to be the sum of his teaching. Which doctrine he received not of men, nor by men, but of Jesus Christ, and the Father of glory, who spake to him from heaven, the Lord Jesus saying to him, "That he should go and preach in his name, and that he would be with him, and would be the Spirit of life to all that believed in him, and that whatsoever he did or said, he would cause to prosper."

When Paul had declared this unto the emperor, shortly after, sentence of death was pronounced against him, that he should be beheaded. Unto whose execution, then Nero sent two of his knights, Ferega and Parthemius, to bring him word of his death. They coming to Paul, instructing then the people, desired him to pray for them, that they might believe. Who told them, that shortly after they should believe, and be baptized at his sepulchre. This done, the soldiers came and led him out of the city, to the place of execution, where he, after praying, was beheaded.

### The Second Persecution.

THE first Roman persecution beginning under Nero, as is afore said, ceased under Vespasian, who gave some rest to the poor Christians. After whose reign, the second persecution began, under the Emperor Domitian, brother of Titus. Of whom Eusebius and Orosius so write, that though he first began mildly, afterwards commanded himself to be worshipped as God, and that images of gold and silver should be set up in the capitol to his honour. The chief of the senators, either through envy, or for their goods, he caused to be put to death, some openly, and some he sent into banishment, there causing them to be slain privily.

And as his tyranny was immeasurable, so the intemperance of his life was no less. He put to death all the nephews of Jude, called the Lord's brother, and caused to be sought out, and to be slain, all that could be found of the stock of David (as Vespasian also did before him) for fear, lest he might yet to come of the house of David, who should crown the kingdom. In the time of this persecutor, Simon, bishop of Jerusalem, after other torments, was crucified to death, whom Justus afterwards succeeded in that bishopric.

In this persecution, JOHN, the apostle and evangelist, was exiled by the said Domitian into Patmos; of whom three memorable acts are reported in sundry chronicles. The first, how he was put in a vessel of boiling oil, by the priests of Ephesus. The Legend and Perionus say, It was done at Rome. Isidorus, also writing of him, and comprehending many things in a few words, declareth, that he turned all the pieces of wood into gold, and stones by the sea side into coral, to satisfy the desire of two whom he had before persecuted, and afterwards, then writing the

for worldly treasure they had lost heaven, for their sakes again he changed the same into their former substance. Also how he raised up a widow, and a certain young man, from death to life. How he drank poison, and it hurt him not, raising also to life two which had drunk the same before. These and such other miracles, although they may be true, and are found in Isidorus and other writers, yet because they are no articles of our Christian belief, I let them pass, and only content myself with that which I read in Eusebius, declaring of him in this wise. That in the fourteenth year after Nero, in the second persecution, in the days of Domitian, John was banished into Patmos for the testimony of the word, in the year *four score and seventeen*. And after the death of the aforesaid Domitian, he being slain, and his acts repealed by the senate, John was again released, under Pertinax the emperor, and came to Ephesus, in the year 100; where he continued until the time of Trajan, and there governed the churches in Asia, where also he wrote his gospel, and so lived till the year after the passion of our Lord *threescore and eight*, which was the year of his age *one hundred and twenty*.

Moreover, in the aforesaid ecclesiastical story of Eusebius, we read, that John, the apostle and evangelist, whom the Lord peculiarly loved, was in Asia, where he being returned out of Patmos, after the death of Domitian, governed the churches. Irenæus in his second book thus writes: And of him all the elders do witness, which were with John, the disciple of the Lord, in Asia, that he spake and wrote these things, &c. for there he continued with them unto the time of Trajan, &c. Also the said Irenæus, *lib. 3. Hypothes.* in like words declares, saying, The church of the Ephesians being first founded by Paul, afterward being confirmed by John (who continued in the same city unto the time of Trajan the emperor,) is a true witness of this apostolical tradition, &c. Clemens Alexandrinus, moreover, notes both the time of this holy apostle, and also adds to the same a certain history of him, not unworthy to be remembered of those who delight in things honest and profitable; of the which history Sozomen also in his commentaries makes mention. The words of the author are these, "Hear a fable, and not a fable, but a true report, which is told us of John the apostle, delivered and commended to our remembrance. After the death of the tyrant, when John returned to Ephesus from the Isle of Patmos, he was desired to resort to the places bordering near to him, partly to constitute bishops, partly to dispose the causes and matters of the church, partly to ordain and set such of the clergy in office whom the Holy Ghost should elect. Whereupon when he was come to a certain city not far off, the name of which many do yet remember, and had among other things comforted the brethren, he, looking more earnestly upon him which was the chief bishop among them, beheld a young man, mighty in body, and of beautiful countenance, and of a fervent mind: I commend this man (saith he) to thee with great diligence, in witness here of Christ and of the church.

When the bishop had received of him the charge, and had promised his faithful diligence therein; again, the second time, John spake unto him, and desired him in like manner and contestation as before. This done, John returned again to Ephesus. The bishop receiving the young man commended and committed to his charge, brought him home, kept him and nourished him, and at length also did illuminate, that is, he baptized him, and in a short time, through his diligence, brought him into such order and towardness, that he committed unto him the oversight of a certain place in the Lord's house. The young man thus having more his liberty, it

chanced that certain of his companions and old familiars, being idle, dissolute, and accustomed of old time to wickedness, did join in company with him; who first brought him to sumptuous and riotous banquets; then led him forth with them in the night to rob and steal; after that he was allured by them to greater mischief and wickedness. Wherein by custom of time, by little and little, he being more practised, and being of a good wit, and a stout courage, like unto a wild or unbroken horse, leaving the right way, and running at large without bridle, was carried headlong into the depth of all disorder and outrage. And thus, being past all hope of grace, utterly forgetting and rejecting the wholesome doctrine of salvation which he had learnt before, began to set his mind upon no small matters. And forasmuch as he was entered so far into the way of perdition, he cared not how much further he proceeded in the same. And so associating unto him the company of his companions and fellow thieves, took upon him to be head and captain among them, in committing all kind of murder and felony.

"In the mean time it chanced, that of necessity John was sent for to those quarters again, and came. The cause being decided, and his business ended for the which he came, by the way meeting with the bishop afore specified, he required of him the pledge, which, in the witness of Christ and of the congregation then present, he left in his hands to keep. The bishop, something amazed at the words of John, supposing he had meant of some money committed to his custody, which he had not received, (and yet durst not mistrust John, nor contradict his words,) could not tell what to answer. Then John perceiving his doubting, and uttering his mind more plainly: The young man, said he, and the soul of our brother, committed to your custody, I do require. Then the bishop, with a loud voice, sorrowing and weeping, said, *He is dead*. To whom John said, *How and by what death?* The other said, *He is dead to God, for he has become an evil man, and pernicious; to be brief, a thief; and now he doth frequent this mountain with a company of villains and thieves like unto himself, against the church*. Then the apostle rent his garments, and with a great lamentation said, *I have left a good keeper of my brother's soul! Get me a horse, and let me have a guide with me*. Which being done, he hasted from the church as fast as he could, and coming to the same place, was taken of thieves that watched. But he, neither flying nor refusing, said, *I came for this same cause hither: lead me, said he, to your captain*. So he being brought, the captain, all armed, fiercely began to look upon him; and coming to the knowledge of him, was struck with confusion and shame, and began to fly. But the old man followed him, as much as he might, forgetting his age, and crying, *My son, why dost thou fly from thy father? an armed man from one naked, a young man from an old man? Have pity on me, my son, and fear not, for there is yet hope of salvation; I will make answer for thee unto Christ, I will die for thee, if need be; as Christ hath died for us, I will give my life for thee; believe me, Christ hath sent me*. He hearing these things, first as in a rage, stood still, and therewith his courage was abated. After that he had cast down his weapons, by and by he trembled, yea, and wept bitterly; and coming to the old man, embraced him, and spake unto him with weeping, as well as he could, and even then baptized afresh with his tears, only his right hand being hid and covered.—Then the apostle, after he had promised and firmly ascertained him that he should have remission of our Saviour, and also pressed, falling down upon his knees, and kissed his murdering right hand, in shame he durst not shew before, as now purged through repentance, brought him to the congregation. And when he

had prayed for him, with continual prayer, and daily fastings, and had comforted and confirmed his mind with many sentences, went not from him (as the author reporteth) before he had restored him to the congregation again, and made him a great example and proof of regeneration, and a token of the visible resurrection."

Moreover, the aforesaid Irenæus, in *lib. 3. cap. 3.* and Eusebius *lib. 3. cap. 28.* and *lib. 4. cap. 11.* prosecuting the history of John, declare in these words, That there were certain which heard Polycarp say, that John the disciple of our Lord, going into Ephesus to be washed, seeing Cerinthus within, leaped out of the bath unbathed, because he feared the bath should have fallen, seeing that Cerinthus, an enemy to the truth, was within. Such fear had the apostles, saith Irenæus, that they would not communicate a word with them that adulterate the truth.

But breaking off this matter, I return again where we left; that is, to this aforesaid second persecution under Domitian. In which persecution, besides these aforementioned, and many other godly martyrs, suffering for the like testimony of the Lord Jesus, was *Flavia*, the daughter of Flavius Clemens, one of the Roman consuls; which Flavia, with many others, was banished out of Rome into the isle of Pontia, for the testimony of the Lord Jesus, by the emperor Domitian, *Euseb. lib. 3.*

This Domitian feared the coming of Christ, as Herod did, and therefore commanded them to be killed which were of the stock of David in Jewry. There were remaining alive at that time certain of the Lord's kindred, which were the nephews of Jude, that was called the Lord's brother, after the flesh. These, when the lieutenant of Jewry had brought up to Domitian to be slain, the emperor demanded of them, Whether they were of the stock of David? Which when they had granted, he asked again, What possessions and what substance they had? They answered, That they both had no more between them in all, but nine and thirty acres of ground; and how they got their living, and sustained their families, with the hard labours of their hands; shewing forth their hands unto the emperor, being hard and rough, worn with labours, to witness that to be true which they had spoken. Then the emperor, inquiring of them concerning the kingdom of Christ, what manner of kingdom it was? how and when it should appear? They answered, that his kingdom was no worldly thing, but an heavenly and angelical kingdom, and that it should appear in the consummation and end of the world, what time he, coming in glory, should judge the quick and the dead, and render to every one according to his works. Domitian the emperor hearing this, did not condemn them; but, despising them as vile persons, let them go, and also still the persecution then moved against the Christians. They, being thus dismissed, afterward had the government of churches, being taken for martyrs, and as of the Lord's stock, and so continued in good peace till the time of Trajan. — *See Hogenp. & Euseb. lib. 3. cap. 20.*

By this story here cited, may appear what were the causes why the emperors of the Roman monarchy did so persecute the Christians; which causes were chiefly these, *fear and hatred.* First, *Fear*; for that the emperors' and senators' ignorance, not knowing the nature of Christ's kingdom, feared that the same should subvert their empire; and therefore sought all means possible how, by death and all kinds of torments, utterly to extinguish the name and memory of the Christians. And thereupon seemeth to spring that old law, *Non debere de nomine Christianorum quicquam dici, neque scribi, neque proponi, neque agi*; that is, that the Christian name should not be let go, which were once

brought to the judgment-seat, except they changed their purpose, &c. *Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 21.* Secondly; *Hatred*, partly for that this world hath ever hated and maligned the people of God, from the very beginning. Partly again, for that the Christians being of a contrary nature and religion, serving only the true God, despised their false gods, spake against their idolatrous worship, and many times stopped the power of Satan, working in their idols; and therefore Satan, the prince of this world, stirred up the Roman princes and blind idolaters to bear the more hatred and spite against them.

Upon these causes, and such like, rose up these malicious slanders, false surmises, infamous lies, and slanderous accusations, of the Heathen idolaters against the Christian servants of God, which incited the princes of this world the more to persecute them; for what crime soever malice could invent, or rash supposition could administer, were imputed to the Christians: as, that they were an incestuous people; that in the night in their assemblies, putting out their candles, they ran all together in a lewd manner; that they killed their own children; that they used to eat man's flesh; that they were seditious and rebellious; that they would not swear by the fortune and prosperity of Cæsar; that they would not adore the image of Cæsar in the market-place; that they were pernicious to the empire of Rome. Briefly, whatsoever mishappened to the city or provinces of Rome, either famine, pestilence, earthquake, wars, wonders, unseasonableness of weather, or what evils soever, it was imputed to the Christians, as Justinus recordeth. Over and beside all these, a great occasion that stirred up the emperors against the Christians, came by one Publius Tarquinius, the chief prelate of the idolatrous sacrifices, and Mamerianus, the chief governor of the city in the time of Trajan; who partly with money, partly with sinister and pestilent counsel, partly with infamous accusations, (as witnesseth Naucerus,) incensed the mind of the emperor so much against God's people.

Also, among these other causes, *covetousness*; for the wicked accusers, in order to get the possessions of the Christians, were the more ready to accense them.

Thus hast thou, Christian reader, first, the causes declared of these persecutions; secondly, the *cruel law* of their condemnation: thirdly, now hear farther, what was the *form of inquisition*, which was (as is witnessed in the second apology of Justinus) to this effect; *that they should swear to declare the truth, whether they were in very deed Christians, or not; and if they confessed, then by the law the sentence of death proceeded.* Just Apol. 2.

Neither yet were these tyrants and organs of Satan then contented with death only. The kinds of death were various and horrible. Whatsoever the cruelty of man's invention could devise for the punishment of man's body, was practised against the Christians, as I have mentioned before. Crafty trains, outcries of enemies, imprisonments, stripes and scourgings, drawings, tearings, stoning, plates of iron laid upon them burning hot, deep dungeons, racks, strangling in prisons, the teeth of wild beasts, gridirons, gibbets and galleys, tossing upon the horns of bulls: moreover, when they were thus killed, their bodies were hid in heaps, and dogs there left to keep them, that no man might come to bury them, neither would any prayer obtain them to be interred and buried. — *Ex Epistola Fratrum Viennensium ad Lugdunensium, &c.*

And yet, notwithstanding all these continual persecutions and horrible punishments, the church of the Christians daily increased, deeply rooted in the doctrine of the apostles, and watered plentifully with the blood of saints, as saith Nicetas.

*lib. 3* Whereof let us hear the worthy testimony of Justin Martyr, in his dialogue with Tripho.—And that none saith he, can terrify or move us which believe in Jesus, by this it daily appeareth, for when we are slain, crucified, cast to wild beasts, into the fire, or given to other torments, yet we go not from our confession; but, on the contrary, the more cruelty is executed against us, the more the number of believers increases; no otherwise than if a man cut the vine-tree, the better the branches grow. For the vine-tree, planted by God and Christ our Saviour, is his people. —*Hec Just.*

### *The Third Persecution.*

BETWEEN the second Roman persecution and the third, was but one year, under the emperor Nerva, after whom succeeded Trajan; and after him followed the *third* persecution. So the second and the third are noted of some to be both one, having no more difference but one year between them. This Trajan, if we look well upon his politic government, might seem, in comparison of others, a right worthy and commendable prince, very familiar with inferiors, and so behaving himself toward his subjects, as he himself would have the prince to be to him, if he himself were a subject. Also he was noted to be a great observer of justice, inasmuch that when he ordained any prætor, giving to him the sword, he would bid him use the sword against his enemies in just causes; and if he himself did otherwise than justice, to use then his power against him also. But for all these virtues, towards the Christian religion he was impious and cruel. In this third persecution, Pliny the Second, a man learned and famous, seeing the lamentable slaughter of Christians, and moved therewith to pity, wrote to Trajan of the pitiful persecution; certifying him, that there were many thousands of them daily put to death, of which none did any thing contrary to the Roman laws worthy of persecution: saying, that they used to gather together in the morning, before day, and sing hymns to a certain God whom they worshipped, called Christ; but in all other ordinances they were godly and honest. Whereby the persecution, by commandment of the emperor, was greatly stayed and diminished. The form and copy of which epistle of Pliny, I thought here not improper to set down.

The Epistle of PLINY, a Heathen Philosopher, to Trajan the Emperor.

"It is my property and manner, my Sovereign, to make relation of all those things unto you wherein I doubt. For who can better either correct my slackness, or instruct my ignorance, than you? I was never yet present myself at the examination and execution of these Christians; and therefore what punishment is to be administered, and how far, or how to proceed in such inquisitions, I am ignorant; not able to resolve in the matter, whether any difference is to be had to age and person; whether the young and tender ought to be with like cruelty treated as the elder and stronger; whether repentance may have any pardon; or whether it may profit him or not to deny, who hath been a Christian; whether the name only of Christian, without other offences, or whether the offences joined with the name of a Christian, ought to be punished. In the mean time, as touching such Christians as have been presented unto me, I have kept this manner: I have inquired the second and third time of them, whether they were Christians, menacing them with fear of punishment; and such as did persevere, I commanded to

execution. For thus I thought, that whatsoever their profession was, yet their stubbornness and obstinacy ought to be punished. Whether they were also of the same madness; whom, because they were citizens of Rome, I thought to send back again to the city. Afterward, in further process and handling of this matter, as the sect did further spread, so the more cases did thereof ensue.

"There was a libel offered to me, bearing no name, wherein were contained the names of many which denied themselves to be Christians, were contented to do sacrifice with incense and wine to the gods, and to your image, (which image I for that purpose caused to be brought,) and to blaspheme Christ, (whereunto none such as were *true Christians* indeed could be compelled,) and those I did discharge and let go. Others confessed, that they had been Christians, but afterward denied the same, &c. affirming unto me the whole sum of that sect or error to consist in this, That they were wont, at certain times appointed, to assemble before day, and to sing hymns to one Christ their God, and to confederate among themselves, to abstain from all theft, murder, and adultery, to keep their faith, and to defiant no man; which done, then to depart for that time, and afterward to resort again to the meat in companies together, both men and women, one with another, and yet without any act of evil.

"In the truth whereof to be further certified, whether it were so or not, I caused two maidens to be laid on the rack, and with torments to be examined of the same. But finding no other things in them, but only immoderate superstition, I thought to cease from further inquiry, till the time that I might be further advised in the matter from you; for so the matter seemed unto me worthy and needful of advice, especially for the great number of those that were in danger of your statute. For very many there were of all ages and states, both men and women, which then were, and more are likely hereafter to incur the same peril of condemnation. For that infection hath crept not only into cities, but villages also, and boroughs about, though it seems at present to be considerably abated. Forasmuch as we see in many places that the temples of our gods, which were wont to be desolate, begin now to be frequented, and that they bring sacrifices from every part to be sold, which before very few were found willing to buy. Whereby it may easily be conjectured, what multitudes of men may be amended, if space and time be given them wherein they may be reclaimed."

The Epistle of TRAJAN to Pliny.

"THE act and statute, my Secundus, concerning the causes of the Christians, which you ought to follow, you have rightly executed. For no such general law can be enacted, wherein all special cases particularly can be comprehended. *Let them not be sought for*; but if they be brought and convicted, then let them suffer execution; so notwithstanding, that whosoever shall deny himself to be a Christian, and do it unfeignedly, in open audience, and do sacrifice to our gods, howsoever he hath been suspected before, let him be released, upon promise of an amendment. Such libels as have no names, suffice not to any just accusation; for that would give both an evil precedent, neither doth it agree with the example of our time."

Tertullian, writing upon this letter of Trajan, thus saith: "O sentence of a confused necessity! He would not have them to be sought for, as punishment, and yet causes them to be



punished as persons guilty." And thus the rage of that persecution ceased for a time, although notwithstanding many naughty disposed men and cruel officers there were, which, upon false pretence to accomplish their wicked minds, ceased not to afflict the Christians in divers provinces; and especially if any occasion were given never so little for the enemies to take hold of, or if any commotion were raised in the provinces abroad, by and by the fault was laid upon the Christians. As in Jerusalem, after that the emperor Trajan had sent down his commandment, that whosoever could be found of the stock of David, he should be inquired out and put to death: upon this Hegesippus writing, saith, that certain secretaries there were of the Jewish nation, that accused Simeon, the bishop then of Jerusalem, and son of Cleopas, to be one of the stock of David, and that he was a Christian. Of his accusers it happened also (saith Hegesippus) that certain of them likewise were apprehended and taken to be of the stock of David, and so right justly were put to death themselves, who sought the destruction of others. As concerning Simeon, the blessed bishop, the aforesaid Hegesippus thus writes, That Simeon, the Lord's nephew, when he was accused to Attalus the proconsul, by the malicious sect of the Jews, to be of the line of David, and to be a Christian, was scourged during the space of many days together, being an hundred and twenty years old. In which martyrdom he endured so constant, that both the consul and all the multitude did marvel to see one of that age so constantly to suffer; and so at last being crucified, finished his course in the Lord, for whom he suffered.

In this persecution of Trajan, besides the other aforementioned, also suffered Pliocas, bishop of Pontus, whom Trajan, because he would not do sacrifice to Neptune, caused to be cast into a hot lime-kin, and afterward to be put into a scalding bath, where the constant godly martyr, in the testimony of Christ, ended his life, or rather entered into life.--Anton. Equil. Fascic. Temporum.

In the same persecution suffered also *Sulpitius* and *Servilius*, two Romans, whose wives are said to be Euphrosina and Theodora, whom Sabina did convert to the faith of Christ, and after were also martyred. Of which Sabina, Jacobus Philippus, author of a book called Supplementum, reporteth, that in the mount of Aventine, in Rome, she was beheaded by Clepidus, the governor, in the days of Hadrian; under whom also suffered Saraphia, a virgin of Antioch, as Hermanus witnesseth.

The forenamed authors, Antonius and Equilius, make mention moreover of *Nereus* and *Achilleus*, who, in this persecution of Trajan, had the crown of martyrdom, being put to death at Rome. Eusebius, in his fourth book, cap. 26. makes mention of one *Sagaris*, who about the same time suffered martyrdom in Asia, Servilius Paulus being then proconsul in that province.

In this persecution, besides many others, suffered the blessed martyr of Christ, *Ignatius*, whose martyrdom, because well authenticated, we shall set down at large.

*A Relation of the Martyrdom of St. IGNATIUS, translated from the original Greek, published by Dr. Grabe in his Opuscul. Patrum, t. ii.*

When Trajan, not long since, came to the Roman empire, Ignatius, the disciple of St. John, (the apostle and evangelist) a man in all things like unto the apostles, governed the church of Antioch with all care. Who being scarcely able to escape the storm of the many persecutions before under Domitian, as a good governor, by the means of prayer and fasting, by the

constancy of his doctrine and spiritual labour, kept without the raging floods, fearing lest they should sink those who either wanted courage, or were not well grounded in the faith.

Wherefore the persecution being at present somewhat abated, he rejoiced greatly at the tranquillity of his church, yet was troubled as to himself, that he had not attained to a true love of Christ, nor was come up to the pitch of a perfect disciple. For he thought, that the confession which is made by martyrdom, would bring him to a yet more close and intimate union with the Lord. Wherefore continuing a few years longer with the church, and, after the manner of a divine lamp, illuminating the hearts of the faithful by the exposition of the holy scriptures, he attained to what he had desired.

For Trajan, in the nineteenth year of his empire, being lifted up with his victory over the Sxythians and Dacians, and many other nations; and thinking that the religious company of Christians was yet wanting to his absolute and universal dominion; and thereupon threatening them that they should be persecuted, unless they would choose to worship the devil, with all other nations; fear obliged all such as lived religiously, either to sacrifice or to die. Wherefore our brave soldier of Christ, being in fear for the church of Antioch, was voluntarily brought before Trajan, who was at that time there on his way to Armenia, and the Parthians, against whom he was hastening.

Being come into the presence of the emperor Trajan, the emperor addressed him thus: What a wicked demon art thou, thus to study to transgress our commands, and to persuade others also to do likewise, to their destruction! Ignatius answered, No one ought to call Theophorus a wicked demon; forasmuch as all wicked spirits are departed far from the servants of God. But if because I am a trouble to those evil spirits, you call me wicked, with reference to them, I confess the charge: for having (within me) Christ the heavenly King, I dissolve all the snares of the devils.

*Trajan.* And who is Theophorus?

*Ignat.* He who has Christ in his heart.

*Trajan.* And do not we then seem to thee to have the gods within us, who fight for us against our enemies?

*Ignat.* You err, in that you call the evil spirits of the Heathens, Gods. For there is but ONE GOD, who made heaven and earth, and the sea, and all that are in them; and ONE JESUS CHRIST, his only begotten Son: whose kingdom may I enjoy.

*Trajan.* You mean him who was crucified under Pontius Pilate?

*Ignat.* Him who crucified my sinner, with the inventor of it, and has put all the deceit and malice of the devil under the feet of those who carry him in their heart.

*Trajan.* Dost thou then carry him who was crucified within thee?

*Ignat.* I do; for it is written, *I will dwell in them, and walk in them.*

Then Trajan pronounced this sentence against him: So farasmuch as Ignatius has confessed, that he carries about within himself HIM that was crucified, we command that he be carried, bound by soldiers, to the great Rome, there to be thrown to the beasts, for the entertainment of the people.

When the holy martyr heard this sentence, he cried out with joy, "I thank thee, O Lord, that thou hast vouchsafed to honour me with a perfect love towards thee, and hast made me to be put in iron bonds with thy apostle Paul." Having said this, he with joy put his hands about him, and having first prayed for the church, and commended it with tears unto the Lord, he was hurried away, like a choicest, the longer

of a good flock, by the brutish soldiers, in order to his being carried to Rome, there to be devoured by the bloodthirsty beasts.

Wherefore, with much readiness and joy, out of his desire to suffer, he left Antioch, and came to Seleucia, from whence he was to sail. And, after a great deal of toil, being come to Smyrna, he left the ship with great gladness, and hastened to see the holy Polycarp, his fellow scholar, who was bishop there; for they had both of them been formerly the disciples of St. John.

Being brought to him, and communicating to him some spiritual gifts, and glorying in his bonds; he entreated first of all the whole church, (for the churches and cities of Asia attended this holy man, by their bishops, and priests, and deacons, all hastening to him, if by any means they might partake of his spiritual blessing,) but more particularly Polycarp, to contend *with God* in his behalf; that being suddenly taken by the beasts from the world, he might appear before the face of Christ. And thus he thus spoke and testified, extending so much his love for Christ, as one who was about to receive heaven through his *own* good confession, and the earnest contention of those who prayed together with him; and fearing lest the love of the brotherhood should prevent his hastening to the Lord, now that a fair door of suffering was opened to him, he wrote his epistle to the Romans.

And having thus strengthened such of the brethren at Rome as were against his martyrdom, by this epistle, as he desired; setting sail from Smyrna, (for he was pressed by the soldiers to hasten to the public spectacles at great Rome, that being delivered to the wild beasts in the sight of the people of the Romans, he might receive the crown for which he strove,) he came to Troas, from whence going on, being brought to Neapolis, he passed by Philippi through Macedonia, and that part of Epirus which is next to Epidamnus; having found a ship in one of the sea-ports, he sailed over the Adriatic sea; and from thence entering into the Tyrrhene, and passing by several islands and cities, at length he saw Patoli; which being shewed to the holy man, he hastened to go forth, being desirous to walk from thence, in the way that Paul the apostle had gone. But a violent wind arising, and driven on the ship, would not suffer him so to do; wherefore commending the love of the brethren in that place, he sailed forward.

And the wind continuing favourable to us, in one day and a night, we indeed were unwillingly hurried on, as sorrowing to think of being separated from this holy martyr. But to him it happened just according to his wish, that he might go the sooner out of the world, and attain unto the Lord whom he loved. Wherefore sailing into the Roman port, and those impure sports being almost at an end, the soldiers began to be offended at our slowness; but the bishop with great joy complied with their hastiness.

Being therefore soon forced away from the port, so called, we forthwith met the brethren; (for the report of what concerned the holy martyr was spread abroad,) who were full of fear and joy; for they rejoiced in that God had vouchsafed them the company of Theophorus; but were afraid when they considered, that such an one was brought thither to die. Nevertheless of these he commanded to hold their peace, who were the most zealous for his safety, and said, That they would appease the people, that they should not desire the destruction of the just. Who presently knowing this by the report, and saluting all of them, he desired them that they would shew a true love to him; disputing yet more with them, as he had done in his epistle; and persuading them not to be idle, who were hastening unto the Lord. And so all the brethren kneeling down, he prayed to the Son of God in be-

half of the churches; that he would put a stop to the persecution, and *continue* the love of the brethren towards each other; which being done, he was with all haste led into the amphitheatre, and speedily, according to the command of Caesar before given, thrown in, the end of the spectacles being at hand. For it was then a very solemn day, called in the Roman tongue the twelfth of the Kalends of January, upon which the people were more than ordinarily wont to be gathered together. Thus was he delivered to the cruel beasts, near the temple, by wicked men; that so the desire of the holy martyr Ignatius might be accomplished, as it is written, "The desire of the righteous is acceptable;" namely, that he might not be burdensome to any of the brethren, by the gathering of his relics, but might be wholly devoured by them; according as in his epistle he had before wished that so his end might be. For only the greater and harder of his holy bones remained, which were carried to Antioch, and there put in a napkin, as an inestimable treasure left to the church by the grace which was in the martyr.

Now these things were done the day before the thirteenth of the Kalends of January, that is, the twentieth day of December; Sura and Surnecius being the second time consuls of the Romans; of which we ourselves were eye-witnesses. And being the night following watching with tears in the house, praying to God with our bended knees, that he would give us, weak men, some assurance of what had been before done; it happened, that falling into a slumber, some of us on the sudden saw the blessed Ignatius standing by us, and embracing us; others beheld the blessed martyr praying for us; others as it were dropping with sweat, as if he were just come from his great labour, and standing by the Lord.

When we saw, being filled with joy, and comparing the visions of our dreams with one another, we glorified God, the giver of all good things; and being assured of the blessedness of the saint, we have made known unto you both the day and the time; that being assembled together according to the time of this martyrdom, we may communicate with the combatant, and most valiant martyr of Christ; who trod under foot the devil, and perfected the course he had piously desired, in Christ Jesus our Lord; by whom, and with whom, all glory and power be to the Father, with the blessed Spirit, for ever and ever.—Amen.

Besides this godly Ignatius, many thousands also were put to death in the same persecution, as appeareth by the letter of Plinius Secundus above recited, written unto the emperor.—Jerome, in his book entitled *De Viris Illustribus*, maketh mention of one *Publius*, bishop of Athens, who, for the faith of Christ, the same time during this persecution, was put to death and martyred.

Next after Trajan succeeded Adrian, under whom *Alexander*, bishop of Rome, suffered, with his two deacons, *Eugenius* and *Theodorus*; also *Hermes* and *Quirinus*, with their families.

It is signified moreover in the histories, that in the time of this Adrian, *Zenon*, a nobleman of Rome, with *ten thousand two hundred and three*, were slain for Christ. *Henricus de Erfordia*, and *Bergomensis*, lib. 8. make mention of *ten thousand*, in the days of this Adrian, to be crucified in the Mount Mararat, crowned with crowns of thorn, and thrust into the sides with sharp darts, after the examples of the Lord's passion, whose captains, (as *Antonius* and *Vincentius* in *Good Histor.* declare) were *Achiacus*, *Heliades*, *Theodorus*, and *Carcerius*.

There was one *Eustachius*, a captain, whose *Trojan* in the past had sent out to war against the Barbarians. After he had by God's grace valiantly subdued his enemies, and

was returning home with victory; Adrian for joy meeting him in his journey to bring him home with triumph, by the way first would do sacrifice to Apollo, for the victory gotten, willing also Eustachius to do the same with him. But when Eustachius could by no means thereto be enforced, being brought to Rome, there with his wife and children he suffered martyrdom under the aforesaid Adrian.

We read also of *Faustinus* and *Jobita*, citizens of the city of Brixia, which suffered martyrdom with like grievous torments. At the sight whereof, one *Calocerius*, seeing their so great patience in so great torments, cried out with these words, *Vere, magnus Deus Christianorum*; that is, "Verily, great is the God of Christians." Which words being heard, forthwith he was apprehended, and being brought to the place of their execution, was made partaker of their martyrdom.—Ex. Ant. Equilin.

Nicephorus makes mention of *Anthia*, a godly woman, who committed her son *Eleutherius*, to Anicetus, bishop of Rome, to be brought up in the doctrine of the Christian faith, who afterwards being bishop in Apulia, was there beheaded with his aforesaid mother *Anthia*.—Onomast.

*Justus* also and *Pastor*, two brethren, with like martyrdom ended their lives in a city of Spain, called Complutum, under the said Adrian the emperor.

Likewise *Symphorissa*, the wife of Cretulus the martyr, with her seven children, is said to have suffered about the same time, who first was much and often beaten and scourged, afterwards hanged up by the hair of her head, at last, having a huge stone fastened unto her, was thrown headlong into the river; and after that her seven children in like manner, with sundry and divers kinds of punishment, diversely martyred by the tyrant.

M. Hermannus, Antonius, and others, report of *Sophia*, with her three children also; also of *Seraphia* and *Sabina*, to suffer under the said emperor, about the year of our Lord one hundred and thirty.

While Adrian the emperor was at Athens, he purposed to visit the country of Elusina, and so did: where he sacrificing to the Gentiles' gods, after the manner of the Grecians, had given free leave and liberty, whosoever would, to persecute the Christians: whereupon Quadratus, a man of no less excellent zeal than of famous learning, being then bishop of Athens, and disciple of the apostles, or at least immediately succeeding the age of the apostles, and following after Publius (who a little before was martyred for the testimony of Christ) did offer up to Adrian the emperor, a learned and excellent apology in the defence of the Christian religion. Wherein he declared the Christians, without all just cause or desert, to be so cruelly entreated and persecuted, &c. The like also did Aristides, another no less excellent philosopher in Athens, who, for his singular learning and eloquence being notified to the emperor, and coming to his presence, there made before him an eloquent oration. Moreover, he delivered unto the said emperor a memorable apology for the Christians, so full of learning and eloquence, that, as Jerome saith, it was a spectacle and admiration to men in his time that loved to see wit and learning. Besides these, there was also another named Serenus Granius, a man of great nobility, who likewise wrote very pithy and grave letters to Adrian the emperor, shewing and declaring therein that it was consistent with no right nor reason for the blood of innocents to be given to the rage and fury of the people, and so to be condemned for no fault, only for the name and sect that they professed.

Thus the goodness of God being moved with the prayers and supplications of these excellent men, so turned the

heart of the emperor, that he being better informed concerning the order and profession of the Christians, became more favourable unto them. And immediately upon the same directed his letters to Minutius Fundanus, (as is partly before mentioned,) proconsul of Asia, willing him from henceforth to exercise no more such extremity against the Christians, as to condemn any of them, having no other crime objected against them but only their name.

The copy of which his letter, because that Justin in his apology doth allege it, I thought therefore to express the same in his own words, as followeth:

Letter of ADRIAN, the Emperor, to Minutius Fundanus.

"I HAVE received an epistle, written unto me, from Serenus Granius, our right worthy and well beloved, whose office you do now execute. Therefore I think it not good to leave this matter without further advisement and circumspection to pass, lest our subjects be molested, and malicious sycophants emboldened and supported in their evil. Wherefore, if the subjects of our provinces do bring forth any accusation before the judge, against the Christians, and can prove the thing they object against them, let them do the same, and no more: and otherwise, for the name only, not to impeach them, nor to cry out against them. For so more convenient it is, that, if any man will be an accuser, you take the accusation quietly, and judge upon the same. Therefore, if any shall accuse the Christians, and complain of them as malefactors, doing contrary to the law, then give you judgment according to the quality of the crime. But notwithstanding, whosoever upon spite and maliciousness shall commence or cavil against them, see you correct and punish that man for his disorderly and malicious dealing."

Thus, by the merciful providence of God, some more quiet and rest was given to the church; although Hermannus thinketh these halcyon days did not very long continue, but that the emperor, changing his edict, began to renew again the persecution of God's people; although this soundeth not to be so by the words of Melito, in his apology to Antoninus hereafter ensuing. In the mean time, this is certain, that in the days of this Adrian, the Jews rebelled again, and spoiled the country of Palestine. Against whom the emperor sent Julius Severus, who overthrew in Jewry fifty castles, and burnt and destroyed nine hundred and fourscore villages and towns, and slew of the Jews fifty thousand: with famine, sickness, sword, and fire, Judea was almost desolate. But at length, Adrian the emperor, which otherwise was named *Ælius*, repaired and enlarged the city of Jerusalem again, which was called after his name, *Æliopolis*, or *Ælia Capitolina*; the right to inhabit which he granted only to the Gentiles and to the Christians, forbidding the Jews utterly to enter into the city.

After the death of Adrian, who died by bleeding at the nose, succeeded Antoninus Pius, about the year of our Lord one hundred and forty, and reigned twenty and three years, who, for his clemency and modest behaviour, had the name of *Pius*, and is for the same in histories commended. His saying is, "That he had rather save one citizen, than destroy a thousand of his adversaries." At the beginning of his reign, such was the state of the church, as Adrian his predecessor had left it, as in which, although there was no edict set forth to persecute the Christians, yet the tumultuous rage of the ignorant multitude, for the causes above specified, did not cease to disquiet and afflict the quiet people of God, imputing, according to the Christians, whatsoever misfortune happened

contrary unto their desires; moreover, inventing against them all false crimes and contumelies, whereof to accuse them. By reason whereof, divers there were in sundry places much molested and put to death: albeit, as it is to be supposed, not by the consent of the emperor, who of nature was so mild and gentle, that either he raised up no persecution against the Christians, or else he soon stayed the same, being moved. As well may appear by his letter sent down to the countries of Asia, the tenor whereof is as follows:

Epistle of ANTONINUS PIUS to the Commons of Asia.

"EMPEROR and Caesar, Aurelius Antoninus Augustus, Armenicus, Pontifex Maximus, tribune eleven times, consul thrice, unto the Commons of Asia, greeting. I am very certain that the gods have a care of this, that they which are wicked shall be known, and not lie hid. For they do punish them that will not worship them, more than you, which so sore vex and trouble them, confirming thereby the opinion which they have conceived, and do conceive of you, that is, to be wicked men. For this is their joy and desire, that when they are accused, rather they covet to die for their God, than to live. Whereby they are victorious, and do overcome you, giving rather their lives, than to be obedient to you, in doing that which you require of them. And here it shall not be inconvenient to advertise you of the earthquakes which have and do happen among us, that when at the sight of them you tremble and are afraid, then you may confer your case with them. For they, upon a sure confidence of their God, are bold and fearless, much more than you; who in all the time of this your ignorance, both do worship other gods, and neglect the religion of immortality; and such Christians as worship him, them you do drive out, and persecute them unto death. Of these and such like matters many presidents of our provinces did write to our father of famous memory heretofore. To whom he directed his answer again, willing them in no case to molest the Christians, except they were found in some trespass prejudicial to the empire of Rome. And to me also many there be, which write, signifying their mind in like manner. To whom I have answered again to the same effect and manner as my father did. Wherefore, if any hereafter shall offer any vexation or trouble to such, having no other cause, but only for that they are such, let him that is impeached be released and discharged free, yea, although he be found to be such, (that is, a Christian,) and let the accuser sustain the punishment," &c.

This godly edict of the emperor was proclaimed at Ephesus, in the public assembly of all Asia; whereof Melito also, bishop of Sardis, who flourished in the same time, makes mention in his apology written in defence of our doctrine to M. Antoninus Verus. By this means then the tempest of persecution in those days began to be appeased, through the merciful providence of God, which would not have his church shortly to be overthrown.

*The Fourth Persecution.*

AFTER the decease of the aforesaid quiet and mild prince, Aurelius Antoninus Pius, (who among all other emperors of that time made the most quiet end,) followed his son M. Antoninus Verus, with Lucius his brother, about the year of our Lord one hundred threescore and two, a man of nature more mild and severe. And although in study of philosophy and in civil government so less commendable, yet towards the

Christians sharp and fierce, by whom was moved the fourth persecution after Nero. In whose time a great number of them, which truly professed Christ, suffered most cruel torments and punishments both in Asia and France. In the number of whom was *Polycarpus*, the worthy bishop of Smyrna, who in the great rage of this persecution in Asia, among many other most constant saints, was also martyred. Of whose end and martyrdom, I thought it here not inexpedient to commit to history so much as Eusebius declareth to be taken out of a certain letter or epistle, written by them of his own church to the brethren of Pontus; which epistle, according to bishop Wake's accurate translation, is as follows:

*The Circular Epistle of the Church of Smyrna, concerning the Martyrdom of St. POLYCARP.*

"THE church of God which is at Smyrna, to the church of God which is at Philadelphia; and to all the other assemblies of the holy catholic church, in every place; mercy, peace, and love from God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, be multiplied.

"We have written to you, brethren, both of what concerns the other Martyrs, but especially the blessed *Polycarp*, who by his martyrdom put an end to the persecution; setting, as it were, his seal to it. For almost all things that went before were done, that the Lord might shew us from above a martyrdom truly such as became the gospel. For he expected to be delivered up, even as the Lord also did, that we should become the followers of his example; considering not only what is profitable for ourselves, but also for our neighbour's advantage. For it is the part of a true and perfect charity, to desire, not only that a man's self should be saved, but also all the brethren.

"The sufferings then of all the other martyrs were blessed and generous; which they underwent according to the will of God. For so it becomes us, who are more religious than others, to ascribe the power and ordering of all things unto him. And indeed who can choose but admire the greatness of their mind, and that admirable patience, and love of their Master, which then appeared in them? Who, when they were so flayed with whipping, that the frame and structure of their bodies were laid open to their very inward veins and arteries, nevertheless endured it. And when all that beheld them pitied and lamented them; yet they shewed so great a generosity of mind, that none of them let so much as a sigh or groan escape them: plainly shewing that those holy martyrs of Christ, at the very same time that they were thus tormented, were absent from the body; or rather, that the Lord stood by them, and conversed with them. Wherefore, being supported by the grace of Christ, they despised all the torments of the world; by the sufferings of an hour, redeeming themselves from everlasting punishment. For this cause, even the fire of their cruel and barbarous executions seemed cold to them; whilst they hoped thereby to escape that fire which is eternal, and shall never be extinguished; and beheld, with the eyes of faith, those good things which are reserved for them that "endure to the end; which neither ear has heard, nor eye seen, nor have they entered into the heart of man." But to them they were now revealed by the Lord: as being no longer men, but already become angels. In like manner, those who were condemned to the banishment, and kept a long time in prison, underwent many cruel torments, being forced to lie upon sharp spikes laid under their bodies; and tormented with divers other sorts of punishments; that so, if it were possible, the tyrant, by the length of their sufferings, might have brought them to despair of their



"For indeed the devil did invent many things against them; but, thanks be to God, he was not able to prevail over all. For the brave Germanicus strengthened those that feared by his patience; and fought gloriously with the beasts. For when the proconsul would have persuaded him, telling him that he should consider his age, and spare himself; he pulled the wild beast to him, and provoked him, being desirous the more quickly to be delivered from a wicked and unjust world. Upon this, the whole multitude, wondering at the courage of the holy and pious race of Christians, cried out, *"Take away these Atheists, let Polycarp be looked out."*

"Then one named Quintus, a Phrygian, being newly come from thence, seeing the beasts, was afraid. This was he who forced himself and some others to present themselves of their own accord to the trial. Him therefore the proconsul persuaded, with many promises, to swear and sacrifice. For which cause, brethren, we do not commend those who offer themselves to persecution; seeing the gospel teaches no such thing.

"But the most admirable Polycarp, when he first heard that he was called for, was not at all concerned at it; but resolved to tarry in the city. Nevertheless, he was at the last persuaded, at the desire of many, to go out of it. He departed therefore into a little village, not far distant from the city, and there tarried with a few about him; doing nothing, night or day, but praying for all men, and for the churches which were in all the world, according to his usual custom. And as he was praying, he saw a vision, three days before he was taken; and, behold, the pillow under his head seemed to be on fire. Whereupon, turning to those that were with him, he said prophetically, *"I must be burned alive."*

"Now when those who were to take him drew near, he departed into another village; and immediately they who sought him came thither. And when they found him not, they seized upon two young men that were there, one of which, being tormented, confessed. For it was impossible he should be concealed, forasmuch as they who betrayed him were his own domestics. So the officer who is called Cleonimus, Herod by name, hasted to bring him into the lists; that so Polycarp might receive his proper portion, being made partaker of Christ; and they that betrayed him undergo the punishment of Judas.

"The sergeants, therefore, and horsemen, taking the young lad along with them, departed about supper time, being Friday, with their usual arms, as it were against a thief or a robber. And being come to the place where he was, about the close of the evening they found him lying down in a little upper room, from whence he could easily have escaped into another place, but he would not; saying, *"The will of the Lord be done."* Wherefore when he heard that they were come to the house, he went down, and spake to them; and as they that were present wondered at his age and constancy, some of them began to say, *"Was there need of all this care to take such an old man?"* Then presently he ordered, that the same hour there should be somewhat got ready for them, that they might eat and drink their fill; desiring them withal, that they would give him one hour's liberty the while, to pray without disturbance. And when they had permitted him, he stood praying, being full of the grace of God, so that he ceased not for two whole hours, to the admiration of all that heard him; insomuch, that many of the soldiers began to repent that they were come out against so godly an old man.

"As soon as he had done his prayer, in which he remembered all men, whether little or great, honourable or obscure, that had at any time been acquainted with him; and with

them the whole Catholic Church, over all the world; the time being come that he was to depart, the guards set him upon an ass, and so brought him into the city, being the day of the great Sabbath. And Herod, the chief officer, with his father, Nicetes, met him in a chariot; and having taken him up to them, they began to persuade him, saying, *"What harm is there in it to say, Lord Cæsar, and sacrifice, (with the rest that is usual on such occasions,) and so be safe?"* But Polycarp, at first, answered them not; whereupon they continuing to urge him, he said, *"I shall not do what you would persuade me to do."* So being out of all hope of prevailing with him, they began first to rail at him, and then with violence threw him out of the chariot, insomuch that he hurt his thigh with the fall. But he not turning back, went on readily with all diligence, as if he had received no harm at all; and so was brought to the lists, where there was so great a tumult, that nobody could be heard.

"As he was going into the lists, there came a voice from heaven to him, *"Be strong, Polycarp, and quit thyself like a man."* Now, no one saw who it was that spake to him; but for the voice, many of our brethren who were present heard it. And as he was brought in, there was a great disturbance when they heard how that Polycarp was taken. And when he came near, the proconsul asked him, *"Whether he was Polycarp?"* Who confessing that he was; he persuaded him to deny the faith, saying *"Reverence thy old age,"* with many other things of the like nature, as their custom is; concluding thus, *"Swear by Cæsar's fortune. Repent, and say, Take the Atheists."* Then Polycarp, looking with a stern countenance upon the whole multitude of wicked Gentiles that was gathered together in the lists, and shaking his hand at them, looked up to heaven, and groaning, said, *"Take away the wicked."* But the proconsul insisting and saying, *"Swear, and I will set thee at liberty; reproach Christ."* Polycarp replied, *"Eighty and six years have I now served Christ; and he has never done me the least wrong; how then can I blaspheme my King and my Saviour?"*

"And when the proconsul nevertheless still insisted, saying, *"Swear by the genius of Cæsar,"* he answered, *"Seeing thou art so vainly urgent with me that I should swear as thou callest it, by the genius of Cæsar, seeming as if thou didst not know what I am: hear me freely professing it to thee, that I am a Christian. But if thou farther desirest to account what Christianity is, appoint a day, and thou shalt hear it."* The proconsul replied, *"Persuade the people."* Polycarp answered, *"To thee have I offered to give a reason of my faith; for so are we taught to pay all due honour (such only excepted as would be hurtful to ourselves) to the powers and authorities which are ordained of God. But for the people, I esteem them not worthy that I should give an account of my faith to them."*

"The proconsul continued, and said unto him, *"I have wild beasts ready,—to those I will cast thee, except thou repent."* He answered, *"Call for them, then: for we Christians are fixed in our minds not to change from good to evil; but for me it will be good to be changed from evil to good."* The proconsul added, *"Seeing thou despisest the wild beasts, I will cause thee to be devoured by fire, unless thou shalt repent."* Polycarp answered, *"Thou threatenest me with fire, which burns for an hour, and so is extinguished; but knowest not the fire of the future judgment, and of that eternal punishment which is reserved for the ungodly. But why tremblest thou? Bring forth what thou wilt?"*

"Having said this, and many other things of the like manner, he was filled with confidence and joy, insomuch that his countenance was full of grace; so that he did not only endure

it fall with any confusion at what was spoken to him; but, on the contrary, the proconsul was struck with astonishment; and sent his crier into the middle of the lists, to proclaim three several times, "Polycarp has confessed himself to be a Christian." Which being done by the crier, the whole multitude, both of the Gentiles and of the Jews, which dwelt at Smyrna, being full of fury, cried out with a loud voice, "This is the doctor of Asia; the father of the Christians, and the overthrower of our gods; he that has taught so many not to sacrifice, nor pay any worship to the gods." And saying this, they cried out, and desired Philip, the asiarch, that he would let loose a lion against Polycarp. But Philip replied, that it was not lawful for him to do so, because that kind of spectacle was already over. Then it pleased them to cry out with one consent, that "*Polycarp should be burnt alive.*" For so it was necessary that the vision should be fulfilled which was made manifest unto him by his pillow, when seeing it on fire as he was praying, he turned about, and said prophetically to the faithful that were with him, "*I must be burnt alive.*"

"This therefore was done with greater speed than it was spoke; the whole multitude instantly gathering together wood and fagots, out of the shops and baths. The Jews especially, according to their custom, with all readiness assisting them in it. When the fuel was ready, Polycarp laying aside all his upper garments, and undoing his girdle, tried also to pull off his clothes underneath, which aforetime he was not wont to do; forasmuch as always every one of the Christians that was about him strove who should soonest touch his flesh. For he was truly adorned by his good conversation with every thing that was good, even before his martyrdom. *This being done*, they presently put about him such instruments as were necessary to prepare the pile that was to burn him. But when they would have also nailed him to the stake, he said, "Let me alone as I am; for he who has given me strength to endure the fire, will also enable me, without your securing me by nails, to stand without moving in the pile."

"Wherefore they did not nail him, but only tied him to it. But he having put his hands behind him, and being bound like as a ram chosen out of a great flock, for an offering, and prepared to be a burnt-sacrifice, acceptable unto God, looked up to heaven, and said, "O Lord God Almighty, the Father of thy well-beloved and blessed Son Jesus Christ, by whom we have received the knowledge of thee; the God of angels and powers, and of every creature, and especially of the whole race of just men who live in thy presence! I give thee many thanks that thou hast vouchsafed to bring me to this hour, that I should have a part in the number of thy martyrs, in the cup of thy Christ, to the resurrection of eternal life, both of soul and body, in the incorruption of the Holy Ghost. Among which may I be accepted to-day before thee, as a fat and acceptable sacrifice; as thou, the true God, with whom is no falsehood, hast before me manifested unto me, and also hast now fulfilled for this, and for all things else, I praise thee, I bless thee, I glorify thee by the eternal and heavenly high-priest, thy Christ thy beloved Son, with whom, to thee, and the Holy Ghost, be glory, both now and to all succeeding ages,

And he had no sooner pronounced aloud Amen, and finished his prayer, but they who were appointed to be his executioners, kindled the fire; and when the flame began to blaze, behold, a wonderful miracle appeared, and the happiness to see it, and who were reserved to see it, to others, what had happened. For the

flame making a kind of arch, like the sail of a ship filled with the wind, encompassed, as in a circle, the body of the holy martyr, who stood in the midst of it, not as if his flesh were burnt, but as bread that is baked, or as gold or silver glowing in the furnace. Moreover, so sweet a smell came from it, as if frankincense, or some rich spices, had been smoking there.

"At length, when those wicked men saw that his body could not be consumed by the fire, they commanded the executioner to go near to him, and stick his dagger in him; which being accordingly done, there came forth so great a quantity of blood, as even extinguished the fire; and raised an admiration in all the people, to consider what a difference there was between the infidels and the elect. One of which this great martyr Polycarp most certainly was; being in our times a truly apostolical and prophetic teacher, and bishop of the Catholic church which is at Smyrna. For every word that went out of his mouth either has been already fulfilled, or in its due time will be accomplished.

"But when the emulous, and envious, and wicked adversary of the race of the just, saw the greatness of his martyrdom; and considered how irreprehensible his conversation had been from the beginning; and how he was now crowned with the crown of immortality, having without all controversy received his reward; he took all possible care that not the least remainder of his body should be taken away by us; although many desired to do it, and to be made partakers of his holy flesh. And to that end he suggested it to Nicetas, the father of Herod, and brother of Alce, to go to the governor, and hinder him from giving us his body to be buried. "Lest, (says he,) forsaking him that was crucified, they should begin to worship this Polycarp." And this he said at the suggestion and instance of the Jews, who also watched us, that we should not take him out of the fire; not considering, that neither is it possible for us ever to forsake Christ, who suffered for the salvation of all such as shall be saved throughout the whole world, "*the righteous for the ungodly,*" nor worship any other besides him. For him, indeed, as being the Son of God, we do adore; but for the martyrs, we worthily love them, as the disciples and followers of our Lord; and upon the account of their exceeding great affection towards their Master and their King. Of whom may we also be made companions and fellow-disciples!

"The centurion therefore, seeing the contention of the Jews, put his body into the midst of the fire, and so consumed it. After which, we, taking up his bones, more precious than the richest jewels, and tried above gold, deposited them where it was fitting. Where being gathered together as we have opportunity, with joy and gladness, the Lord shall grant unto us to celebrate the anniversary of his martyrdom, both in memory of those who have suffered, and for the exercise and preparation of those that may hereafter suffer.

"Such was the passion of the blessed Polycarp, who though he was the twelfth of those who (together with those of Philadelphia) suffered martyrdom; is yet alone chiefly had in memory of all men: insomuch, that he is spoken of by the very Gentiles themselves in every place, as having been not only an eminent teacher, but also a glorious martyr. Whose death all desire to imitate, as having been every way conformable to the gospel of Christ. For having by patience overcome the unjust governor, and so received the crown of immortality, he now, together with the apostles and other righteous men, who have gone before, with whom he glorifies God, even the Father, and his Son Jesus Christ, governor both of our souls and bodies, and the head of the Catholic Church which is over all the earth.

"Whereas therefore ye desired that we would at large declare to you what was done; we have for the present given you a summary account of it, by our brother Marcus; having therefore yourselves read this epistle, you may do well to send it forward to the brethren that are farther off, that they also may glorify God, who makes such choice of his own servants, and is able to bring all of us by his grace and help to his eternal kingdom, through his only begotten Son Jesus Christ; to whom be glory, and honour, and power, and majesty, for ever and ever, Amen. Salute all the saints; they that are with us salute you; and Evarestus, who wrote this epistle, with his whole house.

"Now the suffering of the blessed Polycarp was the second day of the present month, Xanthicus, viz. before the seventh of the kalends of May, being the Great Sabbath, about the eighth hour. He was taken by Herod; Philip the Trallian being the high-priest; Statius Quadratus, proconsul. But our Saviour, reigning for evermore; to him be honour, glory, majesty, and an eternal throne, from generation to generation, Amen.

"We wish you, brethren, all happiness, by living according to the rule of the gospel of Jesus Christ; with whom, glory be to God the Father, and the Holy Spirit, for the salvation of his chosen saints. After whose example the blessed Polycarp suffered; at whose feet may we be found in the kingdom of Jesus Christ."

This Polycarp is supposed to be the very person who is called "angel of the church of Smyrna," Rev. iii. 8-10, and to whom our Lord directs the epistle which is there inserted.

Thus good Polycarp, with twelve others that came from Philadelphia, suffered martyrdom at Smyrna; which Polycarp especially above the rest is had in memory, so that he in all places among the Gentiles is most famous. And this was the end of this worthy disciple of the apostles; whose history the brethren of the congregation of Smyrna have written in this their epistle, as is above recited.

Irenæus, in his third book against Heresies, the third chapter; and Eusebius, in the fourth book and fourteenth chapter of his Ecclesiastical History, reports this worthy saying of Polycarp: "This Polycarpus (saith he) meeting at a certain time Marcion the heretic, who said to him, Dost thou not know me? made answer, I know that thou art the first-begotten of Satan." So little fear what evil might ensue thereof, had the disciples of the apostles, that they would not speak to them whom they knew to be the de-pravers of the truth, even as St. Paul saith, "The heretic, after the first and second admonition, reject, knowing that he who is such a one, is perverted, and is condemned of himself." This most holy confessor and martyr of Christ, Polycarp, suffered death in the fourth persecution after Nero, when Marcus Antoninus and Lucius Aurelius Commodus reigned, in the year of our Lord 167, as Ursperg affirms; or in the year 170, as Eusebius witnesses in his chronicles, the seventh before the kalends of February.

Of Germanicus mention is made above in the history of Polycarp, of whom writes Eusebius, lib. 4. cap. 15. noting him to be a young man, and most constantly to persevere in the profession of Christ's doctrine; whom when the proconsul would persuade to remember his age, and to favour himself, he said, "The flower of his age, he would not be allured; but he was bold, and of his own accord, incited and provoked, he was bent to come upon him, and to devour him, and to cast him more speedily out of this wretched life."

Now have you heard, out of the epistle of the brethren of

Smyrna, the whole order and life of Polycarp; whereby it may appear that he was a very aged man, who had served Christ eighty-six years since the first knowledge of him, and served also in the ministry about the space of seventy years. This Polycarp was the scholar and hearer of John the evangelist, and was placed by the said John in Smyrna. Of him also Ignatius makes mention in his epistle, which he wrote in his journey to Rome, going toward his martyrdom, and commends to him the government of his church at Antioch, whereby it appears that Polycarp was then in the ministry. Likewise Irenæus writeth of the said Polycarp after this manner. "He always taught (saith he) those things which he learned of the apostles, (leaving them to the church,) and which are only true." Whereunto also all the churches that be in Asia, and all they which succeeded after Polycarp, to this day bear witness. And the same Irenæus witnesseth also, that the said Polycarp wrote an epistle to the Philip-pians, which whether it be the same that is now extant and read in the name of Polycarp, it is doubted of some; notwithstanding, in the said epistle divers things are found very wholesome and apostolic; as, where he teaches of Christ, of judgment, and of the resurrection. Also he writes of faith very worthily, thus declaring, that by grace we are saved, and not by works, but in the will of God by Jesus Christ.

In Eusebius we read in like manner a part of an epistle written by Irenæus to Florinus, wherein is declared, how that the said Irenæus, being yet young, was with Polycarp in Asia, at what time he saw and well remembered what Polycarp did, and the place where he sat teaching, his whole order of life and proportion of body, with the sermons and words which he said to the people. And furthermore he perfectly remembered, how that the said Polycarp oftentimes reported unto him those things which he learned and heard them speak of the Lord, his doings, power, and doctrine, who heard the word of life with their own ears, all which were more constant and agreeable to the holy scriptures. This, with much more, hath Irenæus concerning Polycarp.

Jerome also, writing of the same Polycarp, tells how he was in great estimation throughout all Asia, for that he was scholar to the apostles, and to them which did see, and were conversant with, Christ himself; whereby it is to be conjectured his authority to be much, not only with them of his own church, but with all other churches about him.

In this fourth persecution, besides Polycarp and others mentioned before, we read also in Eusebius of divers others, who at the same time likewise did suffer at Smyrna.

Over and besides, in the same persecution, suffered *Mordorus*, a minister, who was cast into the fire, and so consumed.—Another, was worthy *Pionius*, which after much boldness of speech, with his apologies exhibited, and his sermons made to the people in the defence of the Christian faith, and after much relieving and comforting such as were in prisons, and otherwise distressed, at last was put to such torments and afflictions, then given likewise to the fire, and so finished his blessed martyrdom.

After these also suffered *Carpus, Papilus, and Agathe*, a woman, who after their most constant and worthy confessions, were put to death at Pergamopolis in Asia. Eusebius witnesses, lib. 4. cap. 7.

*Felicitas*, with her seven children, suffered in Rome, under M. Anton. Veras; the names of whose children the annals and other histories do thus record: *Agathus, Paphus, Philip, Silvanus, Alexander, Vitellus, Marcellus*. After her first and eldest son, *Jannæus*, aged ten years, and acquainted with gods, was put to death, and his weights. *Felix* and *Philip* had their brains beaten out.

mawls, Silvanus was cast down headlong, and had his neck broken. Furthermore, Alexander, Vitalis, and Martialis, were beheaded. Last of all, Felicitas, the mother, (otherwise than the accustomed manner for such as had borne children,) was slain with the sword.—Ex Supplem.

In the rage of this fourth persecution, under the reign of Antoninus Pius, suffered also good *Justin*, a man in learning and philosophy excellent, and a great defender of the Christian religion; who first exhibited unto the emperor, and to the senate, a book or apology in the defence of the Christians, and afterward himself also died a martyr. Of whom, in the history of Eusebius, lib. 4. cap. 16. it is recorded, that about the time that Polycarp, with divers other saints, suffered martyrdom in Pergamopolis, a city of Asia, this Justin presented a book in defence of our doctrine to the emperor, to wit, unto Antoninus, and to the senate. After which he was also crowned with like martyrdom unto those whom he in his book had defended, through the malicious means and crafty circumvention of Crescens.

This Crescens was a philosopher, conforming his life and manners to the Cynical sect, whom because this Justin had reproved in open audience, and had borne away the victory of the truth which he defended; he therefore, as much as in him lay, did work and procure unto him this crown of martyrdom. And this did also Justin himself, a philosopher, no less famous by his profession, foresee and declare in his foresaid apology, telling almost all those things beforehand which should happen unto him, by these words: saying, "And I look, after this good turn, that I be slain going by the way, either of some of those whom I have named, and have my brains beaten out with a bat; or else of Crescens, whom I cannot call a philosopher, but rather a vain boaster. For it is not convenient to call him a philosopher, who openly professes things to him unknown, saying and reporting of us, that the Christians are both ungodly and irreligious; and all to please and flatter them which are seduced by error."

Now, to verify that which Justin prophesies of himself, that Crescens would and did procure his death, Jerome in his Ecclesiastical Catalogue thus writes: Justin, when in the city of Rome he had his disputations, and had reproved Crescens, the Cynic, for a great blasphemer of the Christians, for a belly-god, and a man fearing death, and also a follower of lust and lechery; and last by his endeavours and conspiracy was accused to be a Christian, and for Christ shed his blood in the year of our Lord one hundred fifty and four, under Marcus Antoninus, as the chronicles do witness.

Among these above recited, is also to be numbered *Praxedis*, a blessed virgin, the daughter of a citizen of Rome, who, in the time of Anicetus their bishop, was so brought up in the doctrine of Christ, and so affected to his religion, that she, with her sister *Potentiana*, bestowed all her patrimony upon relieving of poor Christians, giving all her time to fasting and prayer, and to the burying of the bodies of the martyrs. And after she had made all her family free, with her servants, after the death of her sister, she also departed, and was buried in peace.

Under the same Antoninus, also suffered *Ptolomeus* and *Lucius*, for the confession of Christ, in a city of Egypt called Alexandria; whose history, because it is described in the Apology of Justin Martyr, I thought therefore so to set forth the same, as it is alleged in Eusebius, declaring the manner and occasion thereof, lib. 4. cap. 17. in words and effect as followeth.

There was (saith he) a certain woman married unto a husband, who was given much to lasciviousness, whereunto she in times past was also addicted. But she afterward be-

ing instructed in the Christian religion, became chaste herself, and also persuaded her husband to live chastely; oftentimes telling him, that it was written in the precepts of the Christians, that they should be punished eternally who lived not chastely and justly in this life. But he still continuing his filthiness, thereby caused his wife to estrange herself from his company. For why? the woman thought it not convenient to continue in her husband's company, who, contemning the law of nature, sought otherwise to satisfy his filthy appetite. Therefore she was purposed to be divorced from him. But her neighbours and kinsfolk prevailed on her, by promising his amendment, to keep company again with him; and so she did. But he after this took his journey into Alexandria, and when it was shewed her that there he lived more licentiously than at any time before; for that she would not be counted partaker of his incestuous life, by coupling herself any longer with him, she gave him a letter of divorce, and so departed from him. Then her husband, who ought rather to have rejoiced to have so honest and chaste a wife, which not only would not commit any dishonest thing herself, but also could not abide any lewd or disorderly behaviour in her husband, and that by this her separation she went about to reclaim him from his incest and wickedness to better amendment of his life; he, in recompense to his wife again, accused her to be a Christian, which at that time was no less than death. Whereupon she, being in great peril and danger, delivered up unto the emperor (as Justin in his Apology, writing to the emperor himself, declares) a supplication, desiring and craving of his majesty, first, to grant her so much license as to set her family in order; and that done, afterward to come again and make answer to all that might or should be laid against her; whereunto the emperor condescended. Then her husband, seeing that he could have no advantage against her, devised with himself, how he might bring Ptolomeus (which was her instructor in the faith of Christ) into trouble and accusation; using the means of a certain centurion, who was his friend, whom he persuaded to examine Ptolomeus, whether he were a Christian or not. Ptolomeus (as one that loved the truth, and not thinking good to hide his profession) confessed no less then to the examiner, openly declaring that he had, as truth was, taught and professed the true Christian doctrine. For whose denieth himself to be that he is, either condemneth in denying the thing that he is, or maketh himself unworthy of that, the confession whereof he fieth: which thing is never found in a true and sincere Christian. Thus then, he being brought before Urbicius the judge, and by him condemned to suffer; one *Lucius*, being also a Christian, standing by, seeing the wrong judgment and hasty sentence of the judge, said to Urbicius:

"What reason, I pray you, or equity, is this, that this man, who neither is adulterer, nor fornicator, nor homicide, nor felon, neither hath committed any such crime wherewith he may be charged, is thus condemned only for the name and confession of a Christian? This condemnation, and this manner of judgment, O Urbicius, are neither seemly for the virtuous emperor, nor the philosopher his son, nor yet for the estate of his senate of Rome."

Which words being heard, Urbicius, making no further examination of the matter, said unto Lucius, "*Methinks thou art also a Christian.*" And when Lucius had given him to understand that he was also a Christian, the judge, without further delay, commanded him to be had away to the place of execution. To whom he answered, "I thank you with all my heart, that you release me from most wicked government, and send me unto my good and most loving Father, who is also the King of all gods."



And in like manner the *third* man also coming unto him, and using the like liberty of speech, had also the like sentence of death and condemnation, and was crowned also with the same crown of martyrdom.

Henricus de Erfordia recordeth, out of the Martyrology of Isuardus, of one *Concordus*, a minister of the city of Spolet, who in the reign of this Antoninus Verus, because he would not sacrifice unto Jupiter, but did spit in the face of the idol, after divers and sundry punishments sustained, at last was beheaded with the sword.

A little before, mention was made of *Symphorissa*, otherwise named *Symphorosa*, wife of *Getulus*, with her seven sons. This *Getulus*, or *Getulus*, was a minister or teacher, (as witnesseth Martyrol. Adonis,) in the city of Tiber, with *Getulus*, with *Cerealis*, *Amantius*, and *Primitivus*, by the commandment of Adrian, were condemned to the fire, wherein they were martyred and put to death. The names, moreover, of the seven sons of this *Symphorosa*, I find to be *Creescens*, *Julianus*, *Nemesius*, *Primitivus*, *Justinus*, *Stattens*, and *Eugenius*, whom the chronicle of Ado declareth to be put to death at the commandment of Adrian, being fastened to seven stakes, and so racked up with a pulley, and at last were thrust through; *Creescens* in the neck, *Julianus* in the breast, *Nemesius* in the heart, *Primitivus* about the navel, *Justinus* cut in every joint of his body, *Stattens* run through with spears, *Eugenius* cut asunder from the breast to the lower parts, and then cast into a deep pit, having the name by the idolatrous priests entitled, *Ad septem Biothanatos*. After the martyrdom of whom also, *Symphorosa*, their pious mother, did likewise suffer.

Under the said Antoninus Verus, and in the same persecution, which raged not in Rome and Asia only, but in other countries also, suffered the glorious and most constant martyrs of Lyons and Vienne, two cities in France, giving to Christ a glorious testimony, and to all Christian men a spectacle or example of singular constancy and fortitude in Christ our Saviour. The history of whom, because it is set forth by their own churches, where they did suffer, mentioned in Eusebius, lib. 5. cap. 2. I thought here to express in their own words, as it may there be seen. The title of which epistle, written to the brethren of Asia and Phrygia, thus beginneth.

*The Servants of Christ, inhabiting the cities of Vienne and Lyons, to the Brethren in Asia and Phrygia, having the same faith and hope of redemption with us,—Peace, grace, and glory from God the Father, and from Jesus Christ our Lord.*

The greatness of this our tribulation, the furious rage of the Gentiles against us, and the torments which the blessed martyrs suffered, neither can we in words, nor yet in writing, exactly as they deserve, set forth. For the adversary, with all his force, in every place acts and instructs his ministers, how in most spiteful manner to set themselves against the servants of God; so that not only in our houses, shops, and markets, we were restrained, but also were universally commanded that none should be seen in any place. But God hath always mercy in store, and took out of their hands such as were weak amongst them, and others did he set up as firm and immovable pillars, which by sufferance were able to abide all violent force, and valiantly to withstand the enemy, enduring all the opprobrious punishment they could devise: to conclude, they fought this battle for that intent to come unto Christ, regarding their troubles but as light; thereby shewing, that all that may be suffered in this present life, is not able to hinder the great glory which shall be shewed us in the next. And first they patiently suffered whatsoever the mul-

titude of frantic people running unbridled did unto them, as railings, scourgings, drawings, and halings, flinging of stones, imprisonings, and what other things soever the rage of the multitude is wont to use and practise against their professed enemies. Then afterward they being led into the market-place, and there judged of the captain and the rest of the potentates of the city, after their confession made openly before the multitude, were commanded again to prison, until the return of their chief governor. And this, being brought before him, and he used all extremity that he possibly could against them, one *Vitius Epagathus*, one of the brethren, replenished with fervent zeal, both toward God and his brethren, whose conduct (though a young man) was counted as perfect as was the life of Zachary the priest, (for he walked diligently in all the commandments of the Lord, and in all obedience towards his brethren, blameless,) having within him the fervent zeal of love, and Spirit of God, could not suffer that wicked judgment which was given upon the Christians; but being vehemently displeased, desired that the judge would hear the excuse which he was minded to make in the behalf of the Christians, in whom, saith he, is no impiety found. But the people cried again to those that were assistants with the chief justice, that it might not be so, (for indeed he was a nobleman born,) neither did the justice grant him his lawful request, but only asked him, "*Whether he himself was a Christian, or not?*" And he immediately, with a loud and bold voice, answered and said, "*I am a Christian.*" And thus was he received into the fellowship of the martyrs, and called the advocate of the Christians. And he having the Spirit of God more plentifully in time than had Zachary, the abundance thereof he declared, in that he gave his life in the defence of his brethren, being a true disciple of Christ, "*following the Lamb wheresoever he goeth.*"

By this man's example, the rest of the Christians were the more animated to martyrdom, and made more joyous with all courage of mind to accomplish the same. Some other there were, not so well prepared, nor well able to bear the vehemency of so great a conflict; of whom ten there were in number that drew back, ministering to us much heaviness and lamentation. Who by their example caused the rest, which were not yet apprehended, to be less willing thereto. Then were we all, for the variableness of confession, not a little astonished, not that we feared the punishment intended against us, but rather as having respect to the end, and fearing lest any should fall. Every day there were apprehended such as were worthy to fulfil the number of them which were fallen; and much that of two churches, such as were chief, and which were the principal governors of our churches, were apprehended. With these also certain of the Heathens, being our men-servants, were apprehended, (for so the governor commanded, that all of us in general, without any respect, should be taken,) which servants be overcome by Satan, and fearing the torments which they saw the saints to suffer, being also compelled thereunto by the means of the soldiers, refused against us that we kept the feastings of Thiestes, and incest of Oedipus, and many such other crimes, which are neither to be remembered nor named of us, nor yet to be thought that ever any man would commit the like.

These things being now noised abroad, every man began to shew cruelty against us, insomuch that those which before for familiarity sake were more gentle towards us, now were mad against us. And thus was fulfilled that which was spoken by Christ, saying, "*The time will come, that whosoever shall love you, shall think that he doeth God service.*" Then suffered the martyrs of God such bitter persecution as is wonderful to be told: Satan still shooting at this mark, to make

to utter some blasphemy, by all means possible. Marvellous therefore was the rage both of the people and prince, especially, against one *Sanctus*, who was deacon of the congregation of Vienna, and against *Maturus*, being but a little before baptized, but yet a worthy soldier of Christ; also against *Attalus*, born in Pergama, who was the foundation and pillar of that congregation; and also against *Blandina*, by whom Christ shewed those things which the world esteemed vile and abject, to be glorious in God's sight, for the love which in heart and deed they bare unto him, not in show only. For when we all were afraid, and especially her mistress in the flesh, who also was herself one of the number of the martyrs, lest haply for the weakness of body she would not stand strongly to her confession, the aforesaid *Blandina* was so replenished with strength and boldness, that they which had the tormenting of her by course, from morning to night, for very weariness gave over, and fell down, and were themselves overcome, confessing that they could do no more against her, and marvelled that yet she lived, having her body so torn and rent; and testified that any one of those torments alone, without any more, had been enough to have plucked the life from her body. But that blessed woman, fighting this worthy battle, became stronger and stronger; and as often as she spake these words, "I am a Christian, neither have we committed any evil," it was to her a marvellous comfort, and enabled her to abide the torments.

*Sanctus* also, another of the martyrs, who in the midst of his torments endured more pains than the nature of man is thought capable of, at what time the wicked supposed to have heard him utter some blasphemous words, through the greatness of his torments and pains, abode notwithstanding in such constancy of mind, that neither he told them his name, nor what countryman he was, nor in what city brought up, neither whether he was a freeman or a servant; but unto every question that was asked him, he answered in the Latin tongue, "I am a Christian;" and this was all that he confessed, both of his name, city, kindred, and all other things, at the place of execution; neither yet could the Gentiles get any more of him: whereupon both the governor and tormentors were the more vehemently bent against him. And when they had nothing to vex him with, they clapped plates of brass red-hot to the most tender parts of his body, where-with his body indeed being scorched, yet he never shrunk for the matter, but was bold and constant in his confession, being strengthened and moistened with the fountain of living water. Truly his body was a sufficient witness what torments he suffered; for it was all drawn together, and most pitifully wounded and scorched, so that it had lost the proper shape of a man; in whose suffering Christ obtained unspeakable glory, for that he overcame his adversaries, and, to the instruction of others, declared that nothing is terrible, or ought to be feared, where the love of God is, and nothing grievous wherein the glory of Christ is manifested.

Also Satana now thinking to have settled himself in the heart of one *Bibhides*, being one of them which had denied Christ, and thinking to have caused her, being a weak woman in the faith, to have damned her soul, in blaspheming the name of God, brought her to the place of execution, striving to wrest some wicked thing out of the mouth of the Christians. But she, in the midst of her torments, returning to herself, and awaked as it were out of her dead sleep by that temporal pain, called to her remembrance the pains of hell-fire; and against all men's expectations reviled the tormentors, saying, "How should we Christians eat young infants, (as ye report of us,) for whom it is not lawful to eat the blood of any beast?" Upon that, as soon as she had confessed herself to

be a Christian, she was martyred with the rest. Thus, when Christ had ended those tyrannical torments, by the patience and sufferance of our saints, the devil yet invented other engines and instruments. For when the Christians were cast into prison, they were shut up in dark and ugly dungeons, and were drawn by the feet in a rack or engine made for that purpose, even unto the fifth hole. And many other such punishments suffered they, which the furious ministers, stirred up with devilish fury, are wont to put men unto; so that very many of them were strangled and killed in prisons, whom the Lord in this manner would have to enjoy everlasting life, and set forth his glory. And surely these good men were so pitifully tormented, that if they had had all the helps and medicines in the world, it was thought impossible for them to live, and to be restored. And thus they remaining in prison, destitute of all human help, were strengthened so of the Lord, and both in body and mind confirmed, that they comforted and stirred up the minds of the rest; the younger sort of them, which were later apprehended, and put in prison, whose bodies had not yet felt the lash of the whip, were not able to endure the sharpness of their imprisonment, but died for the same.

The blessed *Photinus*, who was dean to the bishop of Lyons, about fourscore and nine years old, and a very feeble man, and could scarcely draw breath for the infirmity of his body; yet was he of a lively courage and spirit, and for the great desire he had of martyrdom, when he was brought unto the judgment-seat, although his body was feeble and weak, both because of his old age, and also through sickness, yet was his soul or life preserved to this purpose, that by the same Christ might triumph and be glorified. He being by the soldiers brought to the place of judgment, many citizens and men of great ability following him, and the whole multitude crying upon him diversely, as though he had been Christ himself, gave a good testimony. For being demanded of the chief ruler, What was the Christian man's God? He answered, If thou be worthy to know, thou shalt know. He being with these words somewhat nearly touched, caused to be beaten very sore. For those that stood next, did him all the spite and displeasure that they could, both with hand and foot, having no regard at all to his old age or white hairs. And they which were further off, whatsoever came next to hand, they threw at him, and every man thought that he did very wickedly refrain that withheld his hand from doing the like. For by this means they thought that they did revenge the quarrel of their gods. *Photinus* now, even as it were gasping after life, was thrown into prison, and within two days after died.

And here is the mighty providence of God, and the unspeakable mercy of Jesus Christ declared, which providence, being assured amongst a fraternity, is never destitute of the aid of Jesus Christ. For those which in their first persecution denied Christ, they also were put in prison, and made partakers of the others' affliction. Neither yet did it any whit at all at that time help them that had denied Christ, but they which confessed him were imprisoned as Christians, neither was there any other crime objected against them; but the other sort, taken like homicides and wicked doers, were laid hands on, and had double more punishment than the others had. These men were refreshed with the joy of martyrdom, the hope of God's promises, the love towards Christ, and the Spirit of God: the others, their conscience accused them, and that very sorely, insomuch that by their countenances betrayed unto the rest their guilty consciences. For the Christians went forth having cheerful countenances, very much adorned with glory and grace, insomuch that the

very bonds wherewith they were tied set them out as men in seemly apparel, and like as brides when they be decked in gorgeous and gay garments, and therewithal savoured of Christ: whereas the others were doubtful and sad, abject, ill-favoured, filled with shame, and furthermore reviled of the Gentiles themselves, as wretches degenerate, having the crime of homicide, and destitute of the most precious, glorious, and lively calling of the Christian name. And truly by these sights the rest were confirmed, and being apprehended, confessed Christ without any staggering, not having so much as the thought of any denial.

Then *Maturus*, *Blandina*, and *Attalus*, were brought together to the common scaffold, there in the face of the people to be cast to and devoured of the beasts. And *Maturus*, with *Sanctus*, being brought the second time to the scaffold, suffered again all kinds of torments, as though hitherto they had suffered nothing at all; yea, rather, the adversary being oftentimes put to the worst, they, as striving for the crown, suffered again more scourgings, the tearing of wild beasts, and what thing else soever the frantic people on every side cried for and willed. And, above all the rest, they brought an iron chair, in the which their bodies being set, were so fried and scorched, as on a gridiron fried on the coals, which filled with the savour of the frying all the people that stood by. And yet, for all that, the torments ceased not, but waxed more fierce against them, labouring to overcome the patience of the saints. Notwithstanding all this, they could not get out of *Sanctus's* mouth any other thing but the confession which at the beginning he declared. And thus these holy men, after they had long continued alive in this most horrible conflict, at the length were slain, being made all that whole day a spectacle unto the world, in place and instead of the games and sights which were to be exhibited to the people.

*Blandina*, being fastened upon the stake, was cast to the ravenous beasts to be devoured, which thing was not done without the determinate will of God; to this end, that while she seemed to hang as it were upon a cross, by the ferventness of her prayer she might comfort the rest of the saints, as beholding their Christ with their bodily eyes, which in that agony suffered for them all; and that all which believe in him, and suffer for the glory of Christ, might be assured to live with him for ever. And when they saw that no beast would come near her thus hanging, they took her down from the tree, and cast her again into prison till another time, that she, having the victory of many battles, might triumph over that serpent, the devil; and that she, being a weak woman, and not regarded, armed with Christ the invincible conqueror, might encourage her brethren, and by the enduring of this battle might win a crown of incorruptible glory.

*Attalus*, being also required and called for of the people to punishment already prepared, came forth to view. For he being worthily exercised in the Christian profession, was always a witness and a maintainer of our doctrine. Therefore when the press of people was about the scaffold, and the tablet carried before him, wherein was written in the Roman tongue, "This is *Attalus* the Christian;" then the people were in a marvellous rage against him. But the governor, understanding that he was a Roman, commanded him again to prison, with the rest of his fellow-prisoners; whereof he wrote to the emperor, and waited for answer that his pleasure herein was. The prisoners were not idle in the mean season, nor unprofitable to their brethren, but by their patience the unspeakable mercy of Christ shined out. For those which were dead before, were now revived by them that lived, and they which were martyrs profited them which were none; and the church did much rejoice, as re-

ceiving them alive again, whom she had lost before as dead. For many of them which before had denied, now by their denial were restored and stirred up, and learned to be confessors. And now being revived and strengthened, and tasting the sweetness of him "which desireth not the death of a sinner, but is merciful to the penitent," came of their own accord to the judgment-seat again, that they might be examined of the judge. And because that the emperor had written back again to him, that all the confessors should be punished, and the others let go, and that sessions were now begun, which for the multitude, that had repaired thither out of every quarter, was marvellously great; he caused all the holy martyrs to be brought thither, that the multitude might behold them, and once again examined them; and as many of them as he thought had the Roman freedom he beheaded, the residue he gave to the beasts to be devoured. And truly Christ was much glorified by those which a little before had denied him, which again, contrary to the expectation of the infidels, confessed him even unto the death. For they were examined apart from the rest, because of their delivery; who being found confessors, were joined to the company of the martyrs, and had with them their part. But there were then some abroad which had no faith at all, neither yet so much as the semblance of the wedding garment, nor any of the fear of God, but blasphemed his ways by their lewd life.

All the residue joined themselves to the congregation, which when they were examined, one *Alexander*, a Phrygian born, and a physician, which had dwelt long in France, and known almost of all, for the love he had to God, and boldness of speaking, (neither was he void of the apostolic love,) one *Alexander*, I say, standing somewhat near to the bar, by signs and becks persuaded such as were examined to confess Christ; so that by his countenance sometimes rejoicing, some other while sorrowing, he was descried of the standers by. The people not taking in good part to see those which now recanted, by and by again to stick to their first confession, they cried out against *Alexander* as one that was the cause of all this matter. And when he was examined by the judge, and demanded what religion he was of? he answered, "I am a Christian." He had no sooner spoken the word, but he was sentenced to be devoured by the beasts.

The next day following, *Attalus*, of whom I made mention a little before, and *Alexander*, were brought forth together. For the governor granting *Attalus* unto the people, he was baited again by the beasts. When these men were brought to the scaffold, and had taken a taste of all the instruments that were prepared for their execution, and had suffered the greatest agony they could put them to, they were also of length slain; of whom *Alexander* never gave so much as a sigh, nor held his peace, but from the bottom of his heart praised and prayed to the Lord. But *Attalus*, when he was set in the iron chair, and began to fry, and the frying savour of his burning body began to smell, he spake to the multitude in the Roman language; "Behold, (saith he,) this which you do is to eat man's flesh; for we neither eat men, nor yet commit any other wickedness." And being demanded what was the name of their God? "Our God (saith he) hath no such name as men have." Then said they, "Now let us see whether your God can help you, and take you out of our hands or not."

After this, being the last day of the spectacle, *Blandina* again, and one *Ponticus*, a child of fifteen years old, were brought forth; and this was every day, to the intent that they, seeing the punishment of their fellows, might be compelled thereby to sweat by their idols. But because

constantly abode in their purpose, and defied their idols, the whole multitude was in a rage with them, neither sparing the age of the child, nor favouring the sex of the woman, but put them to all the punishment and pain they could devise, and oftentimes urged them to swear, and yet were not able to compel them thereunto. For Ponticus, being so animated by his sister, as the heathens standing by did see, after that he had suffered all torments and pains, gave up the ghost. This blessed Blandina therefore, being the last that suffered, after she had like a worthy mother given exhortations unto her children, and had sent them before as conquerors to their heavenly king, and had called to her remembrance all their battles and conflicts, so much rejoiced because of her children's death, and so hastened her own, as though she had been bidden to a bridal, and not to be thrown to the wild beasts. After this her pitiful whipping, her delivery to the beasts, and her torments upon the gridiron, at length she was put in a net, and thrown to the wild bull; and when she had been sufficiently gored and wounded with the horns of the same beast, and felt nothing of all that chanced to her, for the great hope and consolation she had in Christ and heavenly things, was thus slain, insomuch that the very heathen men themselves confessed, that there was never woman put to death by them that suffered so much as this woman did. Neither yet was their furious cruelty thus assuaged against the Christians.—For the cruel barbarous people, like wild beasts, when they be moved, know not when to make an end, but invented new torments every day against our bodies. Neither yet did it content them when they had put the Christians to death, for that they wanted the sense of men: for which cause both the magistrate and people were vexed at their very hearts, that the scripture might be fulfilled, which saith, "He that is wicked, let him be wicked still; and he that is just, let him be more just." For those which in their prisons they strangled, they threw after to the dogs, setting keepers both day and night to watch them, that they should not be buried, and bringing forth the remnant of their bones and bodies, some half burned, some left of the wild beasts, and some to be mangled, also bringing forth heads of others which were cut off, and in like manner committed by them to the charge of the keepers to see them remain unburied.

The Gentiles gnashed at the Christians with their teeth, seeking which way they might amplify their punishment; some others mocked them, extolling their own idols, attributing unto them the cause of this cruelty and vengeance shewed to us. Such as were of the meeker sort, and seemed to be moved with some pity, did cast this in our teeth, saying, "Where is your God that you so much boast of? and what helpeth this your religion for which you give your lives?" These were the sundry passions and effects of the Gentiles: but the Christians in the mean while were in great heaviness, that they might not bury the bodies and relics of the holy martyrs. Neither could the dark night serve them to that purpose, nor any entreaty, nor giving them money which were appointed for watchmen; but they so narrowly looked unto the matter, as though they should have gotten great benefit and profit thereby.

Thus were the bodies of the martyrs made a wondering sight, and lay six days in the open streets; at length they buried them, and threw their ashes into the river of Rhodes, that there might appear no remnant of them upon the earth. And this did they, as though they had been able to call God out of his seat, and to have hindered the resurrection of the saints, and taken from them the hope of resurrection, whereof they being persuaded, said they,

bring in this new and strange religion, and set thus light by death and punishment.—Ex Epistola Viennensium, &c.

Among others that suffered under Antoninus, mention was made also of *Justin*, who wrote two Apologies, concerning the defence of the Christian doctrine; the one to the senate of Rome, and the other to Antoninus Pius the emperor, concerning whose suffering, and the cause thereof, is partly before declared: this Justin was born in Neapolis, in the country of Palestine, whose father was Priscus Bachius, as he himself does testify, by whom in his youth he was sent to school to learn, where, in process of time, he became a famous and worthy philosopher, of whose excellence many learned and notable men do record. For first, he being altogether inflamed with desire of knowledge, would in no wise be satisfied in his mind, before he had gotten instructors in all kind of philosophy; whereupon he writes of himself, in the beginning of his dialogue "Cum Triphone," thus declaring, that in the beginning he being desirous of that sect and society, applied himself to be scholar to a certain Stoick, and remaining with him a time, when he nothing profited in divine knowledge, (whereof the Stoick had no skill, and affirmed the knowledge thereof not to be necessary,) he forsook him, and went to another of the sect of the Peripatetics, a sharp-witted man, as he thought: with whom after he had been a while, he demanded of him a stipend for his teaching, for the better confirmation of their familiarity. Whereupon Justin, accounting him as no philosopher, left him and departed. And yet not satisfied in mind, but desirous to hear of further learning in philosophy, joined himself to one that professed the Pythagorean sect, a man of great fame, and one who had made no small account of himself. Whom, after he had followed a time, his master demanded of him whether he had any knowledge in music, astronomy, and geometry? without which sciences, he said, he could not be apt to receive the knowledge and virtue of felicity, unless before he had used to apply his mind from sensible matters to the contemplation of things intelligible. And speaking much in the commendation of these sciences, how profitable and necessary they were; after that Justin had declared himself not to be instructed therein, the philosopher gave him over: which grieved Justin not a little, and so much the more because he thought his master to have some knowledge in those sciences. After this, Justin considering with himself what time was requisite to the learning of these sciences, and thinking not to defer any longer, thought best to resort to the sect of the Platonists, for their great fame; wherefore he chose unto him a singular learned man of that sect, which lately was come to those parts, and so remaining with him, seemed to profit not a little in the contemplation of supernatural things, and invisible forms, insomuch that he thought shortly to aspire to such sharpness of wit and wisdom, that out of hand he might achieve to the comprehension and contemplation of God, which is the end of Plato's philosophy. And in this manner he spent his youth: but afterward he growing to a riper age, how and by what means the said Justin came to the knowledge of Christianity, is related likewise in his first Apology: where he affirms of himself, (as witnesses Eusebius in his fourth book,) that when he did behold the Christians in their torments and sufferings to be so constant in their profession, was thereunto with marvellously moved; after this manner reasoning with himself, that it was impossible for that kind of people to be subject to any vice or carnality, which vices of their own nature are not able to sustain any sharp adversity, much less the bitterness of death. The sight whereof helped him, and a little (being of his own nature inclined to the same)



true knowledge and virtue) to begin thereby to love and embrace the Christian religion, for so doth he witness of himself at the end of the first Apology: signifying there, how it was his endeavour to attain to Christianity; understanding how the Christians by the malice of wicked persons were compelled to suffer wrongs and torments, and to be evil spoken of. By sight whereof, as he says himself, he became a Christian. For being thus afflicted in his mind, as is aforesaid, it came in his head, for more quietness, to go aside to some desert and solitary place void of concourse of people, unto a village near the sea-side: whither as he approached, thinking there to be all alone, there met him an ancient father of a comely visage and gentle behaviour, who following him a little off, began to reason with him: where, after long disputation, when the old man had declared unto him that there was no knowledge of truth amongst the philosophers, which neither knew God, neither were they aided by the Holy Ghost; and further, had reasoned with him of the immortality of the soul, of the reward of the godly, and punishment of the wicked; then Justin, being confirmed with his reasons and arguments, yielded to him of his own accord; and demanded of him by what means he might attain to that true knowledge of God, whereof he had spoken? who then counselled him to read and search the Prophets, adjoining therewith prayer. But what master (said Justin) should I use for instruction, and who shall be able to help us, if these philosophers, as you say, lack the truth, and are void of the same? To whom the old father answered, There have been, many years before these philosophers, other more ancient than all these, which being accounted for philosophers, were just and beloved of God; who spake by the Spirit of God, foreseeing and prophesying these things which we now see come to pass, and therefore they are called prophets. These only have known the truth, and revealed it to men, who were not seduced with opinions of man's invention, but only spake and taught those things which they themselves both heard and saw, being inspired with the Holy Spirit of God: whose writings and works yet remain, out of which the reader may receive great profit, and knowledge of things, as, concerning the first creation of the world, and end of the same, with all other things necessary to be known by every true philosopher which will give credit unto them. But then, before all things, make thy prayer that the gate of light may be opened unto thee, for otherwise these things cannot be attained unto by every man, but only by such to whom God and his Christ giveth understanding.

These things, with much more, after the aforesaid old father had declared unto him, he departed, exhorting him well to follow the things which he had spoken; and after that, Justin, as he himself witnesses, saw him no more. Immediately after this, Justin being all inflamed with fire kindled in his breast, began to conceive a love and zeal towards the Prophets, and to all such as were favoured of Christ: and then he, revolving in his mind more and more these words, found only this philosophy among all other professions both pure and profitable, and so became he a philosopher, and in time by these means afterwards he was made a Christian, and baptised. But where he received this holy sacrament of baptism is not read of, nor yet by what occasion he left his country and came to Rome. This only we read in Jerome, that he was in Rome, and there used certain exercises which he called "Diatribas," disputing there with Crescens, a Greek philosopher, as is before touched. But this is certain, that Justin, after he had received the Christian religion, became an earnest defender of the same, travelling and disputing against all the adversaries thereof, fearing neither

peril of life nor danger of death, whereby he might maintain the doctrine of Christ against the malicious blasphemers, and also augment the number of Christian believers, as may appear by his vehement disputations against the heathen philosophers: also, moreover, it well appears in that long disputation which he had with one Triphe in Ephesus, as also in his confutations of heretics. Furthermore, his conflicts and apologies, which with great courage and security he exhibited against the persecutors of the Christians, both to the emperor and magistrates, yea, and the whole senate of Rome, do testify the same.

Of which Apologies, the first he wrote to the senate of Rome, and after to Antoninus Pius the emperor, as is before mentioned; where in the first, writing with great liberty to the senate, he declared that of necessity he was compelled to write, and utter his mind and conscience to them. For that in persecuting of the Christians they did neglect their duty, and highly offended God, and therefore need they had to be admonished. And further writing to Urbicius, lieutenant of the city, said, "That he put men to death and torments for no offence committed, but for the confession only of the name of Christ; which proceedings and judgments neither became the emperor, nor his son, nor the senate:" defending moreover in the said Apology, and purging the Christians of such crimes as falsely were laid and objected against them by the heathens.

And likewise in his second Apology, writing to Antoninus the emperor, and his successors, with like gravity and liberty declared unto them how they had the name, commonly being reputed and taken as virtuous philosophers, maintainers of justice, lovers of learning; but whether they were so, their acts declared. As for him, neither for flattery, nor favour at their hands, he was constrained thus to write unto them; but only to sue unto them, and desire a serious and righteous kind of dealing in their judgments and decisions, (for it becomes princes to follow uprightness and piety in their judgments, not tyranny and violence,) and also in plain words charges as well the emperor as the senate with manifest wrong, for that they did not grant the Christians that which is not denied to all other malefactors, judging men to death not convicted, but only for the hatred of the name. "O men which are impeached (said he) in judgment, are not condemned before they are convicted: but on us you take our name only for the crime, when as indeed you ought to see justice done upon our accusers." And again he says, "If a Christian, being accused, only deny that name, him you release, being not able to charge him with any other offence; but if he stand to his name, only for his confession you condemn him: where indeed it were your duty rather to examine their manner of life, what thing they confess or deny, and according to their demerits to see justice done."

And in the same further he says, "You examine not the causes, but, incensed with rash affections, as with the fire of fury, ye slay and murder them not convicted, without respect of justice."—"Some peradventure will say, Certain of them have been apprehended and taken in evil doing, though (says he) you used to inquire upon them when brought before you, and not commonly to condemn them before due examination of their offences, for the cause is mentioned."—"You degenerate from the goodness of your predecessors, whose example you follow not, for Adrian, of famous memory, caused to be proclaimed, that Christians accused before the judge should not be condemned, unless they were found guilty of some heinous crime." Justin, although with these and such like he did not so prevail with the emperor to cause him to

his religion, and become a Christian, (for that is not written,) yet thus much he obtained, that Antoninus, writing to his officers in Asia, in the behalf of the Christians, required and commanded them, that those Christians only which were found guilty of any trespass should suffer, and such as were not convicted, should not therefore only for the name be punished, because they were called Christians. By these it is apparent with what zeal and faith this Justin did strive against the persecutors, which (as he said) could kill only, but could not hurt.

This Justin, by the means and malice of Crescens the philosopher, as is before declared, suffered martyrdom under Marcus Antoninus Verus, a little after that Polycarp was martyred in Asia, as Eusebius witnesses, lib. 4. Here is to be gathered how Epiphanius was deceived in the time of his death, saying, that he suffered under Rusticus the president, and Adrian the emperor, being of thirty years of age; which indeed agrees neither with Eusebius, nor Jerome, nor Suide, nor others more, which manifestly declare and testify how he exhibited his Apology unto Antoninus Pius, which came after Adrian. Thus hast thou, good reader, the life of this learned and blessed martyr, although partly touched before, yet now more fully and amply discoursed, for the better commendation of his excellent and notable virtues, of whose end thus writes Photius, "That he suffering for Christ, died cheerfully and with honour."

Thus have ye heard the whole discourse of *Justin*, and of the blessed saints of France, *Vetus*, *Zacharias*, *Sancetus*, *Maturus*, *Attalus*, *Blandina*, *Alexander*, with others, recorded, and set forth by the writing of certain Christian brethren of the same church and place of France. In the which aforesaid writing of theirs, moreover, appears the great meekness and modest constancy of the said martyrs described in these words: Such followers were they of Christ, "who when he was in the form of God, thought it no robbery to be equal with God, being in the same glory with him," that they not once nor twice, but oft-times suffered martyrdom; and taken again from the beasts, and bearing wounds, tearings, and scars, in their bodies, yet neither would count themselves martyrs, neither would they suffer us so to call them: but if any of us either by word or letter would call them Martyrs, they did vehemently rebuke them, saying, "That the name of martyrdom was to be given to Christ the faithful and true martyr, the First-born of the dead, and the Captain of life;" testifying moreover, that martyrdom belongs to such who by their martyrdom were already passed out of this life, and whom Christ by their worthy confession hath received unto himself, and hath sealed up their martyrdom by their end finished; as for them which were not yet consummated, they (said they) were not worthy the name of martyrs, but only were humble and worthy confessors, desiring also their brethren with tears to pray without ceasing for their confirmation. Thus they performing indeed that which belongeth to true martyrs, in resisting the heathen, with much liberty and great patience, without any fear of man, being replenished with the fear of God, refused to be named of their brethren for martyrs. They humbled themselves under the mighty hand of God, by which they were greatly exalted; then they rendered to all men a reason of their faith, they accused no man, they loosed all, they bound none, and for them which would entreat them they prayed, following the example of Stephen the perfect martyr, who said, "O Lord, impute not this sin to them." Neither did they proudly disdain from which fell, but of such as they had imparted to them, they lacked, bearing toward them a motherly affection, shedding their plentiful tears for them to God the Father, and

praying for their life and salvation; and as God gave it to them, they also did communicate to their neighbours: and thus they as conquerors of all things departed to God. They loved peace, and leaving the same to us, they went to God, neither leaving any molestation to their mother, nor sedition or trouble to their brethren; but joy, peace, concord, and love to all.

Out of the same writing moreover concerning these martyrs of France afore-mentioned, is recorded also another history, of not unworthy to be noted, taken out of the same book of Eusebius, cap. 3. which history is this:

There was among these constant and blessed martyrs, one *Alcibiades*; which Alcibiades ever used in a very strict diet, receiving for his food and sustenance nothing else but only bread and water. When this Alcibiades now being cast into prison, went about to accustom the same strictness of diet, after his usual manner; it was revealed by God to Attalus afore-mentioned, one of the said company, being also the same time imprisoned after his first conflict upon the scaffold, that Alcibiades did not well in that he refused to use and take the creatures of God, and also thereby ministered to others a pernicious occasion of offensive example. Whereupon Alcibiades being advertised and reformed, began to take all things boldly, and with thanksgiving. Whereby may appear to all scrupulous consciences, not only a wholesome instruction of the Holy Ghost, but also here is to be noted how in those days they were not destitute of the grace of God, but had the Holy Spirit of God to be their instructor.—Thus far Eusebius.

The foresaid martyrs of France at the same time commended *Ireneus*, newly then made minister, with their letters, unto Eleutherius, bishop of Rome, as witnesseth Eusebius, in the tenth chapter of the said book; which Ireneus first was the hearer of Polycarp, then made minister (as is said) under these martyrs, and after their death made bishop afterward of Lyons in France, and succeeded after Photianus. Besides this Justin, there was also at the same time in Asia, *Claudius Apollinarus*, or *Apollinaris*, bishop of Hieropolis, and also *Melito*, bishop of Sardis, an eloquent and learned man, much commended by Tertullian, who succeeded after the time of the apostles, in the reign of this Antoninus Verus, exhibited under him learned and eloquent apologies in defence of Christ's religion, like as Quadratus and Aristides above-mentioned did unto the emperor Adrian, whereby they moved him somewhat to stay the rage of his persecution. In like manner did this Apollinaris and Melito (stirred up by God) adventure to defend in writing the cause of the Christians unto this Antoninus. Of this Melito, Eusebius, in his fourth book making mention, excepts certain places of his apology in these words, as follows: "Now, (says he,) which was never seen before, the godly suffer persecution by occasion of certain proclamations and edicts proclaimed throughout Asia, for villainous sycophants, robbers, and spoilers of other men's goods, grounding themselves upon those proclamations, and taking occasion of them, rob openly night and day, and spoil those which do no harm." And it follows after, "which if it be done by your commandment, be it so well done; for a good prince will never command but good things, and so we will be contented to sustain the honour of this death. This only we must humbly beseech your majesty, that calling before you and examining the authors of this tumult and contention, then your grace would justly judge whether we are worthy of cruel death, or quiet life. And then, if it be not your pleasure, and that it proceed not of your occasion, (which indeed against your barbarous edicts were too bad,) the more a great deal we are petitioners."

your highness, that hereafter you will vouchsafe to hear us thus so vexed and oppressed with these kinds of villanous robberies."

Thus much out of the Apology of Melito; who writing to Onesimus, gives us this benefit, to know the true catalogue and the names of all the authentic books of the Old Testament, received in the ancient time of the primitive church. Concerning the number and names whereof, the same Melito, in his letter to Onesimus declares, how that he, returning into the parts where these things were done and preached, there he diligently inquired out the books approved of the Old Testament, the names whereof he subscribes, and sends unto him as follows: The five books of Moses, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy; Jesus Nave, The Judges, Ruth, Four books of Kings, Two books Paralipomenon, The Psalms, Proverbs of Solomon, The books of Wisdom, The Preacher, The Song of Songs, Job; The Prophets, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Twelve Prophets in one book, Daniel, Ezekiel, Esdras.—And thus much of this matter, which I thought here to record, for it is not unprofitable for these latter times to understand, what in the first times was received and admitted as authentic, and what otherwise.

But from this little digression, to return to our matter omitted; that is, to the Apologies of Apollinaris and Melito, in the story so it follows: that whether it was by the occasion of these two Apologies, or whether it was through the writing of Athenagoras, a philosopher and legate of the Christians, it is uncertain; but this is certain, that the persecution the same time was stayed. Some do think, which most probably seem to touch the truth, that the cause of staying this persecution did arise from a wonderful miracle of God shewed in the emperor's camp by the Christians; the story whereof is this: At what time the two brethren, Marcus Antoninus, and Marcus Aurelius Commodus, emperors, joining together, warred against the Quades, Vandals, Sarmates, and Germans; in the expedition against them, their army, by reason of the imminent assault of their enemies, was cooped and shut up within the straits and hot dry places, where their soldiers, besides other difficulties, being destitute of water five days, were like to have perished; which dread not a little discomfited them and abated their courage; where, in this so great distress and jeopardy, suddenly withdrew from the army a legion of the Christian soldiers for their succour, who falling prostrate upon the earth, by ardent prayer by and by obtained of God double relief: by means of whom, God gave certain pleasant showers from the element, whereby as their soldiers quenched their thirst, so were a great number of their enemies discomfited and put to flight by continual lightnings which shot out of the air. This miracle so pleased and won the emperor, that ever after he waxed gentler and gentler to the Christians, and directed his letters to divers of his rulers, (as Tertullian in his Apology witnesseth,) commanding them therein to give thanks to the Christians, no less for his victory, than for the preservation of him and all his men. The copy of which letter ensues.—See Eusebius, lib. 6, cap. 5.

*Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, Emperor, to the Senate and People of Rome.*

I give you hereby to understand what I intend to do, as that success I have had in my wars in Germany, and with how much difficulty I have victualled my camp, being encompassed with twenty-four fierce dragons, whom my soldiers do keep in, within nine miles of us, and Pompeian, and his army, both being, as he signified unto us by

his letters. Wherefore, I thought no less but to be overrun, and all my bands of so great a multitude, as well my vanward, mainward, as rearward, with all my soldiers of Ephrata; in whose host there were numbered of fighting men nine hundred and seventy-five thousand. But when I saw myself not able to encounter with the enemy, I craved aid of our country gods: at whose hands I, finding no comfort, and being driven by the enemy into an exigency, I caused to be sent for those men which we call Christians, who being numbered, were found a very considerable number, with whom I was in further rage than I had good cause, as afterwards I had experience by their marvellous power; who forthwith did their endeavour, but without either weapon, munition, armour, or trumpets; as men abhorring such preparation and furniture, but only satisfied in trust of their God, whom they carry about with them in their consciences. It is therefore to be credited, although we call them wicked men, that they worship God in their hearts. For they falling prostrate upon the ground, prayed not only for me, but for the host also that was with me, beseeching their God for help in that our extremity of victuals and fresh water: for we had been now full five days without water, and were in our enemy's land, even in the midst of Germany; who thus falling upon their faces, made their prayers to God unknown to me. And there fell amongst us from heaven a most pleasant and cold shower, but amongst our enemies a great storm of hail mixed with lightning, so that immediately we perceived the invincible aid of the most mighty God to be with us. Therefore we give those men leave to profess Christianity, lest, perhaps, by their prayers we be punished with the like, and thereby I make myself the author of such hurt as shall be received by the Christian profession. And if any shall apprehend one that is a Christian, only for this cause, I will that he, being apprehended, without punishment have leave to confess the same, so that there be no other cause objected against him, more than that he is a Christian; but let his accuser be burned alive. Neither will I that he, professing and being found a Christian, shall be forced to alter the same his opinion, by the governor of any of our provinces, but left to his own choice. And this decree of mine I will to be ratified in the senate-house, and command the same publicly to be proclaimed and read in the court of Trajanus; and that further, from thence it may be sent into all our provinces by the diligence of Veratius, governor of our city Palmyra. And further, we give leave to all men to use and write out this our decree, taking the same out of our copy, publicly in the common hall set forth.

Thus the tempestuous rage of persecution against the Christians began for a time to assuage, partly also by other causes incident, compelling the enemies to cease that persecution, as great plagues and pestilence lying upon the country of Italy; likewise great wars, as well in the parts as also in Italy and France, terrible earthquakes, great floods, noisome swarms of flies and vermin devouring the corn-fields, &c. And thus much of things done under Antoninus Verus, which Antoninus, in the beginning of his reign, joined with him in the government of the empire till the death of Marcus Aurelius Commodus, who also was with him in the miraculous victory gotten by the Christians, (as Eusebius, cap. 5. lib. 5. records.) Contrary, Platina in his *Solerti*, the book entitled *Antoninus Verus*, and his son *Lucius Aurelius Commodus*, and not of *Marcus Aurelius Commodus* his brother. But howsoever the truth of years does not certain it is, that after the death of Antoninus Verus, *Marcus Aurelius Commodus*, succeeded *Lucius Aurelius Commodus*, the son of Verus, who reigned thirty years.

In the time of this Commodus there was some quietness universally through the whole church of Christ from persecution, by what occasion it is not certain. Some think, of whom is Xiphilinus, that it came through Marcia, the emperor's concubine, who favoured the Christians. But howsoever it came, (says Eusebius,) the fury of the raging enemies was then somewhat mitigated, and peace was given by the grace of Christ unto the church throughout the whole world: at which time, the wholesome doctrine of the gospel allured and reduced the hearts of all sorts of people unto the true religion of God, insomuch that many, both rich and noble personages of Rome, with their whole families and households, to their salvation, joined themselves to the church of Christ.

Among whom there was one *Apollonius*, a nobleman, and a senator of Rome, mentioned in Eusebius, lib. 5. cap. 21. who being maliciously accused unto the senate, by one whom Jerome writeth to be the servant of the said Apollonius, and nameth him Severus: but, whose servant soever he was, the wretched man came soon enough before the judge, being condignly rewarded for his malicious diligence; for by a law which the emperor made, that no man, upon pain of death, should falsely accuse the Christians, he was put to execution, and had his legs broken forthwith by the sentence of Perenius the judge, which being an heathen man, he pronounced against him. But the beloved martyr of God, when the judge, with much ado, had obtained of him to render an account before the honourable senate of his faith, under whose defence and warrant of life he did the same, delivered unto them an eloquent apology of the Christian belief: but notwithstanding the former warrant, he by the decree of the senate was beheaded, and so ended his life; for that there was an ancient law among them decreed, that none that professed Christ, and therefore arraigned, should be released without recantation, or altering his opinion.

This Commodus is said to be so sure and steady-handed in casting the dart, that in the open theatre, before the people, he would encounter the wild beasts, and be sure to hit them in the place where appointed. Among divers other his vicious and wild actions, he was so filled with pride and arrogancy, that he would be called Hercules, and many times would shew himself to the people in the skin of a lion, to be counted thereby the king of men, like as the lion is of the beasts.

Upon a certain time, being his birth-day, this Commodus calling the people of Rome together, in great royalty, having his lion's skin upon him, made sacrifice to Hercules and Jupiter, causing it to be cried through the city, that Hercules was the patron and defender of the city. There was at the same time in Rome, *Vincentius*, *Eusebius*, *Peregrinus*, and *Potentiatus*, learned men, and instructors of the people; who following the steps of the apostles, went about from place to place, where the gospel was not yet preached, converting the Gentiles to the faith of Christ. These, hearing the madness of the emperor, and of the people, began to reprove their idolatrous practices, teaching in villages and towns all that heard them to believe on the true and only God, and to come away from the worshipping of devils, and to give honour to God alone, who only is to be worshipped; willing them to repent, and to be baptized, lest they perish with Commodus. With this preaching they converted one *Julius*, a senator, and others, to the religion of Christ. The emperor hearing thereof, caused them to be apprehended by *Vitellus* his captain, and to be compelled to sacrifice to Hercules; which when they stoutly refused, after divers grievous torments, and great cruelties by them done, at last they were pressed to death with the sword. *Vincentius*, lib. 10. cap. 118. et *Chron.*

This *Peregrinus* above mentioned had been sent before by *Xystus*, bishop of Rome, into France, to supply there the room of a bishop and teacher, by reason that for the continual and horrible persecutions, those places were left desolate and destitute of ministers and instructors; where, after he had occupied himself with much fruit among the flock of Christ, and had established the congregation there, returning home again to Rome, there he finished at last, as it is said, his martyrdom.

Now remaineth likewise to speak of *Julius*: which *Julius* being, as before described, a senator of Rome, and now won by the preaching of these blessed men to the faith of Christ, did soon invite them, and brought them home to his house, where being by them more fully instructed in the Christian religion, he believed the gospel. And sending for one *Rufinus*, a priest, was, with all his family, by him baptized. Which thing the emperor hearing, how that *Julius* had forsaken his old religion, and become a Christian, forthwith sent for him to come before him, unto whom he spake on this wise: "O *Julius*! what madness hath possessed thee, that thus thou dost fall from the old and common religion of thy forefathers, who acknowledged and worshipped Jupiter and Hercules, their gods, and now dost embrace a new and fond kind of religion of the Christians?—At which time, *Julius*, having good occasion to shew and open his faith, gave straightway account thereof to him, and affirmed that Hercules and Jupiter were false gods, and how the worshippers of them should perish. Which the emperor hearing, how that he condemned and despised his gods, being then inflamed with great wrath, (as he was by nature very choleric,) committed him forthwith to *Vitellus*, the master of the soldiers, a very cruel and fierce man, to see *Julius* either to sacrifice to mighty Hercules, or, refusing the same, to slay him. *Vitellus* (as he commanded) exhorted *Julius* to obey the emperor's commandment, and to worship his gods, alleging how that the whole empire of Rome was not only constituted, but also preserved and maintained by them; which *Julius* denied utterly to do, admonishing sharply in like manner *Vitellus* to acknowledge the true God, and obey his commandments, lest he with his master should die some grievous death; whereat *Vitellus* being moved, caused *Julius* to be beaten to death with cudgels.

*Telesphorus*, who succeeded next unto *Xystus*, being bishop of that congregation the term of eleven years, the first year of the reign of *Antoninus Pius*, died martyr about the year of our Lord 138.

*Iginus*, in the year of our Lord 142, succeeded *Telesphorus*, and died also a martyr. Then succeeded *Pius*, *Anicetus*, *Soter*, and *Eleutherius*, about the year of our Lord 160. This *Eleutherius*, at the request of *Lucius* king of Britain, sent to him *Damianus* and *Fugatus*, by whom the king was converted to the faith of Christ, and baptized about the year of our Lord 179. *Nauclerus*, lib. *Chron. Gen.* 6. says it was in the year 156; *Henry de Erfodia* says, it was in the year 169, in the nineteenth year of *Verus* the emperor. Some say it was in the sixth year of *Commodus*, which would be about the year of our Lord 185. *Timotheus*, in his history, saith that *Eleutherius* came himself; but this is not likely. And as there is a variance among the writers for the number of years, so doth there arise a question among some, whether *Eleutherius* was the first that brought the faith from Rome into this land or not. *Nicephorus*, lib. 4. cap. 2. says that *Simon Zelotes* came into Britain; some others allege that *Gildas de Victoria*, *Aurel. Ambrosius*, that *Joseph* of *Arimathea*, after the dispersion of the Jews, was sent by *Christ* as an apostle from France to Britain, about the year of our Lord



63, and remained in this land all his time, and so with his fellows laid the first foundation of Christian faith among the British people. Whereupon other preachers and teachers coming afterward, confirmed the same, and increased it more. And therefore doth Petrus Cluniacensis call the Scottishmen, and so doth account them as more ancient Christians. For the confirmation hereof might be alleged the testimony of Origen, of Tertullian, and the words also of the letter of Eleutherius, which import no less than that the faith of Christ was here in England among the people before Eleutherius's time, and before the king was converted.

### *The Fifth Persecution.*

AFTER the death of Commodus, reigned Pertinax but few months, after whom succeeded Severus, under whom was raised the fifth persecution against the Christian saints; who reigning the term of eighteen years, the first ten years of the same was very favourable and courteous to the Christians; afterwards, through sinister suggestions and malicious accusations of the malignant, was so incensed against them, that by proclamations he commanded no Christians any more to be suffered. Thus the rage of the emperor being inflamed against them, great persecution was stirred up on every side, whereby a vast number of martyrs was slain, as Eusebius in his sixth book recordeth, which was about the year of our Lord 205. The crimes and false accusations objected against the Christians are partly touched before us; as, sedition and rebellion against the emperor, sacrilege, murdering of infants, incestuous pollution, eating raw flesh, libidinous commixture, whereof certain indeed, called then *Gnostici*, were infamous. Likewise, it was objected against them for worshipping the head of an ass; which whereof it should rise I find no certain cause, except it were perhaps by the Jews. Also they were charged with worshipping the sun, for that peradventure before the sun did rise they assembled together, singing their morning hymns unto the Lord, or else because they prayed toward the east; but especially for that they would not with them worship their idolatrous gods, and were counted as enemies to all men, &c.

The places where the force of this persecution most raged, were Africa, Alexandria, Cappadocia, and Carthage. The number of them that suffered in this persecution, by the report of the Ecclesiastical History, was innumerable: of whom the first was *Leonides*, the father of Origen, who was beheaded; with whom also Origen his son, being of the age then of seventeen years, would have suffered, (such a fervent desire had he to be martyred for Christ,) had not his mother privily in the night-season conveyed away his clothes and his hair. Whereupon, more for shame to be seen than for fear to die, he was constrained to remain at home; and when he could do nothing else, yet he wrote to his father a letter with these words: *Cave tibi, ne quid propter nos aliud quam martiri constantiter faciendi propositum cogites*; that is, "Take heed to yourself, that you turn not your thought and purpose from martyrdom for our sake."—Such a fervency had this Origen, being yet young, to the doctrine of the faith of Christ, by the operation of God's heavenly Spirit, and partly also by the diligent education of his father, who brought him up from his youth most studiously in all good literature, but especially in the reading and exercise of holy scripture, wherein he had such a profound and mystical penetration, that many times he would ask his father of the meaning of this or that phrase in the scripture. Inasmuch that his father divers times would uncover his breast while asleep, and kiss it,

giving thanks to God who had made him so happy a father of such a happy child. After the death of his father, and all his goods confiscated to the emperor, he with his poor mother and six brethren were brought to such extreme poverty, that he did sustain both himself and them by teaching a school; till at length, being weary of the profession, he transferred his study only to the knowledge and seeking of divine scripture, and such other learning conducive to the same. So much he profited both in the Hebrew and other tongues, that he conferred the Hebrew text with the translation of the Septuagint; and moreover did confer and find out the other translations, which we call the common translation of Aquila, of Symachus, and Theodotion. Also he joined to these afore-said other four translations, whereof more is expressed in Eusebius.

They that write of the life of *Origen*, testify of him that he was of wit quick and sharp, patient of labour, a great scholar, of a spare diet, of a strict life; a great faster; his teaching and his living were both one; he went barefoot; a strict observer of that saying of the Lord, "bidding to have but one coat, &c." He is said to have written so much as seven notaries, and so many maids, every day could pen. The number of his books, by the account of Jerome, came to seven thousand volumes, the copies whereof he used to sell for three-pence, or little more, for his living. But of him more shall be said hereafter. So zealous he was in the cause of Christ, and of Christ's martyrs, that he, nothing fearing his own peril, would assist and exhort them going to their death, and kiss them, insomuch that he was oft in jeopardy to be stoned of the multitude; and sometimes, by the provision of Christian men, had his house guarded about with soldiers, for the safety of them which daily resorted to hear his readings. And many times he was compelled to shift places and houses, for such as laid wait for him in all places; but great was the providence of God to preserve him in the midst of this tempest of Severus. Among others which resorted to him, and were his hearers, *Plutarchus* was one, and died a martyr; and with him *Serenus* his brother, who was burned. The third after these was *Heracles*, the fourth *Heron*, who were both beheaded. The fifth was another *Serenus*, who was beheaded; *Rhais*, and *Potamiana*, who was tormented with pitch poured upon her, and martyred with her mother *Macedella*, who died also in the fire. This *Potamiana* was of a fresh and flourishing beauty, who, because she could not be moved from her profession, was committed to *Basilides*, one of the captains there in the army, to see the execution done. *Basilides* receiving her at the judge's hand, and leading her to the place, shewed her some compassion in repressing the rebukes and railings of the wicked adversaries; for that which *Potamiana* the virgin, to requite again his kindness, bade him be of good comfort, saying, "that she would pray the Lord to shew mercy upon him;" and so went unto her martyrdom, which she both strongly and quietly did sustain.

Not long after, it happened that *Basilides* was required to give an oath in a matter concerning his fellow-soldiers; which thing he denied to do, plainly affirming that he was a Christian; for their oath then was wont to be by the idols and the emperor. At the first he was thought dissembling; but afterward, when he was heard constantly and in earnest to confirm the same, he was had before the judge, and to be him committed to ward. The Christians marvelling thereat as they came to him in the prison, inquired of him the cause of that his sudden conversion. To whom he answered, saying, and said, "that *Potamiana* had prayed for him to the Lord; and so he saw a crown put upon his head;" adding moreover, "that it should not be long but he should be crowned."

Which things thus done, the next day following he was had to the place of execution, and there beheaded.—Euseb. lib. 6. cap. 5.

As divers and many there were that suffered in the days of this Severus, so some there were again, which through the protection of God's providence, being put to great torments, yet escaped with life; of whom was *Alexander*, who, for his constant confession and torments suffered, was made bishop afterward of Jerusalem, together with *Narcissus*, who being an old man, of an hundred and sixty-three years, as says Eusebius, was unwieldy for his age to govern that function alone.

Of this *Narcissus*, it is reported in the Ecclesiastical History, that certain miracles by him were wrought, very notable, if they be true. First, of water by him turned into oil, at the solemn vigil of Easter, at the time the congregation wanted oil for their lamps. Another miracle is also told of him, which is this: There were three evil-disposed persons, who seeing the soundness and grave constancy of his virtuous life, and fearing their own punishment, as a conscience that is guilty is always fearful, thought to prevent his accusations, in accusing him first, and laying an heinous crime unto his charge. And to make this accusation more probable before the people, they bound their accusation with a great oath, one wishing to be destroyed by fire, if he said not true; the other to be consumed with a grievous sickness; the third to lose both his eyes, if they did lie. *Narcissus*, although having his conscience clear, yet not able, being but one man, to withstand their accusation, bound with such oaths, gave place, and removed himself from the multitude into a solitary desert by himself, where he continued the space of many years. In the mean time, to them which so willingly and wickedly forswore themselves, this happened: the first, by the casualty of one small spark of fire, was burnt with his goods and all his family; the second was taken with a great sickness from the top to the toe, and devoured by the same; the third, hearing and seeing the punishment of the other, confessed his fault, but through great repentance poured out such tears, that he lost both his eyes; and thus was their false perjury punished. *Narcissus*, after long absence, returning home again, was by this means both cleared of the fact, and received into his bishopric again: to whom, as is said, for impotency of his age, *Alexander* was joined in execution of the function.—Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. lib. 6. cap. 10. Of this *Alexander* it is recorded in the said Ecclesiastical History, that after his agonies and constancy of his confession shewed in the persecution of Severus, he was admonished by a vision in the night season, to make his journey up to Jerusalem and Palestine, (for that place remained free from that persecution,) to see there the congregation, and to pray. When he taking his journey, and drawing near to the city, a vision with plain words was given to certain chief heads of the church, to go out of the gate of the city, there to receive the bishop appointed by God. And so was *Alexander* met and received, and joined partner with aged *Narcissus*, as is before expressed, in the city of Jerusalem, where he continued bishop above forty years, until the persecution of Severus; and there erected a famous library, where Eusebius did his chief help in writing his Ecclesiastical History. He was also to divers churches, and licensed Origen openly to teach his church. At length, being very aged, he was removed from Jerusalem to Caesarea before the judge under Severus, where, after his constant confession the second time, he was committed to prison, and there died.

After his death, that suffered in this persecution of Severus, as Eusebius, Vincentius also (lib. 11. cap. 6. of Mar-

tyrologio) speaks of one *Andoclus*, whom Polycarp before had sent into France; which *Andoclus*, because he had spread there the doctrine of Christ, was apprehended by Severus, and first beaten with staves and bats, and afterward was beheaded.

To these above named may also be added *Asclepiades*, who, although he was not put to death in this persecution of Severus, yet constantly he did abide the trial of his confession, and suffered much for the same, as *Alexander* before mentioned did. Wherefore, afterward he was ordained bishop of Antioch, where he continued the space of seven years; of whom *Alexander* writes unto the church of Antioch out of prison, much rejoicing and giving thanks to God, to hear that he was their bishop.

About the same time, during the reign of Severus, died *Ireneus*. Hen. de Erfodio, Ado, and other martyr-writers, do hold, that he was martyred, with a great number of others, for the confession and doctrine of Christ, about the fourth or fifth year of Severus. This *Ireneus*, as he was a great writer, so was he greatly commended by Tertullian for his learning, whom he calls *Omnium doctrinarum curiosissimum exploratorem*, "A great searcher of all kind of learning." He was, first, scholar and hearer of Polycarp; from thence either was sent or came to France; and there, by Photinus and the rest of the martyrs, was instituted into the ministry, and commended by their letter to Eleutherius, as is before mentioned. At length, after the martyrdom of Photinus, he was appointed bishop of Lyons, where he continued about the space of twenty-three years. In the time of *Ireneus*, the state of the church was much troubled, not only by the outward persecution, but also by divers sects and errors then stirring, against which he diligently laboured, and wrote much, though but few books be now remaining. The nature of this man, well agreeing with his name, was such, that he loved peace, and sought to make agreement when any controversy arose in the church. And, therefore, when the question of keeping the Easter-day was renewed in the church between Victor, bishop of Rome, and the churches of Asia; and when Victor would have excommunicated them as schismatics, for disagreeing from him therein, *Ireneus*, with other brethren of the French church, sorry to see such a contention among brethren for such a trifle, convened themselves together in a common council, and directing their letter with their common consent subscribed, sent unto Victor, entreating him to stay his purpose, and not to proceed in excommunicating his brethren for that matter. Although they themselves agreed with him in observing Easter as he did, yet with great reasons and arguments they exhorted him not to deal so rigorously with his other brethren, following the ancient custom of their country manner in that behalf. And besides this, he wrote divers other letters abroad concerning the same contention, declaring the excommunication of Victor to be of no force.

Not long after *Ireneus*, followed also *Tertullian*, about the time of this Severus and Antoninus Caracalla his son, a man both very expert in Greek and Latin, having great gifts in disputing, and in writing eloquent, as his books declare, and as the commendation of all learned men doth so fully testify. To whom Vincentius Lirienensis gives such praise, that he calls him "the flower of all Latin writers," and of the eloquence of his style he thus writes, "That with the force of his reasons," he says, "whom he could not persuade, them he compelled to consent unto him. Every word was a sentence, and every sentence a victory."

Such men of doing and writing God raised up unto us to time, as pillars and stays for his poor church in these dangerous days of persecution.

when the Christians were vexed with wrongs, and falsely accused by the Gentiles, Tertullian, taking their cause in hand, defended them against the persecutors, and against their slanderous accusations. And yet, notwithstanding, by the same persecutions, he proveth, in the same Apology, the religion of the Christians nothing to be impaired, but rather increased. "The more," says he, "we are mown down by you, the more rise up. The blood of Christians is seed. For what man, in beholding the painful torments and the perfect patience of them, will not search and inquire what is the cause? and when he hath found it out, who will not agree to it? and when he agreeth to it, will not desire to suffer for it? Thus," says he, "this sect will never die, which, the more it is cut down, the more it groweth. For every man, seeing and wondering at the suffering of the saints, is moved thereby to search the cause; in searching, he findeth it; and finding, he followeth it." Tertullian, in Apolog.

Thus Tertullian, in this dangerous time of persecution, being stirred up of God, defended the innocency of the Christians against the blasphemy of the adversaries; and moreover, for the instruction of the church, he compiled many excellent works, whereof some are extant, and some are not to be found.

And now, to return again to the order of bishops of Rome, intermitted. After Eleutherius before mentioned, next in the bishopric of Rome succeeded Victor, who, as Platina says, died quietly in the days of Severus; but Damasus, Supplem. lib. 8. and such as do follow the common chronicles, affirm that he died a martyr after he had sat ten, or (as some say) twelve years. This Victor was a great stirrer (as before is signified) in the controversy and contention about Easter-day, for the which he would have proceeded in excommunication against the churches of Asia, had not Irenæus, then bishop of Lyons, with the counsel of others his brethren there assembled, repressed his intended violence. As touching that controversy of Easter-day, in those days of the primitive church, the original thereof was this, as Eusebius, Socrates, Platina, and others, record. First, certain it is, that the apostles, being only intent on and attentive to the doctrine of salvation, gave no heed nor regard to the observation of days and times, neither bound the church to any ceremonies and rites, except those things necessary mentioned in the *Acts of the Apostles*, as strangled, and blood, which was ordained then by the Holy Ghost, not without a most urgent and necessary cause. For when the murdering and blood of infants was commonly objected by the heathen persecutors against the Christians, they had no other argument to help themselves, nor to repel the adversary, but only their own law, by which they were commanded to abstain, not only from all men's blood, but also from the blood of all common beasts. And therefore that law seems by the Holy Ghost to be given, and also to the same end continued in the church, so long as the cause, that is, the persecutions of the Heathen Gentiles, continued. Besides these, we read of no other ceremonies or rites, which the apostles greatly regarded, but left such things free to the liberty of Christians, every man to use therein his own discretion, for the using or not using thereof. Whereupon, as concerning all the ceremonial observations of days, times, places, meats, drinks, vestures, and such others; of all these things neither was the diversity among men greatly noted, nor any uniformity greatly required. This Severus the persecutor reigned, as the most part of writers record, the space of eighteen years; who about the latter time of his reign came with his army hither into Britain, where, after many conflicts with the Britons, in the borders of the North, he built a city with a mighty wall made of earth, and

thirty-two miles, and from the one side of the sea to the other, beginning at Tintagel and reaching to the Scottish sea; which done, he removed to York, and there, by the breaking in of the northern men and Scots, was besieged and slain about the year of our Lord two hundred and fourteen, leaving behind him two sons, Bassianus and Geta. Which Bassianus, surnamed Caracalla, after he had slain his brother Geta here in Britain, governed the empire alone the space of six years. After whose death, he being slain also of his servants, (as he had slain his brother before,) succeeded Macrinus with his son Diadumenus, to be emperor, who, after they had reigned one year, were both slain by their own people.

After them followed Varius Heliogabalus in the empire, rather to be called a monster than a man, so prodigious was his life in all gluttony, filthiness, and ribaldry. Such was his pomp, that in his lamps he used balm, and filled his fish-ponds with rose-water. To let pass his sumptuous vestures, which he would not wear but only of gold, and most costly silks; his shoes glistened with precious stones finely engraved: he was never two days served with one kind of meat; he never wore one garment twice. And likewise for his fleshly wickedness; some days his company was served at meals with the brains of ostriches and pelicans, another day with the tongues of nightingales and other sweet-singing birds; when nigh the sea, he never used fish; but in places far distant from the sea, all his house was served with most delicate fish; at one supper he was served with seven thousand fishes, and five thousand fowls. At his removing, in his progress often there followed him six hundred chariots laden only with bawds, common harlots, and jesters. He sacrificed young children, and preferred to the best advancements in the commonwealth the vilest persons, as bawds, minstrels, carters, and such like; in one word, he was an enemy to all honesty and good order. And when he was told by his sorcerers and astronomers that he should die a violent death, he provided ropes of silk to hang himself, swords of gold to kill himself; and strong poison in jacinths and emeralds to poison himself, if needs he must be forced thereto; moreover, he made a high tower, having the floor of boards covered with gold plate, bordered with precious stones, from the which tower he would throw himself down, if he should be pursued by his enemies. But notwithstanding all his provision, he was slain by the soldiers, drawn through the city, and cast into the Tiber, after he had reigned two years and eight months, as witnesses Eusebius; others say four years.

This Heliogabalus, having no issue, adopted for his son and heir Aurelius Alexander Severus, the son of Mammaea, who commencing his reign in the year of our Lord one hundred and twenty-four, continued thirteen years, well commended for being virtuous, wise, gentle, liberal, and to all men hurtful. And as he was not unlearned himself, so he the diligent education of Mammaea his mother, so he was great favourer of learned and wise men. Neither did he anything in the commonwealth without the assistance of learned and sage counsellors. He especially hated corruption. He dismissed from his court all superfluous persons, saying, that he was no good governor who fed idle persons at the bowels of the commonwealth.

Among his other virtues, it appears also that he was friendly and favourable to the Christians, as may be seen by this act; for when the Christians had occupied a public place for some good use, probably for the assembling together the congregation, the company of the emperor challenge of that place to belong to them. This being brought before the emperor, he judged that the place to be continued to the Christians.

By this it may be understood, that in Rome no Christian churches were erected unto this time, when as yet (notwithstanding this favour of the emperor) no public building could quietly be obtained for the Christians.

And thus continued this good emperor his reign the space of thirteen years: at length, at the commotion in Germany, with his mother Mammea, he was slain. After whom succeeded Maximinus, contrary to the mind of the senate, only appointed by the soldiers to be emperor. During all this time between Severus and this Maximinus, the church of Christ, although it had not perfect peace, yet it had some mean tranquillity from persecution; however, some martyrs there were at this time that suffered, whereof Naucerus giveth this reason: "For although (says he) Alexander, being persuaded through the entreaties of his mother Mammea, did favour the Christians; yet notwithstanding, there was no public edict or proclamation provided for their safeguard;" by reason whereof, divers there were which suffered martyrdom under Almachius and other judges. In the number of whom, according to some histories, was *Calixtus*, bishop of Rome, who succeeded next unto Zephyrinus above mentioned, and after him *Urbanus* also, which both being bishops of Rome, did both suffer, by the opinion of some writers, under Alexander Severus. Vincentius affirms, that he was tied to a great stone, and so was thrown out of a window into a ditch. Eusebius, speaking of his death, maketh no mention of his martyrdom, and says he sat five years; Platina says six years, Sabellicus giveth him seven years, and so doth Damasus.

Marianus Scotus, Sabellicus, Naucerus, and other late writers, do hold that *Urbanus*, who succeeded Calixtus, died a martyr in the days of Alexander Severus, after he had governed that see four years, as Damasus and Platina do witness; as Marianus says eight years.

The same Damasus and Platina do testify of him, that he, by his preaching and holiness of life, converted divers heathens to the faith. Among whom were *Tiburtius*, and *Valerianus* the husband of *Cecilia*, which both, being noblemen of Rome, remained constant in the faith unto their end and martyrdom. Of this Cecilia thus it is written in the martyrology by Ado; that Cecilia the virgin, after she had brought Valerian her husband, and Tiburtius his brother, to the knowledge and faith of Christ, and by her exhortations had made them constant unto martyrdom; after the suffering of them, she was also apprehended by Almachius the ruler, and brought to the idols to do sacrifice; which thing when she abhorred to do, she should be presented before the judge to have condemnation of death. In the mean time, the servants and officers which were about her, beholding her comely beauty and her prudent behaviour, began with many persuasions to solicit her to favour herself, and not to cast herself away, &c. but she again so replied to them with reasons and ready exhortations, that by the grace of Almighty God their hearts began to kindle, and at length to yield to that religion which before they did persecute; which thing she perceiving, desired of the judge Almachius a little respite: which being granted, she sendeth for Urbanus the bishop home to her house, to establish and ground them in the faith of Christ: and so were they, with divers others, at the same time baptized, both men and women, to the number, as is said, of four hundred persons, among whom was one Gordianus, a nobleman. This done, this blessed martyr was brought before the judge, where she was condemned; then after she was brought to the house of the judge, where she was enclosed in a bath; but she remaining there a whole day and night without any hurt, as in a cold place, was brought out again,

and commandment given that in the bath she should be beheaded. The executioner is said to have had four strokes at her neck; and yet her head being cut off, she, as is related, lived three days after; and so died this holy virgin martyr, whose body in the night season Urbanus the bishop took and buried among the bishops. Ado, the compiler of this martyrology, adds, that this was done in the time of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus; but that cannot be, for so much as Urbanus by all histories was long after those emperors, and lived in the days of this Alexander, as is before declared.

Under the same Alexander divers others there be, whom Bergomensis mentions to have suffered martyrdom, as one *Agapetus*, of the age of fifteen years, who being apprehended and condemned at Preneste in Italy, because he would not sacrifice to idols, was assailed with sundry torments; first scourged with whips; then hanged up by the feet, after having hot boiling water poured upon him; at last cast to the wild beasts; with all which torments, when he could not be hurt, finally was beheaded. The executor of these punishments (as by Henricus Erford may be gathered) was one Antiochus; who, in the executing the aforesaid torments, suddenly fell down from his judicial seat, crying out, that all his bowels burned within him, and so gave up the ghost. Henr. de Erfordia, lib. 6. cap. 29.

Also with the same Agapetus is numbered *Calepodius*, a minister of Rome, whose body first was drawn through the city of Rome, and afterwards cast into the Tiber.

Then followeth *Pammachius*, a senator of Rome, with his wife and children, and others, both men and women, to the number of forty-two.

Also, another noble senator of Rome, named *Simplicius*, all which together in one day had their heads smitten off, and their heads after hanged up in divers gates of the city, for a terror to others, that none should profess the name of Christ.

Besides these, suffered also *Quiritius*, a nobleman of Rome, who, with his mother Julia and a great number more, were likewise put to death.

Also *Tiberius* and *Valerianus*, citizens of Rome, and brethren, suffered, as Bergomensis says, at the same time; who first being bruised and broken with bats, after were beheaded.

Also Vincentius, Bergomensis, and Erfordensis, make mention of *Martina*, a Christian virgin, who, after divers bitter punishments, being constant in her faith, suffered in like manner by the sword.

As touching the time of these forenamed martyrs, as I find them not in old writers, so do I suppose them to suffer under Maximinus or Decius, rather than under Alexander.

[For an account of the Martyrologies from which these relations are taken, see the Introduction to this Work.]

### The Sixth Persecution.

AFTER the death of Alexander the emperor, who, with his mother Mammea, as is said, was murdered in Germany, followed Maximinus, chosen by the will of the soldiers, rather than by the authority of the senate, about the year of our Lord 237; who, for the hatred he had to the house of Alexander, as Eusebius records, raised up the sixth persecution against the Christians, especially against the teachers and leaders of the church, thinking thereby the sooner to vanquish the rest, if the captains of them were removed out of the way. Whereby I suppose the martyrdom of Urbanus the bishop and of the rest above specified, to have happened rather under the



tyranny of this Maximianus than under Alexander. In the time of this persecution, Origen wrote his book, *De Martyrio*; which book, if it were extant, would give us some knowledge, I doubt not, of such as in this persecution did suffer, which are now unknown: and no doubt but a great number they were, and more should have been, had not the mercy of God shortened his days, and bridled his tyranny; for he reigned but three years. After him succeeded Gordianus, in the year of our Lord 240, a man no less studious for the prosperity of the commonwealth, than mild and gentle to the Christians. This Gordianus, after he had governed with much peace and tranquillity the space of six years, was slain by Philip the emperor after him.

In the days of these emperors above received was *Pontianus*, bishop of Rome, who succeeded next after Urbanus before mentioned, about the year of our Lord two hundred and thirty-six, in the twelfth year of Alexander, as Eusebius, lib. 6. cap. 28. notes, declaring him to sit six years. Damasus and Platina, on the contrary, write, that he was bishop nine years and a half, and that in the time of Alexander, he, with Philippus his priest, was banished into Sardinia, and there died. But it seems more credible that he was banished rather under Maximianus, and died in the beginning of the reign of Gordianus.

Other notable fathers also in the same time were raised up in the church, as *Philetus*, bishop of Antioch, which succeeded Asclepiades afore mentioned, in the year of our Lord two hundred and twenty; and after him *Zebenus*, bishop of the same place, in the year of our Lord two hundred and thirty-one.

To these also may be added *Ammonius*, the schoolmaster of Origen, as Suidas supposes, also the kinsman of Porphyry, the great enemy of Christ; notwithstanding, this Ammonius was endued with better grace, as he left divers books in defence of Christ's religion, so he did constantly persevere, as Eusebius says, in the doctrine of Christ, which he had in the beginning received, which was about the days of Alexander.

*Julius Africanus* also, about the time of Gordianus aforesaid, is numbered among the ancient writers, of whom Nicephorus writes, that he was the scholar of Origen, and a great writer of that time.

Unto these doctors and confessors may be added *Natalius*, mentioned in the first book of Eusebius. This Natalius had suffered persecution before like a constant confessor, and was prevailed on by Asclepiodotus and Theodorus (who were the disciples of Theodocus) to take upon him to be the bishop of their sect, promising to give him every month an hundred and fifty pieces of silver; and so joining himself to this, was admonished by vision and revelation from the Lord; for such was the great mercy of God, and of our Lord Jesus Christ, that he would not have his martyr, who had suffered so much for his name before, now to perish out of his church; for which cause, says Eusebius, God by certain visions did admonish him; but he not taking great heed thereunto, being blinded partly with lucre, partly with honour, was at length all the night long scourged by the angels, insomuch that he being thereby very sore, and early on the morrow putting on sackcloth, with much weeping and lamentation went to *Zephyrinus*, the bishop above mentioned, where he falling down before him and all the Christian congregation, shewed him the stripes of his body, and prayed them, for the mercies of Christ, that he might be received into the communion again, from which he had sequestered himself before; and so was admitted according as he desired.

After the decease of Pontianus, bishop of Rome before mentioned, succeeded next in the place *Anterius*, of whom

Isuardus writes, that Pontianus going away did substitute him in his room: but Eusebius writes, that he succeeded immediately after him. Damasus says, that because he caused the acts and deaths of the martyrs to be written, therefore he was put to martyrdom himself by Maximianus the judge.

Of *Hippolytus* also both Eusebius and Hieronymus make mention that he was a bishop: but where, they make no relation. And so likewise does Theodoretus witness him to be a bishop, and also a martyr; but naming no place. Galatius, *Contra Eutichen*, says, he died a martyr, and that he was a bishop of a head city in Arabia. Nicephorus writes, that he was bishop of Ostia, a port town near to Rome. Certain it is, he was a great writer, and left many works in the church, which Eusebius and Jerome do recite. By the judgment of Eusebius, he was about the year of our Lord two hundred and thirty.

Prudentius, in his *Peristhephanon*, making mention of great heaps of martyrs buried by threescore together, speaks also of Hippolytus, and says, that he was drawn with wild horses through fields, dales, and bushes, and gives thereof a pitiful story.

After the emperor Gordianus, the empire fell to Philippus, who, with Philip his son, governed the space of seven years, in the year of our Lord two hundred and forty-six. This Philippus, with his son and all his family, was christened and converted by Fabian and Origen, who by letters exhorted him and Severa his wife to be baptized, being the first of all the emperors that brought Christianity into the imperial seat. However, Pomponius Letus reports him to be a dissembling prince; this is certain, that for his Christianity, he, with his son, was slain by Decius, one of his captains. Sabellicus Bergomensis, lib. 8. shews this hatred of Decius against Philippus to be conceived because that the emperor Philip, both the father and the son, had committed their treasures to Fabianus, who was then bishop of Rome.

### The Seventh Persecution.

PHILIPPUS being slain, after him Decius invaded the crown about the year of our Lord two hundred and fifty, by whom was moved a terrible persecution against the Christians, which Orosius notes to be the seventh. The first occasion of this hatred and persecution of this tyrant conceived against the Christians, was chiefly (as before touched) because of the treasures of the emperor which were committed to Fabian the bishop.

This *Fabian*, first being a married man, (as Platina writes) was made bishop of Rome after Anterius above mentioned, by the miraculous appointment of God, which Eusebius thus describes in his sixth book, "When the brethren (says he) were together in the congregation about the election of their bishop, and had purposed among themselves, upon the nomination of some noble and worthy personage of Rome, it chanced that Fabian, among others, was there present, who of late before was newly come out of the country to dwell in the city. This Fabian, as is said, thinking nothing less than of any such matter, there suddenly came a dove flying from above, and sat upon his head; whereupon all the congregation being moved, with one mind and one voice chose him for their bishop."—In which function he remained the space of thirteen years, as Eusebius writes: Damasus, Marianus, and Sabellicus, say fourteen years unto the time of Decius; who, whether for that Philippus had committed to him his treasures, or whether for the hatred he bare to Philippus in the beginning of his reign, he caused him to be put to death.

sending out moreover his proclamation into all quarters, that all who professed the name of Christ should be slain.

To this Fabian wrote Origen, *de Orthodoxia sive Fidei*, that is, Of the Soundness of his Faith; whereby is to be understood that he continued to the time of Decius: some also say, to the time of Gallus. Of this *Origen* mention is made before, declaring how bold and fervent he was in the days of Severus, in assisting, comforting, exhorting, and kissing, the martyrs that were imprisoned, and suffered for the name of Christ, with such danger of his own life, that had it not been for the singular protection of God, he had been stoned to death many times by the heathen multitude. Such great concourse of men and women was daily at his house to be catechized and instructed in the Christian faith by him, that soldiers were hired on purpose to defend the place where he taught them. Again, such search sometimes was made for him, that scarce any shifting of place or country could cover him. In these laborious travels and affairs of the church, in teaching, writing, confuting, exhorting, and expounding, he continued about the space of fifty-two years, unto the time of Decius and Gallus. Divers and great persecutions he sustained, but especially under Decius, as testifies Eusebius in his sixth book; declaring, that for the doctrine of Christ he sustained bands and torments in his body, racking with bars of iron, dungeons, besides terrible threats of death and burning. All this he suffered in the persecution of Decius, as Eusebius records of him, and makes no relation of any farther matter. What became of Origen is not found in history, but only that Suidas adds, he died, and was buried at Tyrus. Eusebius affirms, that he departed under the emperor Gallus, about the year of our Lord 255, and seventieth year of his age, in great poverty.

Nicephorus, in the first book, and others who write of this persecution under Decius, declare the horribleness thereof to be so very great, and so innumerable martyrs to suffer in the same, that he says, it is as easy to number the sands of the sea, as to recite the particular names of those whom this persecution did devour. In which persecution, the chief doers and tormentors under the emperor appear in the history of Vincentius to be these: Optimus the under-consul, Secundianus, Verianus, and Marcellianus, &c.—Although it be hard here to infer all and singular persons in order that died in this persecution, yet such as remain most notable in history I will briefly touch, by the grace of Him for whose cause they suffered.

In the former relation of the first persecution, mention was made before of *Alexander*, bishop of Jerusalem, and of his troubles suffered under Severus, and how afterwards, by the miracle of God, he was appointed bishop of Jerusalem, where he continued, a very aged man, above the term of forty years governor of that church, till the time of the first year of Decius; at which time he being brought from Jerusalem to Caesarea into the judgment-place, after a constant and evident confession of his faith made before the judge, was committed unto prison, and there finished his life, as testifies Dionysius Alexandrinus, in the sixth book of Eusebius. After whom succeeded in that seat *Mazabanes*, the thirty-sixth bishop of that city after James the apostle.

Mention was made also before of *Asclepiades*, bishop of Antioch, who succeeded after Serapion, and in the persecution of Severus did likewise persevere a constant confessor, and as Vincentius testifies in his eleventh book, suffered martyrdom at last under this Decius. But this computation of Vincentius can in no wise agree with the truth of time; for so much as by probable writers, (Zonaras, Nicephorus, and others,) the said *Asclepiades*, after Serapion, entered the bishopric seat of Antioch in the year of our Lord two hundred

and fourteen, and sat seven years before the time of Gordianus: after whom succeeded *Philetus*, in the year of our Lord two hundred and twenty-one, governing the function twelve years. And after him *Zebinus* followed, in the year of our Lord two hundred and thirty-two, and so after him *Babylas*; which *Babylas*, if he died in this persecution of Decius, then could not *Asclepiades* also suffer in the same time, who died so long before him, as is declared.

Of this *Babylas*, bishop of Antioch, Eusebius and Zonaras record, that under Decius he died in prison, as did Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, above mentioned.

We read in a certain treatise by Chrysostom, entitled *Contra Gentiles* a noble and long history of one *Babylas*, a martyr, who about these times was put to death for resisting a certain emperor, not suffering him to enter into the temple of the Christians after a cruel murder committed; the story of which murder is this: There was a certain emperor, who upon conclusion of peace made with a certain nation, had received for hostage or surety of peace the son of the king, being of young and tender age, with conditions upon the same, that neither he should be molested by them, nor that they should ever be vexed by him. Upon this the king's son was delivered, not without great care and fear by the father, unto the emperor; whom the cruel emperor, contrary to promise, caused in a short time, without any just cause, to be slain. This fact so horrible being committed, the tyrant with all haste would enter into the temple of the Christians, where *Babylas*, being bishop or minister, withstood him that he should not approach that place. The emperor therewith not a little incensed, bade him forthwith to be laid in prison with as many irons as he could bear, and from thence shortly after to be brought forth to death and execution. *Babylas*, going boldly to his martyrdom, desired after his death to be buried with his irons and bands; and so he was. The story proceeds, moreover, and says, that in the continuance of time, in the reign of Constantine, Gallus (then made the overseer of the eastern parts) caused his body to be removed into the suburbs of Antioch, called *Daphnes*, where was a temple of Apollo, famous for oracles and answers given by that idol, or by the devil rather in that place. In which temple, after the bringing of the body of *Babylas*, the idol ceased to give any more oracles, saying, that because of the body of *Babylas* he could give no more answers; and complained that the place was wont to be consecrated unto him, but now it was full of dead men's bodies. And thus the oracles were silenced for that time, till the coming of Julianus; who inquiring out the cause why the oracles ceased, caused the bones of the holy martyr to be removed again from thence by the Christians, who they then called *Galileans*. They coming in a great multitude, both men, maidens, and children, to the tomb of *Babylas*, transported his bones according to the commandment of the emperor, singing by the way as they went the verse of the Psalm, in words as follow: "Confounded be all that worship images, and all that glory in idols," &c. Which coming to the emperor's ear, set him in great rage against the Christians, stirring up persecution against them. But Zonaras declares the cause something otherwise, saying, that as soon as the body of him and other martyrs were removed away, the temple of the idol, with the image, in the night was consumed with fire: for which cause (says Zonaras) Julian stirred up with anger, persecuted the Christians.

In the forenamed city of Antioch, Vincentius, ch. 11, speaks of forty virgin martyrs who suffered in the persecution of Decius.

In the country of Phrygia, and in the town of *Lam*, the same Vincentius also speaks of one *Peter*, who the



prehended and suffered bitter torments for Christ's name, under Optinus, the proconsul, and in Troada likewise, of other martyrs that there suffered, whose names were *Andrew*, *Paul*, *Nicomachus*, and *Dionysia*, a virgin,—lib. 11. cap. 46.

Also in Babylon, says he, divers Christian confessors were found by Decius, who were led away into Spain, there to be executed:—Lib. eodem, cap. 43.

In the country of Cappadocia, at the city of Cesarea, in like manner by the same author is testified, that *Germanus*, *Theophilus*, *Cesarinus*, and *Vitalis*, suffered martyrdom for Christ:—Eodem, cap. 52. And in the same book mention is also made of *Polychronius*, bishop of Babylon, cap. 39. And in Pamphylia, of *Nestor*, their bishop, that died a martyr,—cap. 52.

At Parthia, in the town of Cardala, *Olympiades* and *Maximus*; in Tyros also, *Anatolia*, virgin, and *Audar*, gave their lives likewise to death for the testimony of Christ.

Eusebius moreover, in his sixth book, recites out of the epistle of Dionysius Alexandrinus, divers that suffered variously at Alexandria; which places of Dionysius, as they are related in Eusebius, I thought here good, for the antiquity of the author, to insert and notify in his own words, and in our language, as he wrote them to Fabius, bishop of Antioch, as follows:

This persecution (says he) began not with the proclamation set forth by the emperor, but began a whole year before, by the occasion and means of a wicked person, a soothsayer, and a follower of wicked arts; who coming to our city here, stirred up the multitude of the heathen against us, and incited them to maintain their own old superstition and gentility of their country; whereby they being stirred up, and obtaining full power to prosecute their wicked purpose, so thought, and no less declared, all their piety and religion to consist only in idolatrous worship of devils, and in our destruction. And first flying upon a certain priest of ours, named *Metra*, they apprehended him, and brought him forth to make him speak after their wicked blasphemy; which, when he would not do, they laid upon him with staves and clubs, and with sharp reeds pricked his face and eyes, and afterward bringing him out into the suburbs, there they stoned him to death. Then they took a faithful woman, called *Quinta*, and brought her to the temple of their idols, to compel her to worship with them; which when she refused to do, and abhorred their idols, they bound her feet, and drew her through the whole street of the city upon the hard stones, and so dashing her against millstones, and scourging her with whips, brought her to the same place of the suburbs as they did the other before, where she likewise ended her life. This done, in a great outrage, and with a multitude running together, they burst into the houses of the Christians, spoiling, sacking, and carrying away all that they could find of any value; other things, such as were of less value, and of wood, they brought into the open market, and set them on fire. In the mean time, the brethren withdrew themselves, taking patiently and no less joyfully the spoiling of their goods, than did they of whom St. Paul doth testify.

Amongst the rest that there were taken, was a certain virgin well stricken in years, named *Apollinia*, whom they brought forth, and dashing all her teeth out of her jaws, made a great fire before the city, threatening to cast her into the same, unless she would blaspheme with them, and deny Christ: whereat she considering a little with herself, as one that would take a pause, suddenly leaped into the midst of the fire, and there was burnt.

There was also one *Syrion*, whom they took in his own house, and after they had assailed him with divers kinds of

torments, and had broken almost all the joints of his body, they cast him down from an upper loft; and so did he complete his martyrdom. Thus was there no way, neither privy, nor public, nor corner, nor alley, left for us, neither by day nor by night, to escape; all the people making an outcry against us, that unless we uttered words of blasphemy, we should be drawn to the fire and burned. And this outrageous tumult endured a certain space; but at length, as the Lord would, the miserable wretches fell to dissension among themselves, which turned the cruelty they exercised against us upon their own heads. And so we had a little breathing time for a season.

Shortly then after this, word was brought unto us that the state of the empire, which before was something favourable to us, was altered and changed against us, putting us in great fear. And consequently upon the same followed the edict of the emperor, so terrible and cruel, that according to the forewarning of the Lord, the elect, if it had been possible, might have been thereby subverted. Upon that edict such fear came over us all, that many there were, especially of the richer sort, of whom some for fear came running, some were led by the occasion of time, some were drawn by their neighbours, being cited by them, to those impure and idolatrous sacrifices. Others came trembling and shaking, not as meriting that should offer sacrifice, but who should be sacrificed themselves, the multitude laughing them to scorn. Some again came boldly to the altars, declaring themselves never to have been of that profession, of whom it is said, that hardly they shall be saved. Of the residue, some followed one part, some another; some ran away, some were taken; of whom certain continued constant both in bands and torments; others again, after long imprisonments, before they should come before the judge, renounced their faith. Some also, after they had suffered torments, yet after revolted. But others, being as strong as blessed, and valiant pillars of the Lord's house, fortified with constancy, agreeing to their faith, were made faithful martyrs of the kingdom of God.

Of whom the first was *Julianus*, a man diseased with the gout, and not being able to go, was carried by two men; of whom the one quickly denied the other: but *Cronion*, surnamed *Eunus*, with the aforesaid Julianus the old man, confessing the Lord with a perfect faith, were laid upon camels, and there scourged; at length were cast into the fire, and with great constancy were so consumed.

As these aforesaid were going to their martyrdom, there was a certain soldier, whom in their defence took part against them that railed upon them. For which cause, the people crying out against him, he also was apprehended, and, being steadfast in his profession, was forthwith beheaded.

Likewise one *Macar*, a man born in Libya, being admonished and exhorted by the judge to deny his faith, and not agreeing to his persuasions, was burned alive.

After these suffered *Epimachus*, and one *Alexander*, who being long detained in prison and in bands, after innumerable pains and torments with razors and scourges, were also cast into the burning fire with four others, women, who all there ended their martyrdom.

Also *Ammonarion*, an holy virgin, who the cruel judge had long and bitterly tormented, for that she, promising the judge before, that for no punishment she would yield to his request, and constantly performing the same, suffered likewise martyrdom with two other women, of whom there was an aged matron named *Mercuria*, the other was called *Dionysia*, being a mother of many fair children, whom yet notwithstanding she loved not above the Lord. These, after they could not be overcome by any torments of the cruel judge, but he rather

ashamed and confounded to be overcome by weak women, at length being past feeling of all torments, were slain with the sword; first Ammonarion, like a valiant captain, suffering before them.

*Heron, Ater, and Isidorus*, Egyptians, and with them *Dioscorus* also, a child of fifteen years, were crowned with the same crown of martyrdom. And first the judge began with the child, thinking him more easy to be won with words to entice him, than with torments to constrain him. But he persisted immoveable, giving neither place to persuasions nor punishment. The rest, after he had grievously tormented them, being constant in their profession, he committed to the fire.—The judge greatly marvelling at *Dioscorus* for his wise answers and grave constancy, dismissed him; sparing, as he said, his age to longer respite.

*Nemesion*, being also an Egyptian, first was accused for a companion of thieves; but being cleared thereof before the centurion, was then accused of Christianity, and for that cause being in bands, was brought before the president; who most unrighteously tormenting and scourging him double to all other thieves and felons, at length among the thieves burned him to death, making him a blessed martyr.

There were standing before the tribunal certain of the warriors, or knights, whose names were *Ammon, Zenon, Ptolemeus, Ingenius*, and with them a certain aged man called *Theophilus*; who being present when a certain Christian man was examined before the judge, and there seeing him for fear ready to fall away, did burst almost for sorrow within themselves, making signs to him with their hands, and all gestures of their body, to be constant. This being noted by all the standers by, they were ready to lay hold upon them; but they preventing this matter, pressed up of their own accord to the bench of the judge, professing themselves to be Christians; insomuch that both the president and all that were on the bench were astonished, and the Christians who were judged were more emboldened to suffer, and the judges thereby terrified. This done, they departed away from the place, glad and rejoicing for the testimony that they had given of their faith.—Many other besides were in other cities and towns rent and torn asunder by the heathen, among whom was *Ischirion*, who was servant to a certain nobleman, being commanded by his master to sacrifice, and not obeying, was therefore rebuked; and after persisting in the same, was grievously threatened. At last his master, when he could not prevail against him, taking a stake or pike in his hands, ran him through the body, and slew him.

What shall I speak of the multitude of them, which wandering in deserts and mountains, were consumed with hunger, thirst, cold, sickness, thieves, or wild beasts, of whose blessed victory they which be alive are yet witnesses? In the number of whom, one I will speak of, among divers others, named *Cheremon*, bishop of the city called Nilus, an aged man: he with his wife flying to the mountains of Arabia, never returned again, nor ever could be seen after: and though they were sought for diligently by their brethren, yet neither they nor their bodies were found.—Many others there were, who flying to these mountains of Arabia, were taken by the barbarous Arabs: of whom somewhat much money could scarcely be ransomed; some were never heard of yet to this present day. Thus much out of the epistles of Dionysius in Eusebius, lib. 6. cap. 41, 42, &c.

Moreover, the aforesaid Dionysius, in another place writing to Germanus, of his own dangers, and of others sustained in this persecution, and before this persecution of Decius, writes thus: "Behold, before the sight of God, I lie not, and he knows I lie not, how that I, having no regard of my

own life, and not without the motion of God, did fly and avoid the danger of this persecution.—Yea, and also before this persecution of Decius did rage against us, Sabinas the same hour did send a farmer to seek me; when I, remaining at home, waited three days for his coming. But he, searching narrowly for me by all ways, fields, floods, and corners, where he thought I might best have hid myself, or have passed by, was stricken with such blindness, that he could not find my house, little thinking that I would abide at home in such and so dangerous a persecution. Thus these three days being passed, upon the fourth day the Lord God so willing and commanding me to fly, and also marvellously opening to me the way, I, with my children, and many other brethren, went out together. And that this did not come of myself, but was the work of God's providence, the sequel of these things declared, wherein afterward I was not peradventure unprofitable to some."

Again, in another place, the aforesaid Dionysius, proceeding in his narration, writes:

"Then coming to Jerusalem with those who were with me, I was brought by soldiers unto Taposixis, whereas *Timotheus*, by the providence of God, neither was present, nor yet taken; who then returning home, found his house desert, and officers watching about the same, and us within taken," &c. And again, shortly after, it follows: "And to see (says he) the admirable disposing of God's works; as *Timotheus* was thus flying with much haste and much fear, a certain man, as it happened, a neighbour, met him by the way, and asked, whither he went so hastily? To whom *Timotheus* answering, declared all the matter simply as it was. Which done, the man proceeded on his journey, whither he purposed to go, which was to a marriage: the manner of which marriages then was, to sit up all night long, feasting and drinking. Thus, as he was come, sitting with them at the feast, he told his companions what was done, and what he heard by the way. This was no sooner told, but they all, as if stricken with a sudden fury, rushing out together, made towards us as fast as they could, with such crying and noise as might seem very terrible. At the first hearing whereof, the soldiers that had us in keeping being afraid, ran away; by reason whereof we were left alone, and found as we were lying upon forms and benches. I then (the Lord knows) thinking with myself that they had been thieves, which came to spoil and rob, being in my couch, lay still in my shirt only as I was; the rest of my garments, lying by me, I offered to them: they then wished me in all haste to rise, and get away; whereby I then perceiving the cause of their coming, cried unto them, desiring that they would suffer us so to do; and if they would do any benefit for me, for so much as I could not escape the hands of those who would pursue me and carry me away, I prayed them that they would prevent them, and cut off my head before. And as I was crying thus unto them, casting myself grovelling upon the pavement, as my companions can testify, who were partakers of all these things, they burst forth violently, taking me by the hands and feet, and carried me out of the doors, and led me away. There followed me *Gaius, Faustus, Petrus, and Paulus*, (who were witnesses of all the same,) who brought me also out of the city, and so setting me upon an ass, conveyed me away." Thus much writes *Dionysius* of himself, whose epistle is cited in the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, lib. 6. cap. 40. also lib. 7. cap. 11.

*Nicephorus*, in his first book, cap. 27. makes mention of one named *Christophorus*, who also suffered in this persecution under Decius. Of which *Christophorus*, whether the fable rises of that mighty giant set up in churches, riding through the seas with Christ on his shoulder, and a tale of

his hand for a walking-staff, &c. is uncertain. Georgius Wicelius alleges out of Ruggerus Fuldens, and mentions one Christophorus, of the nation of Canaanites, who suffered under Decius, being, as he says, twelve cubits high. But the rest of the history painted in churches, the said Wicelius considers as fabulous.

\*Bergomensis in his eighth book mentions divers martyred under Decius, as *Mentatus*, who suffered at Florence; of *Agatha*, an holy virgin of Sicily, who is said to suffer divers and bitter torments under Quintilianus the proconsul, with imprisonment, beatings, famine, rackings, rolled also upon sharp shells and hot coals, having moreover her breasts cut from her body, as Bergomensis and Ado record.

It is hard to recite all that suffered in this persecution, when as whole multitudes went into wildernesses and mountains, wandering without succour or comfort, some starved with hunger and cold, some consumed with sickness, some devoured by beasts, some taken by barbarous thieves, and carried away. Vincentius, in his eleventh book, speaking of Asclepiades, writes also of forty virgins and martyrs, who by sundry kinds of torments were put to death about the same time, in the fierce persecution carried on by this inhuman tyrant.

Likewise in the said Vincentius mention is made of *Triphon*, a man of great holiness, and constant in his suffering, who being brought to the city of Nice, before the president Aquilus, for his constant confession of Christ's name, was afflicted with divers and grievous torments, and at length put to death with the sword.

When Decius had erected a temple in the midst of the city of Ephesus, compelling all that were in the city there to sacrifice to the idols; seven Christians were found, whose names were *Mazimianus*, *Malchus*, *Martianus*, *Dionysius*, *Joannes*, *Serapion*, and *Constantianus*; who refusing the idolatrous worship, were accused for the same unto the emperor to be Christians; which they firmly professed: notwithstanding, because they were soldiers belonging to the emperor, respite was given them for a certain space, to deliberate with themselves till the return of the emperor, who then was going to war. In the mean time, the emperor being departed, they taking counsel together, went and hid themselves in secret caves at mount Celius. The emperor returning again, after a great search made for them, hearing where they were, caused the mouth of the place to be closed up with heaps of stones, that they not being able to get out, should be famished within. And thus were those good men martyred. The story goes further, that they, between fear and sorrow, fell asleep, in which sleep they continued the space of certain ages after, till the time of Theodosius the emperor, when they awoke, according to Vincentius, Nicophorus, lib. 5. cap. 27. and partly also Henricus Erfordiens. But of their awaking, that I refer to them that will believe it. Certain it is, that at the last day they shall awake indeed without any fable. This is the origin of the story of the *Seven Sleepers*, so much celebrated both in the East and West.

Hieronymus, in the life of Paul the hermit, recites a story of a certain soldier, who, when the prætor could not with torments remove from his Christianity, he devised another way; which was this: he commanded the soldier to be laid upon a soft bed in a pleasant garden, among the flourishing lilies and red roses; which done, all others being removed away, and himself left there alone, a beautiful harlot came to him, who embraced him, and with all other incitements of an harlot laboured to provoke him to her wickedness. But the pious soldier, fearing God more than obeying flesh, bit off his own tongue with his teeth, and spit it in the face of the

harlot, as she was kissing him; and so he got the victory, by the constant grace of the Lord assisting him.

Another like example of singular chastity is written of the virgin *Theodora*, and another soldier, by Ambros. lib. 2. De *Virginibus*. At Antioch, this Theodora refusing to do sacrifice to the idols, was condemned by the judge to the stews, and notwithstanding by the singular providence of God was well delivered: for as there was a great company of wanton young men ready at the door to press into the house where she was, one of the brethren named *Didymus*, as Ado says, moved with faith and the influence of God, putting on a soldier's habit, made himself one of the first that came in, who whispering her in the ear, told her the cause of his coming, being a Christian as she was. His counsel was that she should put on the soldier's habit, and so slip away; and he putting on her garments would there remain to abide their force; and so did, whereby the virgin escaped unknown. Didymus, left unto the rage and wondering of the people, being a man instead of a woman, was presented unto the president; unto whom, without delay, he uttered all the whole matter as it was done, professing himself (as he was) to be a Christian; and thereupon was condemned to suffer. Theodora understanding thereof, and thinking to excuse him by accusing herself, offered herself as the party guilty unto the judge, claiming and requiring the condemnation to light upon her; the other, as innocent, to be discharged. But the cruel judge, (crueller than Dionysius, who spared *Damon* and *Pythias*;) neither considering the virtue of the persons, nor the innocency of the cause, unjustly and inhumanly proceeded in execution against them both; who, first, having their heads cut off, were after cast into the fire.—Ambros. Ado.

*Agathon*, a man of arms in the city of Alexandria, for rebuking certain lewd persons scornfully deriding the dead bodies of the Christians, was accused to the judge, and condemned to lose his head.—Erfordiensis.

The said Erfordiensis also mentions *Paulus* and *Andreas*, whom the proconsul of Troas gave to the people; who being scourged, and after drawn out of the city, were trodden to death by the feet of the people.

Among others that suffered under this wicked Decius, Bergomensis also makes mention of one *Justinus*, a priest of Rome, and of another *Nicostratus*, a deacon. To these Vincentius also adds *Portius*, a priest of Rome, who he reports to be the converter of Philip the emperor aforementioned.

One *Secundianus* was accused to Valerian, a captain of Decius, to be a Christian; which profession, when he stoutly maintained, he was commanded to prison. By the way, as the soldiers were leading him to the gaol, *Verianus* and *Marcellianus* seeing the matter, cried to the soldiers, asking them whither they drew the innocent man? At which words when they also confessed themselves to be Christians, they were likewise apprehended, and brought to the city named Centumcellas: where being desired to sacrifice, they refused upon the idols; and so, after sentence and judgment given, first they were beaten with truncheons, after that they were hanged and tormented upon a gibbet, having fire set to their sides. Vincentius adds, moreover, that some of the tormentors falling suddenly dead, others being taken with wicked spirits, the martyrs were at length beheaded by the sword.—Vin. lib. 11. cap. 51.

To prosecute in length of history the lives and sufferings of all who in this terrible persecution were martyred, it would be almost endless: briefly therefore to rehearse the names of such as we find alleged out of a certain brief treatise of Bede, entitled *De Temporibus*, cited by Henricus de Erford, shall be at this time sufficient.—Under Decius suffered *Appollonius*

and *Concordia*, *Hieroneus*, and *Abundus*, and *Victoria*, a virgin, being noble personages of Antioch; *Bellias* bishop of the city of Apollonia, *Leacus*, *Tirsus*, and *Gallinetus*; *Nazanzo* and *Triphon*, in the city of Egypt called *Tamas*; *Phileas*, bishop, *Philocomus*, with many others, in Perside; *Philereonius*, bishop of Babylon; *Thesiphon*, bishop of Pamphylia; *Neffor*, bishop in Corduba; *Parmenius*, priest; with divers more. In the province called *Colonia*, *Circensis*, *Marianus*, and *Jacobus*. In Africa, *Nemesianus*, *Felix*, *Rogatianus*, priest, and *Felicissimus*. At Rome, *Jorinus*, *Basileus*, also *Ruffina* and *Secunda*, virgins, *Tertullianus*, *Valerianus*, *Nemesius*, *Sempronianus*, and *Olympius*. In Spain, *Terragon*. At Verona, *Zeno*, bishop. At Cesarea, *Marinus* and *Archemius*. In the town of Milan, *Privatus*, bishop, and *Theodorus*, surnamed *Gregorius*, bishop of Pontus.

Vincentius, in his eleventh book, makes mention of certain children suffering martyrdom under the same persecution, in a city of Tuscia called *Aretium*, whose names I find not, except they be *Pergentius* and *Laurentius*, mentioned in *Equilinus*, lib. 5. cap. 80.

Now that I have recorded of them sufficiently, who under this tempest of Decius resolutely gave their lives to martyrdom for the testimony of Christ; it remains that a few words be spoken of such as through fear or frailty, in this persecution, did shrink from the truth of their confession. In the number of whom first comes in the remembrance of *Serapion*, an aged man. Of whom writes *Dionysius Alexandrinus* unto *Fabius*, declaring, that this *Serapion* was an old man, who lived among them a sincere and upright life a long time, but at length fell. This *Serapion* oft and many times desired to be received again; but no man listened to him, for he had sacrificed before. After this (not long after) he fell into sickness, when he remained three days dumb, and benumbed of all senses; the fourth day following, beginning a little to recover, he called to him his sister's son, and said, "How long, how long, my son, do ye hold me here? Make haste, I pray you, that I be absolved. Call hither some of the ministers unto me;" and so saying no more, held his peace as dumb and speechless. The boy ran (it was then night) unto the minister, who at the same time being sick, could not come with the messenger, but said, "Forasmuch as he willeth heretofore (as he said) that such as lay a-dying, if they desire to be received and reconciled, and especially if they required it earnestly, should be admitted, whereby with the better hope and confidence they may depart hence;" therefore he gave to the boy a little of the eucharist, desiring him to crumble it into the cup, and so drop it into the mouth of the old man. With this the boy returned, bringing with him the holy eucharist. As he was just near at hand, before he had entered in, *Serapion*, the old man, speaking again, "Comest thou, (said he,) my son?"—"The priest (said the messenger) is sick, and cannot come: but do as he desired you, and let me go." And the boy mixed the eucharist, and dropped it softly into the mouth of the old man; who, after he had tasted a little, immediately gave up the ghost, &c.—*Hæc Dionys. ex Euseb.*

In the city of Troas, as the proconsul was grievously tormented, one *Nichomachus*, he cried out, that "he was no Christian," and so was let down again. And after, when he had sacrificed, he was taken with a wicked spirit, and so thrown down upon the ground, where he biting off his tongue with his teeth, so departed.—*Henr. de Erford.*

*Dionysius* in his epistle also writing to *Fabius*, and lamenting the great terror of this persecution, declares how many worthy and notable Christians, for fear and horror of the great tyranny thereof, did shew themselves feeble and weak. Of whom, some for dread, some of their own

accord, others after great torments suffered, yet after revolted from the constancy of their profession. Also *St. Cyprian*, in his treatise *De Lapsis*, recites with great sorrow how that a great number at the first threatening of the adversary, neither being compelled nor thrown down with any violence of the enemy, but of their own voluntary weakness, fell down themselves.—Neither, says he, tarrying till the judge put incense in their hands, but before any stroke stricken in the field, turned their backs; not only coming to their sacrifices, but preventing the same, and pretending to come without compulsion, bringing moreover their infants and children, either put into their hands, or taking them with them of their own accord, and exhorting others also to do the like.

Of this weakness and falling, the said authors shew two causes; either love of their goods and patrimony, or fear of torments: and add moreover, examples of the punishments of those who revolted, affirming, that many of them were taken and vexed with wicked spirits, and that one man, among others, after his voluntary denial was suddenly struck dumb. Also, a certain maiden, being taken and vexed with a spirit, did tear her own tongue with her teeth, and, tormented with pain in her belly and inward parts, so died.

Amongst others of this sort, *St. Cyprian*, lib. 3. cap. 8. makes also mention of one *Euaristus*, a bishop in Africa, who leaving his charge, and making shipwreck of his faith, went wandering about in other countries, forsaking his own flock: in like manner he makes also mention of *Nicostratus*, a deacon, who forsaking his deaconship, and taking the goods of the church with him, fled away into other countries, &c. However, *Bergomensis* affirms, that this *Nicostratus*, the deacon, afterwards died a martyr. Thus then, although some did relent, yet a very great number (says he) there was, whom neither fear could move, nor pain overthrow, to cause them to betray their confession, but they stood like glorious martyrs unto the end.

The same *Cyprian* also in another book, *De Mortalitate*, recites a notable story of one of his own colleagues and fellow priests, who being oppressed with weakness, and greatly afraid with death drawing at hand, desired leave to depart, and to be discharged. As he was thus entreating, and almost now dying, there appeared by him a young man, of an honourable and reverend majesty, of a tall stature, and comely behaviour, so bright and clear to behold, that scarce a man's carnal eyes were able so to do, which was now ready to depart this world: to whom this young man speaking with a certain indignation of mind and voice, thus said, *Pati times, exire non vis: quid faciam tibi?*—"To suffer ye dare not, to go out ye will not: what would ye have me do unto you?"

Upon the occasion of these and such others, which were a great number, that fell and did renounce, as is aforesaid, in this persecution of Decius, rose up first the quarrel and heresy of *Novatus*, who in these days made a great disturbance in the church; holding this opinion, That they who once renounced the faith, and for fear of torments had offered incense to the idols, although they repented thereof, yet could not afterwards be admitted to the church of Christ.

After *Fabian* (or, as *Zonaras* calls him, *Flavian*), next succeeded into the bishopric of Rome, *Cornelius*, whom *Cyprian* notes to be a worthy bishop, and for his great virtue and continency much commendable, chosen to that room, not so much by his own consent, as by the full agreement both of the clergy and also of the people.

In this persecution of Decius, he demeaned himself very constantly and faithfully, and sustained great conflicts with the adversaries, as *St. Cyprian* gives witness, lib. 1. *St. Damasus* and *Sabellicus*, his followers, affirm, that he was



both exiled, and also martyred, under the tyrannical reign of Decius. Of whom Sabellicus writes this story, taken, as it seems, out of Damasus, and says, "That Cornelius, by the command of Decius, was banished to a town called Centumcellas, bordering on Etruria, from whence he sent his letters to Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, and Cyprian again to him." This coming to the ears of Decius the emperor, he sent for Cornelius, asking him, "How he durst be so bold to shew such stubbornness, that he neither caring for their gods, nor fearing the displeasure of his prince, durst against the commonwealth give and receive letters from others?" To whom Cornelius answering again, thus cleared himself, declaring to the emperor, "That letters indeed he had written, and received again, concerning the praising and honouring of Christ, and the salvation of souls; but nothing as touching any matter of the commonwealth." And it follows in the story: Then Decius, moved with anger, commanded him to be beaten with plumbats, (which, as says Sabellicus, is a kind of scourging,) and so to be brought to the temple of Mars; either there to do sacrifice, or to suffer the extremity. But he rather wishing to die than to commit such iniquity, prepared himself for martyrdom, being sure that he should die. And so commending the charge of the church unto Stephanus, his archdeacon, was brought to the Appian Way, where he ended his life in faithful martyrdom.

In the aforesaid persecution of Decius, it seems by some writers also that Cyprian was banished; but I suppose rather his banishment to be referred to the reign of Gallus, next emperor after Decius, whereof more shall be said (Christ willing) in his place hereafter. In the mean time, the said Cyprian in his second book, epist. 5. & 6. makes mention of two that suffered, either in the time of this Decius, or much about the same time. Of whom one was *Aurelius*, a worthy and valiant man, who was twice in torments for his confession, which he never denied, but manfully and boldly withstood the adversary, till he was banished, and also after: and therefore was commended by Cyprian to certain brethren, to have him for their lecturer, as in the before-named epistle of Cyprian appears. The other was named *Mappalicius*, who the day before he suffered declaring to the proconsul in the midst of the torments, and saying, *Videbis eras agonem*, that is, "To-morrow you shall see the strife for victory," &c. was brought forth, according as he forespoke, to martyrdom, and there, with no less constancy than patience, did suffer.

And thus much of the tyranny of this wicked Decius against God's saints. Now to touch also the power of God, his vengeance and punishment against him: Like as we see commonly a tempest that is vehement, not long to continue, so it happened with this tyrannical tormentor, who reigned but two years, as says Eusebius, or three at most, as writes Orosius; for among the barbarians, with whom he did war, he was slain with his son: like as he had slain Philippus and his son, his predecessors, before, so was he with his son slain by the righteous judgment of God himself.—Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 1. Platin. Pomponius affirms, that he warring against the Goths, and being by them overcome, lest he should fall into their hands, ran into a whirlpool, where he was drowned; and his body never found after.

Neither did the just hand of God plague the emperor only, but also revenged as well the heathen Gentiles, and persecutors of his word, throughout all provinces and dominions of the Roman monarchy; amongst whom the Lord, immediately after the death of Decius, sent such a plague and pestilence, lasting for the space of ten years together, that horrible it is to hear, and almost incredible to believe. Of this plague or pestilence testifies Dionysius to Hierax, a bishop of Egypt,

(Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 21, 22.) where he declares the mortality of this plague to be so great in Alexandria, where he was bishop, that there was no house in the whole city free. And, although the greatness of the plague touched also the Christians somewhat, yet it scourged the heathen idolaters much more; besides that, the order of their behaviour in the one and in the other was very different. For, as the aforesaid Dionysius doth record, the Christians, through brotherly love and pity, did not refuse one to visit and comfort another, and to minister to him what need required, notwithstanding it was to them great danger; for many there were who in closing up their eyes, in washing their bodies, and interring them in the ground, were the next themselves who followed them to their graves. Yet all this did not prevent them from doing their duty, and shewing mercy one to another; whereas the Gentiles, on the contrary, being extremely visited by the hand of God, felt the plague, but considered not the inflicter; neither yet considered they their neighbour, but every man shifting for himself, neither cared one for another; but such as were infected, some they would cast out of the doors half dead, to be devoured by dogs and wild beasts; some they let die within their houses without any succour; some they suffered to lie unburied, for no man durst come near them; and yet, notwithstanding, the pestilence followed them whithersoever they went, and miserably consumed them. Inasmuch, that Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, thus reports of his own city, that such a mortality was then among them, that the said city of Alexandria had not in number so many all together, both old and young, as it used to contain before of old men from the age of threescore to seventy, and as were found in time past commonly in that city. Pomponius Letus, and other Latin writers, also making mention of the said pestilence, declare how the beginning thereof first came, as they think, out of Ethiopia, and from the hot countries, and so invading and wasting first the south parts, from thence spread into the east, and so further running and increasing into all other quarters of the world, especially wherever the edicts of the emperor went against the Christians, it followed after and consumed the most part of the inhabitants; whereby many places became desolate, and so continued the term of ten years together.

This pestiferous mortality (by the occasion whereof Cyprian took the ground to write his book *De Mortalitate*) began, as is said, immediately after the death of Decius the persecutor, in the beginning of the reign of Vibius Gallus, and Volusianus his son, who succeeded through treason next to Decius, about the year of our Lord two hundred and fifty-five, and continued their reign but two years.

Although the beginning of the reign of Gallus was somewhat quiet, yet shortly after, following the steps of Decius, he sent forth edicts in like manner for the persecution of Christians; though from this edict we find no martyrs to have suffered; but this persecution rested only in the exiliment of bishops or guides of the flock. Of other sufferings or executions we do not read, for the terrible pestilence following immediately, kept the barbarous heathen otherwise occupied. To the time of Gallus, rather than to the time of Decius, I refer the banishment of Cyprian, who was then bishop of Carthage; of which banishment he writes in divers of his epistles, declaring the cause thereof to rise upon a contention among the people, out of which he withdrew himself, lest the sedition should grow greater; notwithstanding, the said Cyprian, though being absent, yet had no less care of his flock, and of the whole church, than if he had been present with them, and therefore never ceased in his epistles continually to exhort and call upon them to be constant in their pro-

fession, and patient in their afflictions. Amongst divers others whom he comforts in his banishment, were certain that were condemned to mining for metals, whose names were *Nemesianus*, *Felix*, and *Lucius*, with other bishops, priests, and deacons; he declares unto them, "How it is no shame, but a glory, not to be feared, but to be rejoiced at, to suffer banishment or other pains for Christ; and confirming them in the same, or rather commending them, signifies how worthily they do shew themselves to be as valiant captains for virtue, provoking both by the confessions of their mouth, and by the suffering of their bodies, the hearts of the brethren to Christian martyrdom, whose example was and is a great confirmation to many, both maids and children, to follow the like: as for punishment and suffering, it is (said he) a thing not execrable to a Christian; for a Christian's breast, whose hope wholly consists in the cross, dreads neither but not club; wounds and scars of the body are ornaments to a Christian, such as bring no shame nor dishonesty to the party, but rather commend him to the Lord. And although in the mines where the metals are digged there are no comfortable beds for Christians to take their rest on, yet they have their rest in Christ; and though their weary bones lie upon the cold ground, yet it is no pain to lie with Christ. Their feet have been fettered with bands and chains, but he is happy who is bound by man, whom the Lord has loosed. Happily does he lie in the stocks, whose feet thereby are made swifter to run to heaven; neither can any man tie a Christian so fast, but he runs so much the faster for the crown of life. They have no garments to save them from cold, but he that putteth on Christ is sufficiently clothed. Is bread lacking to their hungry bodies? 'Man liveth not only by bread, but by every word proceeding from the mouth of God.—Your deformity (says he) shall be turned to honour, your mourning to joy, your pain to pleasure and felicity infinite. And if this do grieve you that you cannot now employ your sacrifices after your wonted manner, yet your daily sacrifice ceases not, which is a contrite and humble heart, as when you offer up daily your bodies a lively and a glorious sacrifice unto the Lord, which is the sacrifice that pleases God. And though your travail be great, yet is the reward greater, which is most certain to follow: for God beholding and looking down upon them that confess his name, in their willing mind approves them; in their striving helps them; in their victory crowns them; rewarding that in us which he has performed, and crowning that he has in us perfected." With these, and such like comfortable words, does he animate his brethren, admonishing them that they are now in a joyful journey, hastening apace to the mansions of the martyrs, there to enjoy after this darkness a stable light and brightness greater than all their passions, according to the apostle's saying, "The sufferings of the present time are not worthy to be compared to the glory that shall be revealed in us," &c.

In the same time, and under the said Gallus, reigning with his son Volusianus, was also *Lucius*, bishop of Rome, sent to banishment, who next succeeded after *Cornelius* in that bishopric, about the year of our Lord 256.

*Eusebius*, in his seventh book, making mention of the death of *Lucius*, and not of his martyrdom, says, that he sat but eight months: but *Damasus* in his Martyrology holds that he sat three years, and was beheaded the second year of *Valerian* and *Galerius*, emperors; and so does also *Marianus Scotus* and *Naclerus*, with others that follow *Damasus*, affirm the same.

After him came *Stephanus*, next bishop of Rome following *Eusebius*, whom *Damasus*, *Platina*, and *Sabellicus*, affirm to have sat seven years and five months, and to die a martyr. Con-

trary, *Eusebius*, and *Volateranus* holding with him, give him but two years: which part comes nearest to the truth, I leave to the reader's judgment.

Besides these bishops above specified, many others there were also sent into banishment, under the forenamed emperors, *Gallus* and *Volusianus*, as appears by *Dionysius* writing to *Hermannus* on this wise: That *Gallus*, not seeing the evil of the conduct of *Decius*, nor foreseeing the occasion of his seduction and ruin, stumbled himself also at the same stone, lying open before his eyes: for when at the beginning his empire went prosperously forward, and all things went luckily with him, afterwards he drove out holy men who prayed for his peace and safeguard, and so with them rejected also the prayers which they made for him, &c. —*Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 1.* Otherwise, of any bloodshed, or any martyrs that in the time of this emperor were put to death, we do not read.

After the reign of which emperors, *Gallus* and his son *Volusianus*, being expired, who reigned but two years, *Emilianus*, who slew them both by civil sedition, succeeded in their place, who reigned but three months, and was also slain. Next to whom *Valerianus*, and his son *Galerius*, were advanced to the empire.

About the changing of these emperors, the persecution which was first begun by *Decius*, and afterwards slackened in the time of *Gallus*, was now extinguished for a time, partly for the great plague reigning in all places, and partly by the change of the emperors, although it was not very long. For *Valerianus*, in the first entrance of the empire, for the space of three or four years, was very courteous and gentle to the people of God, and well accepted by the senate.

Neither was there any of all the emperors before him, no, not of them, who openly professed Christ, that shewed himself so loving and familiar towards the Christians, as he did; in-somuch that (as *Dionysius* writing to *Herman* does testify) all his whole court was replenished with holy saints and servants of Christ, and godly persons, so that his house might seem to be made a church of God. But by the malice of Satan, through wicked counsel, these quiet days endured not very long: for in process of time, this *Valerian*, being charmed or incensed by a certain Egyptian, (a chief ruler of the heathen synagogue of the Egyptians, a master of the charmers or enchanters,) who indeed was troubled for that he could not do his magical feats for the Christians, was so far infatuated, that through the detestable provocations of that devilish Egyptian, he was wholly turned unto abominable idols, and to execrable impiety, in sacrificing young infants, and quartering bodies, and dividing the entrails of children newly born; and so proceeding in his fury, he moved the eighth persecution against the Christians, whom the wicked Egyptian could not abide, as being the hinderers and destroyers of his magical incantations, about the year of our Lord two hundred and fifty-nine.

#### *The Eighth Persecution.*

In this persecution, the chief actors were *Emilianus*, president of Egypt; *Paternus* and *Galerius Maximus*, proconsuls in Africa. *Bergomensis* also makes mention of *Paternus*, vicegerent of Rome, and of *Perennius*. *Vincentius* speaks also of *Nicerius* and *Claudius*, presidents, &c.

What was the chief original cause of this persecution partly is signified before, where mention was made of the wicked Egyptian: but as this was the outward and political cause, so *St. Cyprian* shews other causes more special and ecclesiastical, in his fourth book, epist. 1. whose words are these: "But we (says he) must understand and confess, that this



turbulent oppression and calamity, which has wasted for the most part all our whole company, and doth daily consume it, rises chiefly of our own wickedness and sins, while we walk not in the way of the Lord, nor observe his precepts left unto us for our instruction. The Lord observed the will of his Father in all points; but we observe not the will of the Lord, having all our mind and study set upon lucre and possessions, given to pride, full of emulation and dissension, void of simplicity and faithful dealing, renouncing this world in word only, but not in deed, every man pleasing himself, and displeasing all others. And therefore we are thus scourged; and worthily: for what stripes and scourges do we not deserve when the confessors themselves, (such as have stood in the trial of their confession,) and such as ought to be an example to the rest of well-doing, do keep no discipline? And therefore because some such there are, proudly puffed up with this swelling and unseemly bragging of their confession, these torments come, such as do not easily send us to the crown, except by the mercy of God, some, being taken away by quickness of death, do prevent the tediousness of punishment. These things do we suffer for our sins and deserts, as by the Lord's censure we have been forewarned, saying, 'If they shall forsake my law, and will not walk in my judgments; if they shall profane my institutions, and will not observe my precepts; I will visit their iniquities with the rod, and their transgressions with scourges.' These rods and scourges (says he) we feel, who neither please God in our deeds, nor repent of our evil deeds."

After the causes thus declared of this and other persecutions, the said St. Cyprian moreover, in the aforementioned epistle (worthy to be read by all men) describes likewise a certain vision, wherein was shewed unto him by the Lord, before the persecution came, what should happen. The vision was this: "There was a certain aged father sitting, at whose right hand sat a young man very sad and pensive, as one with an indignation sorrowful, holding his hand upon his breast, his countenance heavy and uncheerful. On the left hand sat another person, having in his hand a net, which he threatened to lay to catch the people that stood about. And as he was marvelling to see the sight thereof, it was said unto him, The young man whom thou seest sit on the right hand, is sad and sorry that his precepts are not observed: but he on the left hand dances, and is merry, for that occasion is given him to have power from the aged father to afflict men." And this vision was seen long before this tempest of persecution happened, wherein is declared the same that before is said, The sins of the people to be the cause why Satan in this persecution, and all others, has had, and has still, such power with his net of destruction to rage against the blood of Christians, and all because (says Cyprian) we are negligent of praying, or are not so vigilant therein as we should: wherefore the Lord, because he loves us, corrects us; corrects us to amend us, amends us to save us, &c.

Furthermore the same Cyprian, and in the same epistle, writing of a revelation or message sent to him, thus says, "And to his least servant, both sinful and unworthy, (meaning himself,) God of his tender goodness has vouchsafed to direct his word: Tell him (said he) that he be quiet and of good comfort, for peace will come, however a little stay there is for a while; for that some remain yet to be proved and tried," &c. And shews also in the same place, of another revelation, wherein he was admonished to be spare in his feeding, and sober in his drinking, lest his mind, given to heavenly meditation, might be carried away with worldly allurements; or, oppressed with too much surfeit of meats and drinks, should be less apt or able to prayer and spiritual exercise.

As touching now the crimes and accusations in this persecution laid to the charge of the Christians, this was the principal; First, they refused to do worship to their idols, and to the emperors, and, secondly, they professed the name of Christ; besides, all the calamities and evils that happened in the world, as wars, famine, and pestilence, were imputed only to the Christians. Against all which accusations Cyprian eloquently defended the Christians in his book *Contra Demetrianum*; like as Tertullian had done before, writing *Contra Scapulam*.

Thus with many other arguments does Cyprian defend the Christians against the barbarous exclamations of the heathen Gentiles. Of which Cyprian, for so much as he suffered in the time of this persecution, I intend (Christ willing) to recapitulate here in ample discourse the full sum, first of his life and bringing up, then of his death and martyrdom; as the worthiness of that man deserves to be remembered. Of this Cyprian, therefore, otherwise named *Statius*, thus writes Nicephorus, Nazianzenus, Jacobus de Voragine, Henricus de Erfordia, Volateranus, Hieronymus, and others; that he being an African, and born in Carthage, first was an idolater and Gentile, altogether given to the study and practice of the magical arts; of whose parentage and education, in letters from his youth, no mention is made, but that he was a worthy rhetorician in Africa: of whose conversion and baptism he himself in his first book, and second epistle, writes an eloquent history. Which his conversion unto the Christian faith, as Jerome affirms in his *Commentary on Jonas*, was through the grace of God by means of Cecilius a priest, whose name afterwards he bore, and through the occasion of hearing the history of the prophet Jonas.—The same Jerome moreover testifies, how he immediately upon his conversion distributed among the poor all his substance, and after that being ordained a priest, was not long after constituted bishop of the congregation of Carthage. True it is, that he shone in his office and dignity with such gifts and virtues, that, as Nazianzenus writes, he had government of the whole Eastern church, and church of Spain, and was called the bishop of Christian men.

He was courteous and gentle, loving and full of patience, and therewith sharp and severe in his office, according as the cause required, as appears in his first book, and third epistle. Furthermore, he was most loving and kind towards his brethren, and took much pains in helping and relieving the martyrs, as appears by his letters to the elders and deacons of his bishopric, that with all study and endeavour they should gently entertain and shew pleasure unto the martyrs in his absence, as partly is touched before.

Now a few words touching his exile and martyrdom.—Of his epistles which he wrote back to his congregation, leading his life in exile, mention is made above, wherein he shews the virtue becoming a faithful pastor, in that he took no less care as well of his own church, as of other bishops being absent, than he did being present. Wherein also himself does signify, that voluntarily he absented himself, lest he should do more hurt than good to the congregation by reason of his presence, as is likewise declared before. Thus from the desolate places of his banishment, wherein he was sometimes sought for, he writes unto his brethren, as in his third book and tenth epistle is manifest; which thing seems to be done in the reign of Decius or Gallus. But after that he returned again out of exile in the reign of this Valerianus, he was a second time banished by Paternus, the proconsul of Africa, into the city of Thurbin, as the oration of Augustine touching Cyprian shews; or else, as Posanius the deacon says, into a city named *Furabillitana*, or *Curabillitana*. But when Paternus

nus, the proconsul, was dead, Galienus Marinus succeeded in his room; who finding Cyprian in a garden, caused him to be apprehended by his sergeants, and to be brought before the idols to offer sacrifice. Which when he would not do, then the proconsul, breaking forth in these words, said, "Long hast thou lived in a sacrilegious mind, and hast gathered together men of a wicked conspiracy, and hast shewed thyself an enemy to the gods of the empire, and to their holy laws: neither could the sacred emperors, Valerianus and Galienus, recall thee to the sect of their ceremonies." At length the wicked tyrant condemning him to have his head cut off, he patiently and willingly submitted his neck to the stroke of the sword, as Jerome affirms. And so this blessed martyr ended this present life in the Lord. Xistus then being bishop of Rome, as Eusebius notes, in the year of our Lord two hundred and fifty-nine.

Vincentius and Lazarus Celestinus, reciting the names of various books, hearing the title of Cyprian, (more perhaps than are truly his,) do collect out of them a certain extract of his most pithy sentences, all which to repeat here were too tedious. To give a taste of the special, I thought it not impertinent. As where he, speaking of the treasures of a rich man, exhorts, saying,

*Ne dormiat in thesauris tuis, quod pauperi prodesse potest.*

Let not that sleep in thy treasures which may profit the poor.

*Duo nunquam veterascunt in homine: uno semper novas cogitationes machinando: lingua, cordis vanas conceptiones, proficundo.*

Two things never wax old in men; the heart ever imagining new inventions, the tongue ever uttering the vain conceptions of the heart.

*Quod aliquando de necessitate amittendum est, sponte pro divina remuneratione distribuendum est.*

That which a man must needs lose through necessity, it is wise in him to distribute so that God may everlastingly reward him.

*Disciplina est morum presentium ordinata correctio, et malorum preteritorum regularis observatio.*

Discipline is a regular amendment of present manners, and a regular observation of past evils.

*Integritas ibi nulla esse potest, ubi qui improbos damnent: desunt et soli, qui damnentur, occurrunt.*

There can be no integrity, where they which should condemn the wicked are ever wanting; and they only which are to be condemned, are ever present.

*Avari ad hoc tantum possident quæ habent, ut ne alteri possidere liceat.*

A covetous man only possesseth his goods merely that another may not possess them.

*Sericum et purpuram induit Christum induere non possunt.*

Women who clothe themselves in silks and purple, cannot easily put on Christ.

*Qui se pingunt in hoc seculo, aliter quam creavit Deus; metuunt, ne cum resurrectionis venerit dies, artifex creaturum suum non recognoscat.*

They who love to paint themselves in this world, to make themselves otherwise than God hath created them; let them fear, lest in the day of the resurrection the Creator may not know his own workmanship.

*Qui pauperi eleemosynam dat, Deo suavitatis odorem sacrificat. He that giveth an alms to the poor, sacrificeth to God an odour of sweet smell.*

*Contemnenda est omnis injuria presentium malorum, fiducia futurorum bonorum.*

All injury we sustain from evils present, is to be despised in comparison of future blessedness.

*Nihil prodest verbis proferre virtutem, et factis destruere.*

It is of no avail to celebrate virtue in words, if we destroy it in our actions.

Vincentius, speaking of another book of Cyprian, (although the said book is not numbered in the catalogue of his works,) makes mention of twelve abuses, or absurdities, in the life of man, which are the following:

1. *Sapiens sine operibus.*—A wise man without good works.
2. *Senex sine religione.*—An old man without religion.
3. *Adolescens sine obedientia.*—A young man without obedience.
4. *Dives sine elemosyna.*—A rich man without alms.
5. *Femina sine pudicitia.*—A women without chastity.
6. *Dominus sine virtute.*—A lord without virtue.
7. *Christianus contentiosus.*—A contentious Christian.
8. *Pauper superbus.*—A poor man proud.
9. *Rex iniquus.*—An iniquitous king.
10. *Episcopus negligens.*—A negligent bishop.
11. *Plebs sine disciplina.*—A people without discipline.
12. *Populus sine lege.*—Subjects without law.

About this time, and under the same emperor Valerianus, suffered also Xistus, or Sixtus, the second of that name, bishop of Rome; who, being accused by his adversaries to be a Christian, was brought with his six deacons to the place of execution, where he, with Nemesus, and other his deacons, were beheaded and suffered martyrdom. Laurence, at the same time, being also deacon, followed after, complaining to Xistus, as one being grieved that he might not also suffer with him, but to be secluded as the son from the father. To whom the bishop answering again, declared that within three days he should follow after. In the mean time he wished him to go home, and to distribute his treasures, if he had any, unto the poor. The judge, it is likely, hearing mention made of treasures to be given to the poor, and thinking that Laurence had great store of treasure in his custody, commanded him to bring the same unto him, according as in the discourse of the story here underwritten may more fully appear. Which history, because it is set forth more at large in Prudentius, Ambrose, and other writers, and contains in it more things worthy to be noted, we have therefore inserted, to the further admiration of his patience, and the glory of God shewed in him.

#### *The Martyrdom of St. LAURENCE.*

Now let us enter on the story of that most constant and courageous martyr of Christ, St. Laurence, whose words and works deserve to be as fresh and green in Christian hearts, as is the flourishing laurel-tree. This thirsty heart, longing after the water of life, desirous to pass unto it through the strait door of bitter death, when on a time he saw his vigilant shepherd, Xistus, led as a harmless lamb by cruel tyrants to his death, cried out with open mouth and heart invincible, saying, "O dear father, whither goest thou, without the company of thy dear son? whither hastenest thou, O reverend priest, without thy deacon? Never wast thou wont to offer sacrifice without thy minister. What crime is there in me that offendeth thy fatherhood? Hast thou proved unnatural? Now try, sweet father, whether thou hast chosen a faithful minister or not. Deniest thou unto him the fellowship of thy blood, to whom thou hast committed the distribution of the Lord's blood? See that thy judgment be not mistaken, whilst thy fortitude is commended: abusing the scholar is a disgrace to the master. What! have we not learned that worthy masters have obtained most worthy fame, by the worthy acts of their

disciples and scholars? Finally, Abraham sacrificed his only begotten Isaac; stoned Stephen prepared the way to preaching Peter: even so, father, declare thy manifold virtues by me thy son. Offer thou him that proffereth himself; grant that the body of thy scholar may be sacrificed, whose mind with useful learning thou hast beautified." These words with tears St. Laurence uttered, not because his master should suffer, but that *he* might not be suffered to taste death's cup, which he thirsted after.

Then Xistus to his son gave this answer: "I forsake thee not, O my son; I give thee to know, that a sharper conflict remaineth for thee. A feeble and weak old man am I, and therefore run the race of a lighter and easier death: but lusty and young thou art, and more lustily, yea, more gloriously, shalt thou triumph over this tyrant: thy time approacheth; cease to weep and lament: three days after thou shalt follow me: it is becoming that this space of time come between the priest and the Levite. It may not beseem thee, O sweet pupil, to triumph under thy master, lest it be said he wanted an helper. Why cravest thou to be partaker with me in my passion? I bequeath unto thee the whole inheritance. Why requirest thou to enjoy my presence? Let weak scholars go before, and the stronger come after, that those without master may get the victory, which have no need by master to be governed. So Elijah left behind him his beloved Elisha. I yield up into thy hands the succession of my virtues." Such was their contention, not unmeet for so good a priest, and so zealous a minister; striving with themselves who should first suffer for the name of Christ Jesus.

In tragical histories we have it mentioned, that through joy and admiration people clapped their hands, when Pilades named himself Orestes; Orestes (as indeed he was) affirmed himself to be Orestes: Pilades wishing to die for Orestes, Orestes not suffering Pilades to lose his life for his sake. But neither of them could escape; for both these lovers were guilty of blood, the one committing the fact, the other consenting. But this our Laurence, the martyr most constant, was by no means enforced to make this proffer, saving only his ardent zeal and fervent spirit; who thirsting after the cup of martyrdom, had it shortly after filled to the brim.

Now let us draw near to the fire of martyred Laurence, that our cold hearts may be warmed thereby. The merciless tyrant, understanding this virtuous Levite not only to be a minister of the sacraments, but a distributor also of the church riches, (whereof mention is made before in the words of Xistus,) promised to himself a double prey, by the apprehension of one simple soul. First, with the rake of avarice to scrape to himself the treasure of poor Christians; then with the fiery fork of tyranny so to toss and turmoil them, that they should grow weary of their profession. With furious face and cruel countenance, the greedy wolf demanded where this deacon Laurence had bestowed the substance of the church? Who craving three days' respite, promised to declare where the treasure might be hid. In the mean time, he caused a good number of poor Christians to be assembled. So when the day of his answer was come, the persecutor strictly charged him to stand to his promise. Then valiant Laurence, stretching out his arms over the poor, said, "These are the precious treasure of the church; these are the treasure indeed, in whom the faith of Christ reigneth, in whom Jesus Christ hath his mansion-place. What more precious jewels can Christ have, than those in whom he hath promised to dwell? For so it is written, 'I was hungry, and ye gave me to eat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me to drink; I was harbourless, and ye lodged me.' And again,

'Look, what ye have done to the least of these, the same have ye done to me.' What greater riches can Christ our Master possess, than the poor people, in whom he loved to be seen?" Oh, what tongue is able to express the fury and madness of the tyrant's heart!—Now he stamped, he stared, he ramped, he seemed as one out of his wits: his eyes like fire glowed, his mouth like a boar foamed, his teeth like a hell-bound grinned; now not a reasonable man, but a roaring lion he might be called. Kindle the fire, he cried; of wood make no spare. Hath this villain deluded the emperor? Away with him, away with him: whip him with scourges, jerk him with rods, buffet him with fists, brain him with clubs. Jesteth the traitor with the emperor? Pinch him with fiery tongs, gird him with burning plates, bring out the strongest chains, and the fire-forks, and the grated bed of iron: on the fire with it, bind the rebel hand and foot: and when the bed is fire-hot, on with him; roast him, broil him, toss him, turn him. On pain of our high displeasure, do every man his office, O ye tormentors! The word was no sooner spoken, but all was done.

After many cruel handlings, this meek lamb was laid, I will not say on his fiery bed of iron, but on his soft bed of down. So mightily God wrought with his martyr Laurence, so miraculously God tempered his element the fire, not a bed of consuming pain, but a pallet of nourishing rest, was it unto Laurence. Not Laurence, but the emperor, might seem to be tormented; the one broiling in the flesh, the other burning at the very heart. When this triumphant martyr had been pressed down with fire-pricks for a great space, in the mighty Spirit of God he spake to the vanquished tyrant:—"This side is now sufficiently roasted; turn me, O tyrant, and see whether this or the other is the better meat."

O rare and unaccustomed patience! O faith invincible! that not only not burns, but by means unspeakable does recreate, refresh, stablish, and strengthen, those that are burned, afflicted, and troubled. And why so mightily comfortest thou the persecuted? Because through thee they believe in God's promises infallible. By thee this glorious martyr overcomes his torments, vanquishes this tyrant, confounds his enemies, confirms the Christians, sleeps in peace, and reigns in glory. The God of might and mercy grant us grace, by the example of Laurence, to learn how to live in Christ, and by his death to learn for Christ to die.—Amen.

Such is the wisdom and providence of God, that the blood of his dear saints, like good seed, never falls in vain to the ground, but it brings some increase: so it pleased the Lord to work at the martyrdom of this holy Laurence, that by the constant confession of this worthy and valiant deacon, a certain soldier of Rome being therewith convinced and converted to the same faith, desired forthwith to be baptized by him; for which he, being called for by the judge, was scourged, and afterwards beheaded.—Hent. de Erford.

Under the same Valerianus, suffered also Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, much affliction and banishment, with certain other brethren: of which he writes himself, and as is given in the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, lib. 7. cap. 11. the words whereof tend to this effect.—Dionysius with three of his deacons, namely, Maximus, Foristus, and Cheremon, also with a certain brother from Rome, named Emilianus, then president, who declared unto them in short space of words how he had signified unto them the clemency of his lords and emperors; who had granted them pardon of life, so that they would return to them, and worship the gods and keepers (as he called them) of their

empire, asking them what answer they would give him thereunto; trusting, as he said, that they would not shew themselves ungrateful to the clemency of those who so gently did exhort them. To this Dionysius answering, said, All men worship not all gods, but divers men divers gods, so as every one has in himself a mind or fancy to worship. But we worship not many nor divers gods, but only that one God, who is the Creator of all things, and has committed to our lords, Valerianus and Galienus, the government of their empire, making to him our prayers incessantly for their prosperous health, and continuance. Then the president said, And what hurt is it, seeing you may both worship your God, what god soever he be, and these our gods also? For you are commanded to worship such gods as all men know to be gods. Dionysius answered, We worship no other, but as we have said. Emilianus, the president, said, I see you are ungrateful men, and consider not the benignity of the emperor; wherefore you shall remain no longer in this city, but shall be sent out to the parts of Libya, to a town called Cephro: for that place, by the commandment of the emperor, I have chosen for you. Neither shall it be lawful for you to convene your assemblies, or to resort as ye are wont to your burial places: and if any of you shall be found out of your places whereunto you are appointed, at your peril be it; and think not the contrary but ye shall be watched well enough. Depart therefore to the place, as is commanded you. And Dionysius, speaking of himself: And as for me, (said he,) although I was sick, yet he urged me so strictly to depart, that he would not give me one day's respite. And how, (said he, writing to Germanus,) could I assemble, or not assemble, any congregations? And yet neither am I altogether absent from the corporeal society of the Lord's flock, but I have collected them together which were in the city, being absent as though I had been present; absent in body, yet present in spirit. And in the same Cephro, a great congregation remained with me, as well of those brethren who followed me out of the city, as also of those who are remaining there out of Egypt. And there the Lord opened to me the door of his word: although at the first entrance I was persecuted and banished among them, yet afterwards a great number of them abandoned their idols, and were converted unto the Lord. And so by us the word was preached to them which before were infidels: which ministry, after we had accomplished there, the Lord removed us to another place. For Emilianus removed us from thence to more sharp and stricter places of Libya, and commanded us to meet all together at the city Mactota; thinking there to separate us severally into sundry villages, or thinking rather to take and prevent us by the way. After we were come thither, it was assigned to me to go to Cuthan, which place I never heard of before; which was the more grief to me: yet some solace it was to me, when the brethren told me it was near to a city named Paretonium. For as my being at Cephro got me the acquaintance of many brethren of Egypt, my hope was, that the vicinity of that place, where I should be, to the city, might procure the favour and company of certain loving brethren, who would visit and assemble with us; and so it came to pass.

Moreover, the said Dionysius, in his epistle Ad Domitium, making mention of those who were afflicted in the persecution of Valerian, says, "It were superfluous to recite the names, peculiarly, of all our brethren slain in this persecution, which were both many, and to me unknown. But this is certain, that there were men, women, young men, maidens, old women, soldiers, simple innocents, of all sorts and ages of men. Of whom, some with scourges and fire, some with swords, obtain victory, and get the

crown. Some continued a great time, and yet have been reserved; in which number am I reserved hitherto, to some other fit time known unto the Lord; who says, 'In the time accepted I have heard thee, and in the day of salvation I have helped thee,' &c. Now concerning myself, in what state I am, if thou desire to know first how I, and *Caius*, and *Faustus*, *Petrus*, and *Paulus*, being apprehended by the centurion, were taken away by certain of the town of Mactota, I have declared to you before. Now I, and Caius, and Petrus, alone are left here included in a west part of Libya, distant the space of three days' journey from Paretonium." And he adds, "In the city were certain who privately visit the brethren: of priests, *Maximus*, *Dioscorus*, *Demetrius*, and *Lucius*. For they which were more notable in the world, *Faustus* and *Aquila*, do wander abroad in Egypt. Of the deacons, besides those whom sickness hath consumed, *Faustus*, *Eusebius*, and *Cheremon*, are yet alive. Eusebius has God raised up to minister to the confessors lying in bands, and to bury the bodies of the blessed martyrs, notwithstanding great peril. Neither does the president cease yet to this day, cruelly murdering such as are brought before him; tearing some with torments, imprisoning and keeping some in custody, commanding that no man should come to them, inquiring also who resorted unto them. Yet, notwithstanding, God with cheerfulness, and daily resort of the brethren, does comfort the afflicted."

Concerning these deacons above recited, here is to be noted, that Eusebius afterwards was made bishop of Laodicea in Syria. Maximus, the priest aforesaid, had the administration of the church of Alexandria after Dionysius. Faustus long after continued in great age, unto the latter persecution, when he, being a very old man, at length was beheaded, and died a martyr.

As touching Dionysius himself, thus history reports, that he surviving all these troubles and persecutions, by the providence of God, continued after the death of Valerian, unto the twelfth year of the reign of Galienus, which was about the year of our Lord two hundred and sixty-eight; and so departed in peace in great age, after he had governed the church of Alexandria the space of seventeen years, and before that had taught the school of Alexandria the term of sixteen years; after whom succeeded Maximus, as is above specified.—And thus much touching the full history of Dionysius Alexandrianus, and other martyrs and confessors of Alexandria.

In Cesarea Palestine suffered also at the same time *Priscus*, *Malchus*, and *Alexander*; which three dwelling in the country, and good men, seeing the valiant courage of the Christians, so boldly to venture, and constantly to stand, and patiently to suffer in this persecution, as men being grieved with themselves, began to repent, and accuse their so great sluggishness and cowardly negligence, to see others so zealous and valiant, and themselves so cold and faint-hearted, in labouring for the crown of Christian martyrdom; and first consulting and agreeing with themselves, they came to Cesarea, and there stepping to the judge, declared themselves what they were, and obtained the end they came for, being given to the wild beasts. After which manner also, and in the same city of Cesarea, a certain woman, whose name Eusebius tells not, who had been before of the sect of Marcion, was brought before the president, and likewise obtained the same martyrdom.—Euseb. lib. 7, cap. 12.

Neither was the city of Carthage all this while free from the stroke of this persecution; if credit should be given to the speculative glass of Vincentius, who, citing it out of the records of three hundred martyrs; of which three hundred



martyrs, the story says, That the president setting before them coals and incense to do sacrifice, by a lime-kiln which was there near at hand, offered unto them this condition, either to set incense to the coals for sacrifice to Jupiter, or else to go into the furnace of lime: whereupon they all together, with a general motion, suddenly rushed into the kiln, and there with the dusty smoke of the lime were smothered.—Vincent. Erford.

In Africa also, in the city of Tuburba, the said Vincentius, out of the Martyrology, makes mention of three constant virgins, *Marina*, *Donatilla*, and *Secunda*, who in the persecution of this Valerian and Galienus, first had given for their drink vinegar and gall, then were scourged, after that upon the gibbet were tormented and rubbed with lime, then were scorched upon a gridiron, at last were cast to the wild beasts; who, being not touched by them, finally were beheaded with the sword.—Vincent. Erford.

In Simeth, a city in Italy, under the Alps, one *Pontius*, being apprehended by the commandment of Claudius, the president, was hanged first upon the rack, then was cast to the wild beasts, by which not being hurt, was after committed to the fire; and finally, not being touched therewith, (if the story of Vincentius be true,) was beheaded by the river's side, and his body thrown into the flood: where immediately the same hour, the aforesaid Claudius, with his assistant Anabius, were taken with wicked spirits, by whom they were so miserably vexed, that they bit off their tongues, and died.

*Zeno*, bishop of Verona, is said also in the same persecution to have suffered martyrdom.

Moreover, in the same city of Alexandria aforesaid, Bergomensis, in his eighth book, writing the history of Valerianus, emperor, makes mention of *Philippus*, bishop of the said see of Alexandria, who was beheaded under the said Valerian. But this is not to be found in any approved history, nor does it agree with the truth of time that any such Philip was then bishop of Alexandria, or any other, but only Dionysius: after whom next succeeded Maximus, who remained eighteen years; and after him Thomas, &c. So that, by the ancient records of all writers, it does not appear that *Philippus*, or any other of that name, was bishop of Alexandria during this time signified by Bergomensis.

Although in some other late writers, as Equilius, Antoninus, and Bergomensis, I find a certain history of one *Philippus*, president of Alexandria about the same time of Valerian and Galienus, elected by the emperor and senate of Rome, to govern those quarters, where he was at length converted to the Christian faith, and after made priest or bishop, as they say, of Alexandria; but that this is not so, the testimony of ancient writers does manifest. The history of this *Philippus*, witnessed in our later chronicles, is this: *Philippus* being promoted to the presidentship of Alexandria, came down with his wife *Clandia*, and his two sons, *Avitus* and *Sergius*, and with his daughter, named *Eugenia*.

This *Eugenia*, daughter of *Philippus*, being of singular beauty, and diligently brought up by her parents in the study of science and learning, was, by occasion of hearing Christians, reduced and brought up to Christianity, with two eunuchs her school-fellows, called *Prothus*, and *Hiacinthus*; with whom she taking counsel, upon occasion, (whether to avoid the danger of persecution, or refusing to marry with a pagan,) unknown to her parents and friends, did fly away; and, because the more boldly she might resort to hear the readings of *Helenus*, then an aged bishop, and of others, she put on man's apparel, and named herself *Eugenius*, under which name she was at length admitted unto a certain monastery of society of Christians, in the suburbs of Alexandria,

(although I hardly believe that any monastery of Christians was permitted in the suburbs of Alexandria,) where also at the last, for her excellency of learning and virtue, she was made head of the place.

Here by the way I omit the miracles of the aforesaid *Helenus*, bishop (as the story says) of Hieropolis, how he carried burning coals in his lap, and how he ventured himself to go into the fire to repel wicked *Zereas*, a pagan, remaining in the same unburned. Here also I omit the careful search of her parents for her, and of the answer of the *Pithonisse* again unto them, that she was taken up to heaven among the goddesses. I omit moreover the miracle done by the said *Eugenia*, in healing the diseases and sicknesses of such as came to her, &c. The story proceeds thus: Among others which were by this *Eugenius* cured and restored, there was a certain matron of Alexandria, named *Melancia*; who, after she had used the help and acquaintance of *Eugenius*, supposing her to be a man, fell into an inordinate love of her, seeking by all means how to accomplish the lust of her concupiscence; insomuch, that in her daily visiting of her at length she began secretly to break her mind, and to entice her to her lewdness. *Eugenius*, on the contrary, exhorted her to virtue and honesty, shewing her the miseries of this life, and the peril of that folly. *Melancia*, seeing that by no means she would be allured, nor by force drawn to her desire, and fearing, moreover, that she, in detecting her, would bring her to shame, beginning first to make an outcry against *Eugenius*, declaring how that she went about corruptly to deflower her; and so presented her accusation before *Philippus*, the president, as well against *Eugenius*, as also against the rest of that company. This matter being heard, and the woman well known, the crime began to be credited, and so much the more so, because it was objected against the Christians. By reason whereof, *Eugenius*, with her fellow Christians, was now not only in great hatred, but also in danger of present death and destruction. Then *Eugenius*, clearing herself and her companions honestly with sufficient arguments, yet notwithstanding perceiving that whatever she said could take no effect, and seeing no time now to dissemble any longer, for the danger as well of herself as specially of her brethren, which troubled her more; she desired of the judge place and time to make manifest to him the truth; and so shewed herself what she was, and how she was his daughter; the others to be *Prothus* and *Hiacinthus*, the two eunuchs her school-fellows; uttering, moreover, to him and to her brethren, the cause of her departing from them. At the narration whereof, *Philippus*, her father, and her two brethren, coming to the knowledge of her, conceived no little joy in receiving their *Eugenia* again, whom they thought had been lost. No less gladness was among the people, to see the evidence of the matter so plainly to try out the truth of the one, and the falsehood of the other. Whereat the malignant accuser was with double shame confounded, first, for her dishonesty falsely cloaked; secondly, for the truth of her accusation openly detected. Bergomensis adds moreover, that the said accuser was struck presently with lightning. Thus *Eugenia*, proving her honesty to her parents and friends, was not only received by them again, but also by the grace of the Lord working with her, in the space of time did win them to Christ. Whereby *Philippus*, the father of her by nature, now by grace was begotten of his daughter to a more perfect life; and whom once he thought to have been lost, not only he found again, but also with him found his own soul, and his own life, which before he had lost indeed.—This *Philippus* (says the story) was made afterward bishop of Alexandria, and there suffered martyrdom. Concerning whose martyrdom, I deny not but it may be found

but that he was bishop of Alexandria, that cannot be admitted, as is before sufficiently proved out of Eusebius, and other ancient historians.

Likewise it is said, that Eugenia, after the martyrdom of her father, returning to Rome, with Prothus and Hyacinthus, by occasion of converting *Basilla* (who should have been married to a pagan husband, and was then beheaded) to the Christian faith, was assailed with sundry kinds of death: first, being tied to a great stone, and cast into the Tiber, where she was carried up from drowning; then put into the hot baths, which were extinguished, and she preserved: afterwards by famishment in prison, where they say she was fed at the hand of our Saviour; all which legendary miracles I leave to the reader to judge them as shall seem good unto him. At last, the story says, she was with the sword beheaded. —Antonin. Bergom. Ado.

And because in this present history mention was made of Helenus, whom Antoninus with his fellows note to be the bishop of Hieropolis, here is to be understood and observed by the way, that Philippus in the aforesaid history is falsely said to be bishop of Alexandria, so likewise untrue it is that Helenus was bishop of Hieropolis. For by Eusebius it appears, *lib. 7. cap. 5.* alleging the words of Dionysius, that he was bishop of Tarsus, in Cilicia, and had there oversight of that church from the time of our Lord God 274, to the year of our redemption 274.

The sixth year of Valerianus and Galienus we read in the history of Herfordiensis, cited out of Isuardus, of *Victor* and *Victorinus*, who lying in prison the space of three years, with *Claudius*, and *Bosso*, his wife, are said to have sustained great torments and martyrdom for the testimony and name of Christ. —Ex Isuardo.

Aurelius Prudentius, in his book entitled *Peristephanon*, makes mention of *Fructuosus*, bishop of Tarragona, in Spain, who, with his two deacons *Angarius* and *Eulogius*, suffered also martyrdom, being burned after six days' imprisonment, under the aforesaid emperors, in this persecution. The cause of their punishment was for the profession of Christ's name; their judge and condemner was *Emilianus*; their imprisonment endured six days; the kind of death ministered to them was fire, wherein they being all together cast with their arms bound behind them, their hands (as Prudentius writes) were dissolved, their hands untouched with the fire, and their bodies remaining whole. The charge of this judge unto the bishop was this, "That he should worship the gods whom *Galienus* the emperor worshipped." To whom *Fructuosus*, the bishop, answering, "Nay, I worship no dumb god of stocks and blocks, which *Galienus* does worship: but I worship the Lord and Master of *Galienus*, the Father and Creator of all things, and his only Son sent down to us, of whose flock I am here the pastor and shepherd." At this word *Emilianus*, answering again, "Nay, say not thou art, but say thou wast." And forthwith commanded them to be committed to the fire, where (as is said) their bands and manacles being loosed by the fire, they lifted up their hands to heaven, praising the living God, to the great admiration of them that stood by, praying also that the element, which seemed to fly from them, might work its full force upon them, and speedily dispatch them; which was after their request obtained. In the mean time, as they were in the fire, there was a certain soldier in the house of *Emilianus*, who did see the heavens above open, and these aforesaid martyrs to enter into the same; which soldier likewise shewed the sight the same time to the president, of *Emilianus*, the president; who, beholding the same sight with the soldier, was a present witness of the blessedness of them whom his cruel father had condemned.

As this godly bishop was preparing for his death, (says *Prudentius*), the brethren approaching to him, brought him drink, desiring him with much weeping to receive and drink with them; but that he refused to do, requiring them moreover to refrain their tears. With like readiness the brethren were also diligent about him to pull off his shoes and hose, as he was preparing himself for the fire: but neither would he suffer any servant's help in that wherein he was no less willing than able to help himself. And thus this blessed and fruitful bishop, *Fructuosus*, with his two deacons, *Angarius* and *Eulogius*, being brought to the fire, witnessed the constant confession of the name of Christ with the shedding of their blood.

And thus far continued wicked Valerian in his tyranny against the saints of Christ. But as all the tyrants before and oppressors of the Christians, had their deserved reward at the just hand of God, "which rendereth to every man according to his works;" so this cruel Valerian, as for he had reigned with his son *Galienus* the term of six or seven years, and about two years had afflicted the church of Christ, felt the just stroke of his hand, whose indignation before he had provoked; whereof we have to witness, *Entropius*, *Pollus*, *Sabellius*, and *Volaturnus*. For, making his expedition against the Persians, whether by the fraud and treason of some about him, or by his own rashness, it is doubtful; but this is certain, that he fell into the hands of his enemies, being about the age of fourscore years; where he led his wretched age in a more wretched captivity. Inasmuch that *Sapores*, the king of the Persians, used him (and well worthy) not for his riding-fool, but for his riding-block: for whenever the king would mount upon his horse, openly in the sight of the people, Valerian (lately emperor) was brought forth, instead of a block, for the king to tread upon his back in mounting on horseback; and so continued this blockish butchering emperor, with shame and sport enough, unto his end, as *Letus* and *Aurelius Victor* both witness.

But Eusebius, in a certain sermon to the congregation, declares a more cruel handling of him, affirming that he was slain. "And thou, Valerian, (says he,) forasmuch as thou hast exercised the same cruelty in murdering of the subjects of God, therefore hast proved unto us the righteous judgment of God, in that thyself hast been bound in chains, and carried away for a captive slave, with thy gorgeous purple and thy imperial attire; and at length also, being commanded by *Sapores*, king of the Persians, to be slain and powdered with salt, hast set up unto all men a perpetual monument of thine own wretchedness," &c.

The like severity of God's terrible judgment is also to be noted in *Claudius*, his president, and minister of his persecutions. Of which *Claudius*, *Henricus de Erfordia* thus writes, "That he was possessed and vexed of the devil, in such a manner, that he, biting off his own tongue in many small pieces, so ended his life."

Neither did *Galienus*, the son of Valerian, after the captivity of his father, utterly escape the righteous hand of God: for, besides the miserable captivity of his father, whom he could not rescue, such strange portents and out of the course of nature, such earthquakes did happen, also such tempests, commotions, and rebellions, did follow, that *Trebellio* reckons up to the number of thirty together, which in sundry places all at one time took upon them to be tyrants and emperors over the monarchy of Rome; by the means whereof he was not able to succour his father, though he desired it. Notwithstanding, the said *Galienus* being, as is thought, terrified by the example of his father, did remove, at least did moderate, the persecution stirred up by the edicts of Valerian.



his father, directing forth his imperial proclamation, the order whereof proceeded after this effect, as is to be seen in Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 13. "Emperor and Caesar, Publius Licinius, Galienus, Pius, Fortunatus, Augustus, unto Dionysius, to Pinna, and to Demetrian, and all other the like bishops. The bountiful benignity of my gift I have willed and commanded to be proclaimed throughout the whole world, to the intent that such who are detained in banishment for discipline sake, may safely return home again from whence they came, and for the same cause I have here sent you the example of my rescript for you to peruse and consider, so that no man be so forwardly to vex or molest you; and this, which you may lawfully enjoy, hath been long since by me granted. And therefore for your more warrant in the same, I have committed the copy hereof to the custody of Cornelius Cereus, my chief steward, where you may fetch the copy to see at your pleasure.

The mandate above prefixed did Galienus send to Dionysius, Alexanderinus, and other bishops, as is premised. Another rescript also the said emperor sent to other Christian bishops, granting to them full liberty to receive again their old places where they were wont to associate together, called by them *Crypteria*.

By this it may appear, that some peace was granted then, concerning Galienus to the church of Christ; though not so, as that there were which suffered, of whom was one *Marinus*, mentioned in Eusebius, lib. 7. This *Marinus*, being a brave and nobleman in Casarea, stood for the dignity of a certain order, which by order was next to fall to him by right; but not the envious ambition of him that should follow him supplanted him both of office and life; for he received him of being a Christian, and therefore said that he was not to be admitted unto their offices, which was against his religion. Whereupon Achaius, then being judge, examined him of his faith; who finding him to be a Christian indeed, and steadfastly to stand to his profession, gave him three hours to deliberate and advise with himself. There was the same time in Casarea a bishop named *Theoctechus*, otherwise called *Theodistus*; who perceiving him to stand in doubtful deliberation and perplexity in himself, took him by the hand, and brought him to the house or church of the Christians, laying before him a sword, (which he had under his cloak for this purpose,) and a book of the New Testament; and so desired him to take his free choice, which of them both he would prefer. The soldier immediately without delay ran to the book of the gospel, taking that before the sword. And thus he, being animated by the bishop, presented himself boldly before the judge; by whose sentence he was beheaded, and died a martyr.

Whose body being dead, one *Asyrius*, a noble senator of Rome, and a man very wealthy among the chief of that order, (who at the same time was there present at this martyrdom,) took up and bare upon his own shoulders, wrapping it in a rich and sumptuous weed; and so honourably committed it to the burial.—Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 16.

Of which *Asyrius* the said author writes this story: How that in the aforesaid city of Casarea, the Gentiles thereof used an ancient custom, to offer up a certain sacrifice by a fountain side; which sacrifice by the working of the devil would suddenly to vanish out of their eyes, to the great admiration of the beholders. *Asyrius* seeing this, and pitying the miserable error of the simple people, lifting up his eyes to heaven, made his prayer to Almighty God in the name of Jesus, that the people might not be seduced by the devil, nor brought by the virtue of whose prayer, the sacrifice was made to vanish in the water of the fountain; and so the strange

wonder of that sight was taken away, and no such matter could be there wrought any more.—Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 17.

And because mention is made here of Casarea, there follows in the next chapter of the same author a strange miracle, if it be true, which he there reports: how that out of the same city was the woman who in the Gospel came to our Saviour, and was healed of her bloody issue, her house being in the city of Casarea. Before the door thereof was set up a certain pillar of stone, and upon the pillar an image was made of brass, of a woman meekly kneeling on her knees, and holding up her hands as one that had some suit; against which there was another image also of a man proportioned, of the same metal, cunningly engraven in a short seemly vesture, and stretching forth his hand to the woman. At the foot of which pillar grew up a certain herb of a strange kind, but of a more strange operation; which growing up to the hem of his vesture, and once touching the same, is said to have such virtue, that it was able to cure all manner of diseases. This picture of the man, they say, represented the image of Christ. The history is written in Eusebius, as is said; the credit whereof I refer to the reader, whether he will think it true or false. If he thinks it false, yet I have shewed him my author; if he thinks it true, then must he think ~~valuable~~ that this miraculous operation of the herb proceeded neither by the virtue of the picture, nor by the prayer of the other, (being both dumb pictures, and engraved no doubt at the same time by the hands of infidels,) but to be wrought by some secret permission of God's wisdom, either to reduce the infidels at that time to the belief of the story, or to admonish the Christians to consider with themselves what strength and health was to be looked for only in Christ, and no other advocate; seeing the dumb picture, engraved in brass, gave his efficacy to a poor herb to cure so many diseases. This picture, says Eusebius, remained to his time, which was under Constantine the Great.—See Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 18.

As touching the hue and order of the Roman bishops hitherto intermitted: after the martyrdom of *Xistus* above specified, the government of that church was next committed to one *Dionysius*, about the year of our Lord two hundred and sixty-six; who continued in the same the space of nine years, as Eusebius says; but *Damasus* records but only six years and two months. After whom succeeded *Titus*, in the first year of *Probus* the emperor, about the year of our Lord two hundred and eighty; who governed that church five years, and died, as *Platina* says, a martyr. After him followed *Eutychianus*, and then *Gaius*, both martyrs, as the histories of some do record.

About the time of these bishops lived *Theodoris*, bishop of Neocesarea, who is otherwise called *Gregorius Magnus*, whom also *Nicephorus*, for his miracles, called *Thaumaturgus*.

This *Galienus*, the aforesaid emperor, reigned, as is declared, with his father *Valerian*, seven years; after whose captivity he ruled the monarchy alone about nine years, with some peace and quietness granted to the church.

The days of this *Galienus* being expired, followed *Claudius*, a quiet emperor, as most stories do record. Although *Vitcentius* affirms that he was a mover of persecution against the Christians, and makes mention of two hundred and fifty-two martyrs who did suffer in his time; but because no such record remains to be found in Eusebius, (who would not have omitted some memorial thereof, if it had been true,) therefore I refer the same to the free judgment of the reader. This *Claudius* reigned but two years, after whom came *Quintillus*, his brother, next emperor, and a quiet prince, who continued but seventeen days only, and had to his successor *Aurelianus*, under whom *Orosius*, in his seventh book, doth number the ninth persecution against the Christians.

*The Ninth Persecution.*

HITHERTO, from the captivity of Valerian, the church of Christ was in some quietness till the death of Quintilianus, as has been declared. After whom, Aurelianus, the next successor, possessed the crown; who in the beginning of his reign (after the common manner of all princes) shewed himself a prince moderate and discreet, worthy of commendation, if his good beginning had continued in a constant course agreeing to the same. Of nature he was severe, rigorous in correcting, and dissolute in manners; insomuch, it was said of him in a vulgar proverb, "That he was a good physician, only that he gave too bitter medicines." This emperor when sick never sent for a physician, but cured himself by abstinence; and as his beginning was not unfruitful to the commonwealth, so neither was he any great disturber of the Christians, whom he did not only tolerate in their religion, but also their councils; and they being the same time assembled at Antioch, he seemed not to be against them. Notwithstanding, in continuance of time, through the sinister motion and instigation of certain about him, (as commonly such are never absent in all places from the ears of princes,) his nature, somewhat inclinable to severity, was altered to a plain tyranny; which tyranny first he shewed, beginning with the death of his own sister's son, as Eutropius witnesses.—After that, he proceeded either to move, or at least to purpose, persecution against the Christians: although that wicked purpose of the emperor, the merciful working of God's hand did soon overthrow. For as the edict or proclamation should have been denounced for the persecuting of the Christians, and the emperor now ready to subscribe the edict with his hand, the mighty stroke of the hand of the Lord suddenly from above did stop his purpose, binding (as a man might say) the emperor's hands behind him, declaring, as Eusebius says, to all men, how there is no power to work any violence against the servants of God, unless his permission do suffer them, and give them leave.—Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 30. Eutropius and Vopiscus affirm, that as the said Aurelianus was purposing to raise persecution against us, he was suddenly terrified with lightning; and so stopped from his wicked tyranny. Not long after, about the fifth or sixth year of his reign, he was slain between Bisanice and Hieraclea, in the year of our Lord two hundred and seventy-eight. Thus Aurelianus rather intended than moved persecution. Neither is there any more than this found concerning this persecution in ancient histories and records of the church; wherefore I wonder the more that Vincentius, collecting out of the Martyrologies, hath comprehended such a great catalogue of so many martyrs, which in France and in Italy, says he, suffered death and torments under this emperor; whereunto Orosius also seems to agree, in numbering this to be the *ninth* persecution, under the said Aurelian.

Next after Aurelianus, the succession of the empire fell to Publius Annius Tacitus, who reigned but six months; his brother Florianus succeeded him, who reigned but threescore days; and after him followed Marcus Aurelius, surnamed Probus.

In the mean time, within the compass of these emperors, falls a story recorded by Eusebius, and not unworthy here to be noted, by which we may understand what good the faithful diligence of good ministers may do in a commonwealth.

Mention is made before of Eusebius, the deacon of Dionysia, whom God stirred up to visit and comfort the saints that were in prison and bands, and to bury the bodies of the blessed martyrs departed, not without great peril of his own

life, who after was made bishop, as is said, of Laodicea. But before he came to Laodicea to be bishop there, it chanced, the said Eusebius remaining as yet at Alexandria, the city to be besieged by the Romans, Prynchius being their captain.—In which siege half of the city held with the Romans, the other half withstood them. In that part which went with the Roman captain, was Eusebius, being also in great favour with the captain for his worthy fidelity and service shewed. With the other half, that resisted the Romans, was Anatholius, governor or moderator then of the school of Alexandria, who also was bishop after the said Eusebius, of Laodicea. This Anatholius, perceiving the citizens to be in miserable distress of famine and destruction, by reason of penury and lack of sustenance, sent to Eusebius, (being then with the Romans,) and acquainted him with the lamentable penury and peril of the city, instructing him moreover what to do in the matter: Eusebius, understanding the case, repared to the captain, desiring of him so much favour, that so many as would fly out of the city from their enemies might be licensed to escape and freely to pass; which was soon granted. As Eusebius was thus labouring with the captain, on the other side Anatholius for his part laboured with the citizen, moving them to assemble together, and persuading them to give themselves over, in yielding to the force and might of the Romans. But when the citizens could not abide the hearing thereof, yet (said Anatholius) with this I trust you will be contented, if I shall counsel you, in this miserable lack of things, to send out of your city all such superfluities and unnecessary impediments unto you, as old women, young children, aged men, with such other as be feeble and impotent, and not suffer them here to perish with famine, whose presence can do no good to you if they die, and less if they live, by spending the victuals which otherwise might serve them that are more able to defend the city. The senate hearing this sentence, and understanding moreover the grant of the captain, promising them safety, gladly consented hereto. Then Anatholius, having a special care of them that belonged to the church of Christ, called them together, with the rest of the multitude, and persuading them what they should do, and what had been obtained for them, caused them to leave the city, and not only them, but also a great number of others, who, persuaded by him, under that pretence disguised themselves in women's apparel, or feigning some impotency, so escaped out of the city. At whose coming out, Eusebius on the other side was ready to receive them, and refreshed their hungry and pined bodies; whereby not only they, but the whole city of Alexandria, was preserved from destruction.

By this little history of Eusebius and Anatholius, described in the seventh book of Eusebius, cap. 32. and briefly here set forth, we may partly understand the practice of the prelates what it was in those days of the church; that it was then only employed in saving of life, and succouring the common weals wherein they lived, as by these two godly persons, Eusebius and Anatholius, may well appear. Unto which practice if we compare the conduct of our later prelates of the church of Rome, I suppose no little difference will appear.

The next emperor to Florianus, as is said, was Marcus Aurelius Probus, a prince both wise and virtuous, and no less valiant in martial affairs than fortunate in the success of the same. During this time we read of no persecution greatly stirring in the church, but much quietness, as well in matters of religion, as also in the commonwealth. Insomuch, that after his great and many victories, such peace ensued, that his saying was, "There needed no more soldiers, seeing there were so

more enemies to the commonwealth to fight against." It was his saying also, "That his soldiers should not spend corn and victuals, except they laboured to serve the commonwealth." And for the same cause he caused his soldiers to be set to work about certain mountains in Smyrna and in Messia, to be planted with vines; and not so much as in winter suffered them to be at rest. Therefore by them at length he was slain, after he had reigned the space of six years and four months, in the year of our Lord two hundred and eighty-four. — Eutrop.

Carus, with his two sons, Carinus and Numerianus, succeeded next after Probus in the empire: the reign of which emperors continued in all but three years. Of which three, first Carus warring against the Persians, was slain by lightning; of Numerianus, his son, being with his father in his wars against the Persians, we find much commendation in Eutropius, Vopiscus, and other writers; who testify him to be a valiant warrior, and an eloquent orator, as appeared by his declamations and writings sent to the senate; also, that he was an excellent poet. This Numerianus, sorrowing and lamenting for the death of his father, through moderate weeping fell into a great soreness of his eyes; by reason whereof he keeping close, was slain not long after by his father-in-law, named Aper.

In the life of this emperor Carus aforesaid, written by Eutropius in the later edition, set forth by Frohianus, I find (which in other editions of Eutropius do not appear) that Numerianus, the son of this Carus, was he that slew Babylon, the holy martyr, whose history before we have given. But that seems not likely, both by the narration of Chrysostom, and also for that Uspergensis, declaring the same history, and in the same words as it is in Eutropius, says, that it was *Cyrrillus* whom Numerianus killed: the story whereof is this: When Carus the emperor, in his journey going toward the Persians, remained at Antioch, Numerianus his son would enter into the church of the Christians, to view and behold their mysteries, but Cyrrillus, their bishop, would in no wise suffer him to enter into the church, saying, "That it was not lawful for him to see the mysteries of God, who was polluted with the sacrifices of idols." Numerianus, full of indignation at the hearing of these words, not bearing that repulse at the hands of Cyrrillus, in his fury slew the godly martyr. And therefore justly, as it seemed, was he himself slain afterwards by the hands of Aper.

Thus Carus, with his son Numerianus, being slain, as is declared, Carinus the other son reigned alone in Italy; where he overcame Sabinus, striving for the empire, and reigned there with much wickedness, till the returning home of the army again from the Persians, who then set up Dioclesian to be emperor; by whom the aforesaid Carinus, for the wickedness of his life, being forsaken by his host, was overcome, and at length slain by the hand of the tribune whose wife he had deflowered.—Thus Carus, with his two sons Numerianus and Carinus, ended their lives, whose reign continued not above three years.

All this mean time we read of no great persecution stirring in the church of Christ, but it was in a state of quiet and tranquillity, unto the nineteenth year of the reign of Dioclesian; so that in counting the time from the latter end of Valerian unto this aforesaid year of Dioclesian, the peace of the church, which God gave to his people, seems to have continued above forty-four years. During which time of peace and tranquillity, the church of the Lord did mightily increase and flourish, so that the more bodies it lost by persecution, the more honour and reverence it won daily among the Gentiles in all quarters, both Greeks and Barbarians,

inasmuch, that (as Eusebius in his seventh book describes) amongst the emperors themselves divers there were which not only bare singular good-will to those of our profession, but also did commit unto them offices and governments over countries and nations; so well were they affected to our doctrine, that they privileged the same with liberty and indemnity. What need is there to speak of them which not only lived under the emperors in liberty, but also were familiar in the court with the princes themselves, entertained with great honour and special favour beyond the other servants of the court? As was Dorotheus, with his wife, children, and whole family, highly accepted and advanced in the palace of the emperor; also Gorgonius in like manner, with many more, who, for their doctrine and learning which they professed, were with their princes in great estimation. In like esteem were the bishops of cities and dioceses with the presidents and rulers where they lived; who not only suffered them to live in peace, but also very greatly valued and regarded them, so long as they kept themselves upright, and continued in God's favour. Who is able to number at that time the mighty and innumerable multitudes and congregations assembling together in every city, and the notable concourses of such as daily flocked to the common oratories to pray? For which cause, they, not being able to be contained in their old houses, had large and great churches new built from the foundation, for them to frequent together in. In such increase, says Eusebius, by process of time did the church of Christ grow and shoot up daily more and more, profiting and spreading through all quarters, which neither envy of men could infringe, nor any devil could enchant, neither the crafty policy of man's wit could supplant, so long as the protection of God's heavenly arm went with his people, keeping them in good order, according to the rule of Christian life and discipline.

But as commonly the nature of all men, being of itself unruly and untoward, always seeks and desires prosperity, and yet can never well use prosperity; always would have peace, and yet, having peace, always abuses the same: so here likewise it happened with these men, who through so great liberty and prosperity of life began to degenerate and languish into idleness and delicacy, and one to work spite and contumely against another, striving and contending amongst themselves on every occasion with railing words, after most spiteful manner; bishops against bishops, and people against people, moving hatred and sedition one against another; besides also cursed hypocrisy and dissimulation, with all extremity increasing more and more. By reason whereof the judgment of God, after his wonted manner, (whilst yet the congregations began to multiply,) began by a little and little to visit our men with persecution, falling first upon our brethren who were abroad in warfare: but when that touched the others nothing or very little, neither did they seek to appease God's wrath, and call for his mercy; but wickedly thinking within ourselves that God neither regarded nor would visit our transgressions, we heaped our iniquities daily more and more upon one another; and they who seemed to be our pastors, refusing the rule of piety, were inflamed with mutual contentions against another.

#### *The Tenth Persecution.*

By reason whereof the wrath of God being kindled against his church, ensued the tenth and last persecution against the Christians, so horrible and grievous, that it makes the pen almost to tremble to write upon it; so that

ous, that never was any persecution before or since comparable to it for the time it continued, lasting the space of ten years together. This persecution, although it passed through the hands of divers tyrants and workers, more than one or two, yet principally bears the name of Dioclesian, who was emperor, as is above noted, next after Carus and Numerianus. This Dioclesian, ever having an ambitious mind, aspired greatly to be emperor. To whom Druas, his concubine, said, That first he should kill a wild boar before he would be emperor. He, taking notice of these words, used much with hands to kill wild boars; but seeing no success to come therefrom, he used this proverb, *Ego apros occido, alius pulpamento fruitor*; that is, "I do kill the boars, but others do eat the flesh." At length the said Dioclesian being nominated to be emperor, and seeing Aper (whose name signifies *boar* in Latin) who had killed Numerianus the emperor, standing near, swore to the soldiers that Numerianus was wrongfully killed; and running forthwith upon Aper, slew him.—Vopisc. After this, he being established in the empire, and seeing on every side many and sundry commotions rising up against him, which he was not well able himself to sustain, in the first year of his reign he chose for his colleague Maximianus, surnamed Herculius, father of Maxentius. Which two emperors, because of the wars which arose in many provinces, chose to them two other noblemen, Galerius and Constantius, whom they called Cæsars; of whom, Galerius was sent into the eastern parts against the Persians. Constantius was sent over to Britain to recover the tribute, where he took to wife Helena, the daughter of king Coill, who was a maiden excelling in beauty, and no less famously brought up in the study of learning; of whom was born Constantine the Great.

Hitherto no persecution was yet stirred up by these four princes against the church of Christ, but quietly and moderately they governed the commonwealth; wherefore accordingly God prospered their doings and affairs, and gave them great victories: Dioclesian in Egypt, Maximian in Africa and France, Galerius in Persia, and Constantius in England and France also. By reason of which victories, Dioclesian and Maximian, puffed up in pride, ordained a solemn triumph at Rome; after which triumph Dioclesian gave commandment that he should be worshipped as God, saying, that he was brother to the sun and moon; and, adorning his shoes with gold and precious stones, commanded the people to kiss his feet.

In the annals of the Coptic church, mention is made of the terrible persecution raised up against the flock of Christ in Egypt, which is thus related by Kircher in his *Prodromus Copticus*: Be it known, that the Coptic æra began in the 100th year of the reign of the emperor Dioclesian, when the persecution of the Christians became greatly increased. The emperor commanded their churches to be demolished; and ordered all those who would not sacrifice to idols to be slain. Through which edict, 144,000 believers received the crown of martyrdom in the land of the Copts, besides 700 who were sent into exile. From this the Coptic æra began, which is termed Tarekhi Shuhada, or the Æra of Martyrs; i. e. of those whose blood was poured out by Dioclesian.—Kircheri *Prodrom. Copt.* p. 24.

Not long after, by the judgment of God, for certain enormities used in the church, above touched, began the great and grievous persecution of the Christians, moved by the outrageous cruelty of Dioclesian, which was about the nineteenth year of his reign; who, in the month of March, (anno 303) when the feast of Easter was near at hand, commanded all the churches of the Christians to be spoiled,

and cast to the earth, and the books of holy scripture to be burned.

Thus most violent edicts and proclamations were sent forth, for the overthrowing, as is said, of the Christians' temples throughout all the Roman empire. Neither did there want in the officers any cruel execution of the same proclamations. For their temples were defaced, even when they celebrated the feast of Easter, Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 2. And this was the first edict given out by Dioclesian. The next proclamation that came forth was for the burning of the books of the holy scripture; which thing was done in the open market-place, as before. Then next unto that were edicts given forth for the displacing of such as were magistrates, and that with great ignominy, and all others whoever bare any office, imprisoning such as were of the common sort, if they would not abjure Christianity, and subscribe to the heathen religion.—Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 3. et Nicephorus, lib. 7. cap. 4. Zonares also, in tom. 2. And these were the beginning of the Christians' evils.

It was not long after that new edicts were sent forth, nothing inferior to the first for cruelty; for the casting of the elders and bishops into prison, and then constraining them with sundry kinds of punishments to offer unto their idols. By reason whereof ensued a great persecution against the governors of the church, amongst whom many stood manfully, passing through many exceeding bitter torments, neither were overcome thereby; being tormented and examined divers of them variously, some scourged all their bodies over with whips and scourges, some were intolerably excruciated with racks and raisings of the flesh; some one way, some another way, put to death. Some again violently were drawn to the impure sacrifice, and as though they had sacrificed (when indeed they did not) were let go. Others, neither coming at all to their altars, nor touching any piece of their sacrifices, yet were borne in hand by them that stood by, as if they had sacrificed; and so suffering that false accusation of their enemies, went quietly away.—Others as dead men were carried and cast away, being but half dead. Some they cast down upon the pavement, and, trailing them a great space by the legs, made the people believe that they had sacrificed. Furthermore, others there were who stoutly withstood them, affirming with a loud voice that they had done no such sacrifice. Of whom some said they were Christians, and gloried in the profession of that name: some cried, saying, that neither they were, nor would ever be, partakers of that idolatry; and those being buffeted on the face and mouth by the hands of the soldiers, were made to hold their peace, and so thrust out with violence. And if the saints did seem never so little to do what the enemies would have them, they were made much of: however, all this purpose of the adversary did nothing prevail against the holy and constant servants of Christ. Notwithstanding, of the weak sort innumerable there were who for fear and infirmity fell and gave over, even at the first onset.

At the first coming down of these edicts into Nicomedia, there chanced a deed to be done worthy of memory, by a Christian, being a nobleman born; who, moved by the zeal of God, after the proclamation made at Nicomedia was set up, by and by ran and took down the same, and openly tore and rent it in pieces, not fearing the presence of the two emperors, then being in the city. For which act he was put to a most bitter death, which death he with great faith and constancy endured, even to the last gasp.—Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 3 & 5.

After this, the furious rage of the malignant emperors

being let loose against the saints of Christ, proceeded more and more, making havock of God's people throughout all quarters of the world. First, Dioclesian (who had purposed with himself to subvert the whole Christian religion) executed his tyranny in the East, and Maximianus in the West. But wily Dioclesian began very subtly; for he put the matter first in practice in his own camp, among whom the marshal of the field (as Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 4. affirms) put the Christian soldiers to this choice, whether they would obey the emperor's commandment in that manner of sacrifice he commanded, and so both to keep their offices and lead their bands, or else to lay away from them their armour and weapons. Whereupon the Christians courageously answered, that they were not only ready to lay away their armour and weapons, but also to suffer death, if it should with tyranny be enforced upon them, rather than they would obey the wicked decrees and commandments of the emperor.

There might a man have seen very many who were desirous to live a simple and poor life, and who regarded no estimation and honour in comparison of true piety and godliness. And this was no more but a subtle and wily flattery in the beginning, to offer them to be at their own liberty, whether they would willingly abjure their profession or not; as also this was another, that in the beginning of the persecution there were but a few tormented with punishment, but afterwards by little and little he began more manifestly to burst out into persecution. It can hardly be expressed by words what numbers of martyrs, and what blood was shed throughout all cities and regions for the name of Christ. Eusebius, in his eighth book and seventh chapter, says, that he himself knew the worthy martyrs that were in Palestine. But in Tyre of Phenicia, he declares in the same a marvellous martyrdom made, where certain Christians being given to most cruel wild beasts, were preserved without hurt by them, to the great admiration of the beholders; and those lions, bears, and leopards, kept hungry for that purpose, had no desire to devour them: which, notwithstanding, most vehemently raged against those by whom they were brought into the stage, who, standing as they thought without danger of them, were first devoured. But the Christian martyrs, because they could not be hurt by the beasts, were slain with the sword, and afterwards thrown into the sea. At that time was martyred the bishop of Sidon. But *Sylvanus*, the bishop of Gaza, with thirty-nine others, were slain in the metal mines of Phenicia. *Pamphilus* the elder, of Cesarea, being the glory of that congregation, died a most worthy martyr: both whose life and most commendable martyrdom Eusebius oftentimes declares, in his eighth book and thirteenth chapter, inasmuch that he has written the same in a book by itself. In Syria, all the chief teachers of the congregation were first committed to prison, as a most heavy and cruel spectacle to behold, as also the bishops, elders, and deacons, who all were esteemed as men-killers, and penetrators of most wicked acts.—Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 6. After that, we read of another, whose name was *Tirannion*, who was made meat for the fishes of the sea, and of *Zenobius*, who was a very good physician, and who also was slain with brickbats in the same place.—Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 13.

Furthermore, he makes mention in the same place of others, who were not tormented to death, but every day terrified and frightened without ceasing: of some others that were brought to the sacrifices, and commanded to do sacrifice, who would rather thrust their right hand into the fire than touch the profane or wicked sacrifices; also of some others, that before they were apprehended would cast themselves down from precipices, lest, being taken, they

should commit any thing against their profession. Also, of two virgins, very fair and comely, with their mother also, who had studiously brought them up even from their infancy in all godliness, being long sought for, and at the last found, and strictly kept by their keepers; who, whilst they made their excuse to do that which nature required, threw themselves down headlong into a river. Also, of two other young maidens, being sisters, and of a worshipful stock, endued with many good qualities, who were cast by persecutors into the sea. And these things were done at Antioch, as Eusebius in his 8th book and 13th chapter affirms. But *Sylvanus*, the bishop of Gaza, the notable martyr, together with certain others, was thrown to the wild beasts.—Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 13.

Divers and sundry torments were the Christians in Mesopotamia molested with: where they were hanged up by the feet, and their heads downwards, and with the smoke of a small fire suffocated; and also in Cappadocia, where the martyrs had their legs broken.—Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 12.

Henricus de Erfordia makes mention of the martyrs of Tharsus in Cilicia, as *Tharatus*, *Probus*, and *Andronicus*. But yet the martyrs in the region of Pontus suffered far sharper torments, whereof I will hereafter make mention.—Euseb. *ibid.* So outrageous was the beginning of the persecution which the emperor made in Nicomedia in Bithynia, as before is said, that he refrained not from the slaughter of the children of emperors, neither yet from the slaughter of the most chief princes of his court, whom a little before he made as much of as if they had been his own children. Such another was *Peter*, who among divers and sundry torments, (among whom, he being naked, was lifted up, his whole body being so beaten with whips and torn, that a man might see the bare bones; and after they had mingled vinegar and salt together, they poured it upon the most tender parts of his body, and lastly, roasted him at a slow fire, as a man would roast flesh to eat,) as a victorious martyr ended his life. *Dorotheus* and *Gorgonius*, being in great authority and office under the emperor, after divers torments, were strangled with a halter: both which being of the privy chamber to him, when they saw and beheld the grievous punishment of *Peter*, their household companion, "Wherefore, (say they,) O emperor, do you punish in *Peter* that opinion which is in us all? Why is this accounted in him an offence, that we all confess? We are of that faith, religion, and judgment, that he is of." Therefore he commanded them to be brought forth, and almost with like pains to be tormented as *Peter* was, and afterwards to be hanged.—Euseb. *Ruffin.* lib. 8. cap. 6. After whom *Anthimus*, the bishop of Nicomedia, after he had made a notable confession, bringing with him a great company of martyrs, was beheaded. These men being thus despatched, the emperor vainly thought that he might cause the rest to do whatever he wished. To this end came *Lucianus*, the elder of the congregation of Antioch, and was martyred after he had made his apology before the emperor.—Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 18.

Hermanus also, that monster, caused *Serena*, the wife of Dioclesian, the emperor, to be martyred for the Christian religion: so much did the rage of persecution utterly take all natural affections. Other martyrs of Nicomedia were *Nicephorus*, in his seventh book and fourteenth chapter, recite; as *Eulampius*, and *Eulampia*, *Agape*, *Arce*, *Callista*, and *Anastasia*, who under Illyricus, chief officer, were bound hand and foot to a post, and burnt.—*Vener.* lib. 12. cap. 66. And also Eusebius, lib. 8. cap. 10. mentions another such like matter, full of horror and grief. They assembled together in their temple many Christians, and



celebrate the memory of the nativity of Christ, of every age and sort. There Maximianus, thinking to have gained a fine opportunity to execute his tyranny upon the poor Christians, sent thither such as should burn the temple. The doors being shut and closed round about, thither came they with fire; but first they commanded the crier with a loud voice to cry, That whosoever would have life should come out of the temple, and do sacrifice upon the next altar of Jupiter they came to; and unless they would do this, they should all be burnt, with the temple. Then one stepping up in the temple, answered in the name of all the rest, with great courage and boldness of mind, that they were all Christians, and believed that Christ was their only God and King, and that they would do sacrifice to him, with his Father, and the Holy Ghost; and that they were now all ready to offer unto him. With these words the fire was kindled, and compassed about the temple, and there were burnt of men, women, and children, twenty thousand. There were also in Arabia very many martyrs slain with axes.—Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 12. There was in Phrygia, a city unto which the emperor sent his edicts, that they should do sacrifice to the gods, and worship idols; all which citizens, the mayor himself, the questor, and chief captain, confessed that they were Christians. The city upon this was besieged and set on fire, with all the people.—Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 11. In Melitina, a region of Armenia, the bishops and elders were cast into prison.—Euseb. eodem, cap. 6. In Arabracc, a region near adjoining to Armenia, *Eustratius* was martyred, as Nicephorus declares, lib. 7. cap. 14. This *Eustratius* was that countryman born, and very learned in the Greek tongue, executing by the emperor's commandment the sheriff's office at Licia, in the East, who also did execution there upon the Christians, and was a scribe of great estimation, called *Ordinis Ducalis*. This man beholding the marvellous constancy of the martyrs, thirsted with the desire of martyrdom; for he had privily embraced the Christian religion. Therefore, he not waiting for other accusers, detected himself, and worthily professed that he was a Christian, openly execrating the madness and vanity of the wicked heathens. He therefore being carried away, was tied up, being first most bitterly beaten; after that he was parched with fire being put upon his bowels, and then roasted with salt and vinegar; and, lastly, so scorched and mangled with the shards of sharp and cutting shells, that his whole body seemed to be all one continued wound: howbeit, by God's great goodness, afterward it was restored to perfect soundness. After this he was carried away to *Sebastia*, where, with his companion *Orestes*, he was burnt. At that time also suffered *Eugepius*, *Aurentius*, and *Marcianus*.—Niceph. lib. 7. cap. 14.—And in no less wise raged this persecution throughout all Egypt, where Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 19. makes mention of *Pelens* and *Nilus*, martyrs and bishops in Egypt. But at Alexandria especially were declared most notable conflicts of Christian and true constant martyrs that suffered; which *Phileas*, the bishop of Thubitan, describes. In this persecution at Alexandria, the principal that then suffered was *Peter*, the bishop of Alexandria, with the elders of the same, most worthy martyrs; *Faustus*, *Didius*, and *Ammonius*, also *Phileas*, *Hesichius*, *Pachimius*, and *Theodorus*; who all were bishops of the congregations in Egypt, and besides them many other, both famous and singular men. The whole legion of Christian soldiers which lay at Thebes in Egypt, under that truly Christian captain *Mauritius*, when they would not obey the emperor's commandment touching the worshipping of images, were killed, some once, and then again; and at last,

through the exhortation of *Mauritius*, died all together like constant martyrs.—Vinc. in Speculo, lib. 13. cap. 2. Likewise at Antino, divers Christian soldiers, notwithstanding they were dissuaded, suffered death together; among whom were *Ascla*, *Philemon*, and *Apollonius*.—Ibid. cap. 50. And also in other parts of Africa and Mauritania was great persecution, as Eusebius, lib. 8. cap. 6. Also in Samnium, of which place his *Chronicon* makes mention; and Sicilia, where were seventy-nine martyrs slain for the profession of Christ.—Henr. de Erfordia.

Now let us come to Europe: Nicephorus, in his seventh book and fourteenth chapter, says, that at Nicopolis in Thracia; the martyrs were in a most miserable and pitiful way handled, where *Lisias* had the execution thereof. In Chalcidion suffered *Euphemia*, under Pissus the procurator.—Vincent. lib. 12. cap. 77.

Henricus de Erfordia says, that at Rome, *Joannes* and *Crispus*, being priests, had the execution of martyrs. And at Bohemia, *Agricola* and *Vitalis*.—Vinc. lib. 12. cap. 49. And at Aquileia the emperor commanded every man to kill the Christians.—Vincent. lib. eod. cap. 58. And among those martyrs he makes mention of *Felices* and *Fortunatus*. Reginus also writes, that in other places of Italy the persecution became great, as at Florence, Campania, Beneventus, at Vebusa in Apulia, and in Tuscia. Henricus de Erfordia says, also at Verona. In France doubtless, *Rectionarus*, appointed to that office, played the cruel cut-throat, of whose great cruelty against the Christians many histories are full. At Milan suffered *Victor*. And at Missilia, *Maximianus* set forth his decree, that either they should do sacrifice unto the gods of the Gentiles, or else be all slain with divers kinds of torments. Therefore many martyrs there died for the glory of Christ.—Antoninus et Vincent. lib. 12. cap. 2.

Vincentius and Reginus write of many places in Spain, where there was great persecution, as at Emerita, where suffered *Eulalia*, of whom more foiloweth hereafter; and at Adula, where also suffered *Vincentius*, *Sabina*, and *Christina*. At Toletum suffered *Leucadia* the virgin; at Cesarea Augusta, there were put to death eighteen, besides a great number of other martyrs which suffered under Decianus the governor who afflicted with persecution all the coasts of Spain, as says Vincentius, lib. 13. cap. 123, 124, 128, 130, 134. The aforesaid *Rectionarus* made such persecution at Trevers, near the river of Mosella, that the blood of the Christians that were slain ran like small brooks, and coloured great and many rivers. Neither yet did this suffice him, but from thence he sent certain horsemen with his letters, commanding them to ride into every place, and charge all such as had taken and apprehended any Christians, that they should immediately put them to death.—Vincentius, lib. 13. cap. 13.

Also Henricus de Erfordia and Reginus make mention of great persecution to be at Colonia, where *Agrippina* and *Augusta* were martyred, as also in the province of Rhetia.

Beda also says, that this persecution reached even unto the Britons, in his book *De Ratione Temporum*. And the Chronicle of Martinus, and the Nosegay of Time, do declare, that all the Christians in Britany were utterly destroyed. Furthermore, that the kinds of death and punishment were so great and horrible, as no man's tongue is able to express. In the beginning, when the emperor by his subtlety and cunning rather dallied than shewed his rigour, he threatened them with bands and imprisonments; but within a while, when he began to work the matter in good earnest, he devised innumerable sorts of torments and punishments, as whippings and scourgings, rackings, horrible scrapings, sword cuts,

and ship-boats, wherein a great number being put, were sunk and drowned in the bottom of the sea.—Euseb. l. 8. c. 6 & 7. —Also hanging them upon crosses, binding them to the bodies of dead trees with their heads downwards, hanging them by the middles upon gallows, till they died of hunger; throwing them alive to such kind of wild beasts as would devour them, as lions, bears, leopards, and wild bulls. —Eus. l. 8. c. 8. Pricking and thrusting in them with bodkins and talons of beasts, till they were almost dead; lifting them up on high with their heads downward, even as in Thebais they did unto the women, being naked and unclothed, one of their feet tied and lifted on high, and so hanging down with their bodies, which thing to see was very pitiful: with other devised sorts of punishments, most tragical, or rather tyrannical, and pitiful to describe; as, first, the binding of them to trees, and to the boughs thereof: the pulling and tearing asunder of their members and joints, being tied to the boughs and arms of trees. —Euseb. l. 8. c. 9. The mangling of them with axes, the choking of them with smoke by small and slow fires, the dismembering of their hands, ears, and feet, with other joints; as the holy martyrs of Alexandria suffered the scorching and broiling of them with coals, not unto death, but every day renewed. With such kind of torments the martyrs at Antioch were afflicted. But in Pontus, other horrible punishments, and fearful to be heard, did the martyrs of Christ suffer: of whom some had their finger ends under the nails thrust in with sharp bodkins; some all besprinkled with boiling lead, having their most necessary members cut from them; some other suffering most filthy, intolerable, and undurable torments and pains in their bowels and privy members.—Euseb. *codem*, 12.

To conclude, how great the courage of the persecution which reigned in Alexandria was, and with how many and sundry kinds of new-devised punishments the martyrs were afflicted, *Phileas*, the bishop of the Thumitans, a man singularly well learned, as described in his epistle to the Thumitans, the copy whereof Eusebius has, lib. 8. cap. 10. out of which we mean here briefly to recite a portion: "Because (says he) every man might torment the holy martyrs as he pleased, some beat them with cudgels, some with rods, some with whips, some with thongs, and some with cords; and this example of beating was in sundry ways executed, and with much cruelty. For some of them having their hands bound behind their backs, were lifted up upon timber logs, and with certain instruments their members and joints were stretched forth; whereupon their whole bodies hanging, were subject to the will of the tormentors, who were commanded to afflict them with all manner of torments, and not on their sides only (like as homicides were, but upon their bellies, thighs, and legs, they scratched them with the talons and claws of wild beasts. Some others were seen to hang by one hand upon the engine, whereby they might feel the more grievous pulling out of the rest of their joints and members. Some others were in such sort bound unto pillars with their faces turned to the wall, having no stay under their feet, and were violently weighed down with the weight of their bodies, that by reason of their strict binding they being drawn out might be more grievously tormented. And this suffered they, not only during the time of their examination, and while the sheriff had to do with them, but also the whole day long. And whilst the judge went thus from one to another, he by his authority appointed certain officers to attend upon those he left, that they might not be let down, until either through the intolerableness of the pain, or by the extremity of the cold, they being near the point of death, should be let down, and so were they haled upon the

ground. And further they were commanded, that they should shew not so much as one spark of mercy or compassion upon us; but so extremely and furiously did they deal with us, as though our souls and bodies should die together. And therefore yet another torment our adversaries devised, to augment our former plagues: after that they had most lamentably beaten them, they devised moreover a new kind of rack, wherein they lying upright, were stretched by both the feet above the fourth stop or hole, with sharp shells or shares strewed under them, after a strange kind of engine to us here unknown. Others were cast down upon the pavement, where they were oppressed so thick and so grievously with torments, that it is scarcely to be credited what afflictions they endured.

"Thus they lying in pains and torments, some died therewith, not a little shaming and confounding their enemies by their singular patience. Some, half dead and half alive, were thrust into prison, where, shortly after, by pains and wounds of their bodies, they ended their bitter life. Some again being cured of their wounds by their endurance in prison, were more confirmed, who being put to the choice whether they would come to their cursed sacrifice, and enjoy their wicked liberty, or else sustain the sentence of death, did willingly and without delay abide the extremity, remembering with themselves what is written in the scriptures. He that sacrificeth (saith he) to strange gods shall be exterminated, &c. also, Thou shalt have no other gods besides me, &c."

Thus wrote *Phileas* to the congregation where he was bishop, before he received the sentence of death, being yet in bands; and in the same he exhorts his brethren constantly to resist, after his death, in the truth of Christ professed.—Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 10.

Sabellius, in his seventh Eucad, and eighth book, says, that the Christian who tore and pulled down the wicked edict of the emperor in Nicomedia, being stripped and beaten that the bones appeared, and after washed in salt and vinegar, was then slain with this cruel kind of torment. But *Platina* writes, that *Dorotheus* and *Gorgonius* exhorted him to die so constantly.

But as all their torments were marvellous and notable for their horribleness, and therewithal so studiously devised, and no less grievously sharp; so, notwithstanding, these martyrs were neither dismayed nor overcome by them, but rather thereby confirmed and strengthened, so cheerfully and joyfully sustained they whatsoever was put unto them. Eusebius says, that he himself beheld and saw the huge and great persecution that was done in Thebais; insomuch that the very swords of the hangmen and spectators being blunt by the great and often slaughter, they themselves for weariness sat down to rest them, and others were fain to take their places. And yet, notwithstanding all this, the murdered Christians shewed their marvellous readiness, willingness, and divine fortitude, which they were endued with; with stout courage, joy, and smiling, receiving the sentence of death pronounced upon them, and sung even unto the last gasp hymns and psalms to God. So did also the martyrs of Alexandria, as witnesses *Phileas* above-mentioned. The holy martyrs, says he, keeping Christ in their minds, being led by the love of better rewards, sustained not only at one time whatsoever labour and devised punishment they had to lay upon them; but now also the second that have done the same, and have borne all the newness of the cruel soldiers, not only in words wherewith they threatened them, but also whatsoever in deed and work they could devise to their destruction; and that with most manly heart,

excluding all fear with the perfection of their unspeakable love towards Christ, whose great strength and fortitude cannot by words be expressed. And Sulpitius says, in the second book of his Sacred History, that then the Christians with more greedy desire pressed and sought for martyrdom, than now they do desire bishoprics.

Although some there were also, as I have said, that with fear and threatenings, and by their own infirmities, were overcome and went back.—Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 4. Among whom Socrates names Miletius, lib. 1. cap. 6. And Athanasius, in his second Apology, names the bishop of Licus, a city in Little Egypt, whom Peter, the bishop of Alexandria, excommunicated, for that in this persecution he sacrificed unto the Gentiles' gods. Of the fall of *Marcellinus*, the bishop of Rome, I will speak afterwards; for he being persuaded by others, and especially the emperor Dioclesian himself, did sacrifice; whereupon he was excommunicated; but afterwards he repenting the same, was again received into the congregation, and made martyr, as Platina, and the compiler of the book of the General Councils, affirm. The number of the martyrs increased daily: sometimes ten, sometimes twenty, were slain at once; sometimes thirty, and oftentimes threescore, and other times a hundred in one day, men, women, and children, by divers kinds of death.—Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 9. Also Damasus, Peda, Onosius, Honorius, and others, do witness, that there were slain in this persecution by the names of martyrs, within the space of thirty days, *seventeen thousand persons*, besides another great number and multitude that was condemned to the metal mines and quarries with like cruelty.

At Alexandria, with Peter the bishop, of whom I have made mention before, were slain with axes three hundred and above, as Sabellicus declares. *Gercon* was beheaded at Colonia Agrippina, with three hundred of his fellows, as saith Henricus de Erfordia; *Mauritius* the captain, a Christian, with his fellows, six thousand six hundred and sixty-six. *Victor* in the city of Troy, now called Xanthus, with his fellows, three hundred and threescore, were slain, as says Otto Phrisiugesis, lib. 2. cap. 45. Reginus recites the names of many other martyrs, to the number of one hundred and twenty.

And for so much as mention here has been made of *Mauritius* and *Victor*, the particular description of the same history I thought here to insert, taken out of Ado, and other historians.

#### *Martyrdom of the THEBAN LEGION.*

*Mauritius* came out of Syria into France and Italy, being captain of the band of the Theban soldiers, to the number of six thousand six hundred and threescore, being sent for by Maximianus, to go against the rebellious *Bangandes*; but rather, as it should seem, by the tyrant, who thought he might better in these quarters use his tyranny upon the Christians, than in the East part. These Thebans, with *Mauritius* the captain, after they had entered into Rome, were by *Marcellus* the blessed bishop confirmed in faith, promising by oath that they would rather be slain by their enemies, than forsake that faith which they had received; who followed the emperor's host through the Alps, even into France. At that time the Cæsareans were encamped not far from the town called *Ottodor*, where Maximianus offered sacrifices to his devils, and called all the soldiers, both of the East and West, to the same, strictly charging them, by the authority of the gods, that they would fight against those rebels *Bangandes*, and persecute the Christian enemies of the emperor's god. This commandment was shewed to the Theban Legion, who were also encamped about the river of

Rode, and in a place that was named *Agawne*; but to *Ottodor* they would in no wise come, for that every man did certainly appoint and persuade with themselves rather in that place to die, than either to sacrifice to the gods or bear armour against the Christians. Which thing indeed very stoutly and valiantly they affirmed upon their oath before taken to Maximianus, when he sent for them. Wherewith the tyrant being wrathful, commanded every tenth man of that whole band to be put to the sword; whereto strivingly, and with great rejoicing, they committed their necks. To which notable thing, and great force of faith, *Mauritius* himself was a great encourager; who, by and by, with a most grave oration exhorted and animated his soldiers both to fortitude and constancy. —Who being again called by the emperor, answered in this wise: "We are, O emperor, your soldiers; but yet also, to speak freely, the servants of God. We owe to you service of war, to him innocency: from you we receive wages for our travail, of him the beginning of life. But in this we may in no wise obey you, O emperor, to deny God, our Author and Lord; and not only ours, but your Lord likewise, whether you are pleased or displeased. If we be not so extremely enforced that we offend him, doubtless as we have hitherto before, we will yet obey you; but otherwise we will rather obey him than you. We offer here our hands against any other enemies; but to defile our hands with the blood of innocents, that we may not do. These right hands of ours have skill to fight against the wicked and true enemies; but to spoil and murder the godly, and citizens, they have no skill at all. We have in remembrance how we took armour in hand for the defence of the citizens, and not against them. We fought always for justice' sake, piety, and for the health of innocents. These have been always the rewards of our perils and travail. We have fought in the conflict of faith, which in no wise we can keep to you, if we do not shew the same to our God. We first swear upon the sacraments of our God, then afterwards to the king; and do you think the second will avail us, if we break the first? By us you would plague the Christians; to do which feat we are only commanded by you. We are here ready to confess God the author of all things, and believe in his Son Jesus Christ our Lord. We see before our eyes our fellows, and partakers of our labours and travels, to be put to the sword, and we sprinkled with their blood: of which end and death of our most blessed companions, we have not bewailed or mourned, but rather have been glad, and have rejoiced thereat; that they have been counted worthy to suffer for the Lord their God. The extreme necessity of death cannot move us against your majesty; neither yet any desperation, O emperor, which is wont in venturous affairs to do much, shall arm us against you. Behold, here we cast down our weapons, and resist not; for we had rather be killed than kill, and guiltless to die, than guilty to live. Whatsoever more you will command, appoint, and enjoin us; we are here ready to suffer, yea, both fire and sword, and other torments whatever. We confess ourselves to be Christians: we cannot persecute Christians, nor will we do sacrifice to your diabolic idols."

With this answer the king being cruelly incensed, commanded the second time the tenth man of them that were left to be in like case murdered. That cruelty also being accomplished, at length, when the Christian soldiers would in no wise condescend unto his mind, he set upon them with his whole host, both footmen and horsemen, and charged them to kill them all. Who with all force set upon them; they making no resistance, but throwing down their armour, yielded their lives to the persecutors, and offered to them their defenceless bodies.

Victor at the same time was not of that band, nor yet then any soldier; but being an old soldier, was dismissed on account of his age. At which time he coming suddenly upon them as they were banqueting and making merry with the spoils of the holy martyrs, was bid to sit down with them: but first asking the cause of their so great rejoicing, and understanding the truth thereof, detested the guests, and refused to eat with them. And then being demanded by them, whether he were a Christian or not? he openly confessed, and denied not but that he was a Christian, and ever would be; and thereupon they rushing upon him, killed him, and made him partner of the like martyrdom and honour.

Beda in his history writes, that this persecution, beginning under Dioclesian, endured to the seventh year of Constantine; and Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 6. says, that it lasted until the tenth year of Constantine. It was not yet one year from the day in which Dioclesian and Maximinian, joining themselves together, began their persecution, when that they saw the number of the Christians rather to increase than to diminish, notwithstanding all the cruelty that they could shew, and now were out of all hope of utterly rooting them out. Which thing was the cause of their first enterprise; and having now even their fill of blood, and loathing, as it were, the shedding thereof, they ceased at last of their own accord to put any more Christians to death. But yet they did thrust out the right eyes of a great multitude, and maimed their left legs at the ham with a searing iron, condemning them to the mines; not so much for the use of their labour, as for the desire of afflicting them. And this was the clemency of those princes, who said that it was not meet that the citizens should be defiled with the blood of the citizens, and to make the emperor's highness to be branded with the name of cruelty, but to shew his princely beneficence and liberality to all men.—Eusebius, lib. 8. cap. 10.

When Dioclesian and Maximinian had reigned together emperors one-and-twenty years, (Nicephorus says, two and twenty years,) at length Dioclesian put himself from his imperial dignity at Nicomedia, and lived at Salona; Maximinian at Milan; and led both of them a private life, in the three hundred and ninth year after Christ. This strange and marvelous alteration gave occasion, (and so it came to pass,) that within a short space after, there were in the Roman commonwealth many emperors at one time.

In the beginning of this persecution it was stated, that Dioclesian being made emperor, took to him Maximinian; also how these two, governing as emperors together, chose out other two Cæsars under them, namely, Galerius Maximinus, and Constantius (the father of Constantine the Great.) Thus then Dioclesian reigning with Maximinian, in the nineteenth year of his reign began this furious persecution against the Christians, whose reign after the same continued not long. For so it pleased God to put such a bridle in the tyrant's mouth, that within two years after he caused both him and Maximinian (for what cause he knows) to give over the imperial function, and so to remain not as emperors any more, but as private persons. So that they being now displaced and dispossessed, the imperial dominion remained with Constantius and Galerius Maximinus, which two divided the whole monarchy between them; so that Maximinus should govern the eastern countries, and Constantius the western parts. But Constantius, as a modest prince, contented only with the imperial title, refused Italy and Africa, contenting himself with France, Spain, and Britain. Wherefore Galerius Maximinus chose to him his two sons, Maximinus and Severus; likewise Constantius made Constantine, his son, Cæsar under him.

Constantius, surnamed Clorus for his paleness, was the son of Eutropius, a man of great nobility of the Roman nation, as Letus affirms. He came of the line of Eneas and Claudia, the daughter of Claudius Augustus. He was a prince, according to Eutropius, very excellent, civil, meek, gentle, liberal, and desirous to do good unto those that had any private authority under him; and as Cyrus once said, that he got treasure enough when he made his friends rich; even so it is said that Constantius would oftentimes say, that it were better his subjects had treasure, than he to have it in his treasure-house. Also, he was by nature sufficed with a little, insomuch that he used to eat and drink out of earthen vessels, (which thing was counted in Agathocles the Sicilian a great commendation,) and if at any time cause required to garnish his table, he would send for plate and other furniture to his friends. To these virtues he added yet a more worthy ornament, that is, devotion, love, and affection, towards the word of God, as Eusebius in his 8th book and 13th chapter affirms; from which virtues ensued great peace and tranquillity in all his provinces. By God's word being guided, he neither levied any wars contrary to piety and the Christian religion, nor aided any other that did the same: neither destroyed he the churches, but commanded that the Christians should be preserved and defended, and kept them safe from all contumelious injuries; and when that in the other jurisdictions of the empire the congregations were molested with persecution, (as Sozomenus declares in his first book and sixth chapter,) he gave license unto the Christians to live after their accustomed manner. This wonderful act of his following, besides others, shewed that he was a sincere worshipper, and of the Christian religion.

Those who bare the chief offices among the heathens drove out of the emperors' court all godly Christians, whereupon this ensued, the emperors themselves at last were destitute of help, when such were driven away, who, dwelling in their courts, and living a godly life, poured out their prayers unto God for the prosperous estate and health both of the empire and emperor. Constantius therefore thinking at a certain time to try what sincere and good Christians he had yet in his court, called together all his officers and servants in the same, feigning himself to choose out such as would do sacrifice to devils, and that those only should dwell there and keep their offices; and that those who should refuse to do the same, should be thrust out, and banished the court. At this appointment, all the courtiers divided themselves into companies: the emperor marked which were the constant and godliest from the rest; and when some said they would willingly do sacrifice, others openly and boldly denied to do the same. Then the emperor sharply rebuked those who were so ready to do sacrifice, and judged them as false traitors unto God, accounting them unworthy to be in his court who were such traitors to God. And forthwith commanded that they only should be banished the same; but greatly he commended those who refused to do sacrifice, and praised God, affirming that they only were worthy to be about a prince; and forthwith commanded that thenceforth they should be the trusty counsellors and defenders both of his person and kingdom; saying thus much more, that they only were worthy to be in office whom he might make account of as his assured friends, and that he meant to have them of more estimation than the substance he had in his treasure. Eusebius makes mention hereof in his 1st book of the life of Constantine, and also Sozomenus in his 1st and 2nd books.

With this Constantius was joined (as has been said) Galerius Maximinus, a man, according to Eusebius, in his eighth book and first chapter, of a tyrannical disposition.



and curious in all magical superstition, insomuch that without the divinations and answers of devils, he durst do nothing at all; and therefore he gave great offices and dignities to enchanters. Furthermore, he was an exactor and extortioner of the citizens, liberal to those that were flatterers, given to surfeiting and riot, a great drinker of wine, and in his furious drunkenness most like a mad man; and an adulterer, who came to no city but he ravished virgins and defiled men's wives. To conclude, he was so great an idolater that he built up temples in every city, and repaired those that were fallen into decay; and he chose out the most worthy of his political magistrates to be the idols' priests, and devised that they should execute their office with great authority and dignity, and also with warlike pomp. But unto Christian piety and religion he was a great enemy, and in the Eastern Church exercised cruel persecution, and used as executioners of the same, Pencetius, Quintianus, and Theotechnus, besides others.

Notwithstanding, he was at length changed from his cruelty by the just judgment and punishment of God; for he was suddenly vexed with a fatal disease, which taking the first beginning in his flesh outwardly, from thence it proceeded more and more to the inward parts of his body, consuming and eating up his entrails, out of which came swarming forth an innumerable multitude of lice, with such a pestiferous stench, that no man could abide him. By reason whereof, the physicians that had him in care, not able to abide the intolerable stench, some of them were commanded to be slain; others, because they could not heal him, being so swollen and past hope of cure, were also cruelly put to death. At length, being put in remembrance that this disease was sent by God, he began to think of the wickedness that he had done against the saints of God; and so coming again to himself, first confessed to God all his offences, then calling them unto him who were about him, forthwith commanded all men to cease from the persecution of the Christians; requiring moreover that they should set up his imperial proclamations for the restoring and rebuilding of their temples, and that they would obtain of the Christians in their assemblies (which without all fear and doubt they might be hold to make) that they would devoutly pray to their God for the emperor. Then forthwith was the persecution stayed, and the imperial proclamations in every city were set up, containing the retraction or countermand of those things which against the Christians were before decreed.

But one of his inferior officers, whose name was also Maximinus, was not well pleased when this countermand was published throughout all Asia, and the provinces where he had to do. Yet he being qualified by this example, that it was not convenient for him to oppose the pleasure of those princes who had the chief authority, as Constantius and Maximinus; he forth of himself no edict touching the same; but commanded his officers in the presence of others, that they should somewhat stay from the persecution of the Christians; of which commandment of the inferior Maximinus each of them gave intelligence unto his fellows by letter. But Sabinus, who then amongst them all had the chiefest office and dignity, to the substitutes of every country wrote by his letter the emperor's pleasure in this wise:

The majesty of our most gracious and sovereign lords the emperors have lately decreed with special diligence and devotion, to induce all men to an uniform life, so that they, who seemed to dissent from the Roman custom by a strange manner of living, should exhibit to the immortal gods their due and proper worship; but the wilful and obstinate mind of

no lawful means they could be revoked from their purpose, neither made afraid by any terror or punishment. Because therefore it so came to pass, that by this means many put themselves in peril and jeopardy: the majesty of our sovereign lords the emperors, according to their noble piety, considering that it was far from the meaning of their princely majesties that such things should be, whereby so many men and much people should be destroyed, gave me in charge, that with diligence I should write unto you, that, if any of the Christians from thenceforth happen to be taken in the exercise of their religion, in no wise ye molest the same, neither for that cause you do judge any man worthy of punishment; for that in all this time it hath evidently appeared, that by no means they might be allured from such wilfulness. It is therefore requisite that your wisdom write unto the questors, captains, and constables of every city and village, that they may know it not to be lawful for them, or any of them, to do contrary to the prescript of this commandment, neither that they presume to attempt the same." Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 1.

The governors therefore of every province, supposing this to be the determinate pleasure, and not feigned, of the emperor, did first advertise the pagan multitude: after that they released and set at liberty all such prisoners as were condemned to the mines, and to perpetual imprisonment, for their faith, thinking thereby (whereby indeed they were deceived) that the doing thereof would please the emperor. This therefore seems to them as unlooked for, and as light to travellers in a dark night. They gather themselves together in every city, they call their synods and councils, and much marvel at the sudden change and alteration. The infidels themselves extol the only and true God of the Christians. The Christians receive again all their liberties; and such as fell away before in the time of persecution, repent themselves, and after penance done they returned again to the congregation. Now the Christians rejoiced in every city, praising God with hymns and psalms.—Eusebius, *ibid.* This was a marvellous and sudden alteration of the church, from a most unhappy state into a better. But scarcely suffered Maximinus the tyrant the same six months to continue unviolated: for whatever seemed to make for the subversion of the same peace, yet scarcely enjoyed, that did he only meditate. And first of all he took from the Christians all liberty and leave for them to assemble and congregate in church-yards under a certain colour. After that he sent certain miscreants unto the Athenians, to solicit them against the Christians, and to provoke them to ask him, as a recompense and great reward, that he would not suffer any Christian to inhabit in their country. And amongst them was one Theotechnus, a most wicked miscreant, and enchanter, and a most deadly enemy against the Christians. He first made the way whereby the Christians were put out of credit, and accused to the emperor; to which fraud also he erected a certain idol of Jupiter, to be worshipped by the enchanters and conjurers, and mingled the same worship with ceremonies full of witchcraft. Lastly, he caused the same idol to give this sound out of his mouth, that is, "Jupiter commands the Christians to be banished out of the city and suburbs of the same, as enemies unto him." And the same sentence did the rest of the governors of the provinces publish against the Christians; and thus at length persecution began to kindle against them. Maximinus appointed and instituted high priests and bishops in every city to offer sacrifice unto idols, and inveigled all those that were in great offices under him, that they should not only cease to please or do any thing for them, but that they should, with new devised accusations against them, at their pleasure put as many to death as they



any means they could. They also did counterfeit certain writings, attributed to Pilate, against our Saviour Christ, full of blasphemy, and sent the same into all the empire of Maximinus by their letters, commanding that the same should be published and set up in every city and suburbs of the same, and that they should be delivered to the schoolmasters, to cause their scholars to learn by rote the same.

After that, one named Præfectus Castrorum, whom the Romans do call captain, allured certain light women, partly by fear, and partly by punishment, dwelling at Damascus and Phenicia, and taken out of the court wherein they were accused, that they should openly say in writing, That they were once Christians, and that they knew what wicked and lascivious acts the Christians were wont to execute amongst themselves upon the Sundays; and what other things they thought good to make more of their own heads, to the slander of the Christians. The captain shewed unto the emperor their words, as though it had been so indeed; and the emperor soon after commanded the same to be published throughout every city. Furthermore, they did hang in the midst of every city (which was never done before) the emperor's edicts against the Christians, graven on tables of brass. And the children in the schools, with great noise and clapping of hands, did every day re-ound the contumelious blasphemies of Pilate unto Jesus, and what other things soever were devised by the magistrates, after a most despitelful manner.—Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.

Thus it came to pass, that at length the persecution was as great as ever it was; and the magistrates of every province were very disdainful against the Christians, and condemned some to death, and some to exile. Among whom they condemned three Christians at Emisa, in Phenicia, with whom *Sylvanus*, the bishop, a very old man, being forty years in the ecclesiastical function, was condemned to death. At Nicomedia, *Lucianus*, the elder, of Antioch, brought thither after he had exhibited to the emperor his apology concerning the doctrine of the Christians, was cast into prison, and after put to death. In Amasea, a city of Cappadocia, Bringes (the lieutenant of Maximinus) had at that time the executing of that persecution. At Alexandria, *Petrus*, a most worthy bishop, was beleaded, with whom many other Egyptian bishops also died.—Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 7. Nieph. lib. 7. cap. 44. *Quirinus*, the bishop of Scescanus, having a hand-mill tied about his neck, was thrown headlong from the bridge into the flood, and there a long while floated above the water, and when he opened his mouth to speak to the lookers on, that they should not be dismayed with his punishment, was with much ado drowned.—Chron. Euseb. At Rome, *Marcellus*, the bishop, as says Platina, also *Timotheus*, the elder, with many other bishops and priests, were martyred. To conclude: many in sundry places every where were martyred, whose names the book, entitled Fasciculus Temporum, declares: as *Victorinus*, *Symphorianus*, *Castorius*, with his wife; *Castulus*, *Cesarinus*, *Mennas*, *Nobilis*, *Dorotheus*, *Gorgonius*, *Petrus*, and other innumerable martyrs; *Erasmus*, *Bonifacius*, *Juliana*, *Cosmas*, *Damianus*, *Basilinus*, with seven others; *Dorothea*, *Theophilus*, *Theodocia*, *Vitalis*, *Agricola*, *Acha*, *Philemon*, *Hireneus*, *Januarius*, *Festus*, *Desiderius*, *Gregorius*, *Spoleitanus*, *Agapes*, *Chionia*, *Hirenea*, *Theodora*, and two hundred and seventy other martyrs; *Florianus*, *Primus*, and *Felicianus*, *Vitus* and *Modestus*, *Crescentia*, *Albinus*, *Rogatianus*, *Donatianus*, *Pancratius*, *Catharina*, *Margareta*, *Lucia* the virgin, and *Antheus* the king, with many thousand more martyrs; *Simplicius*, *Faustinus*, *Beatriz*, *Panthaleon*, *Georgius*, *Iustus*, *Leocandia*, *Anthonia*, and many others, to an infinite number, suffered martyrdom in this persecution,

whose names God hath written in the book of life. Also, *Felix*, *Victor* with his parents, *Lucia* the widow, *Gemenianus*, with seventy-nine others; *Sabinus*, *Anastasia*, *Chrysogonus*, *Felix* and *Audactus*, *Adrianus*, *Natholia*, *Eugenia*; *Agnes* also, when she was but thirteen years old, was martyred.

Eusebius, in his 8th book and 15th chapter, rehearses these kinds of torments and punishments; that is to say, fire, wild beasts, the sword, crucifyings, driving into the sea, the cutting and burning of members, the thrusting out of eyes, dismembering of the whole body, hunger, and imprisonment, and whatever other cruelty the magistrates could devise. Notwithstanding all which, the godly people, rather than they would do sacrifice as they were bid, manfully endured. Neither were the women any thing at all behind them; for they being enticed to the filthy use of their bodies, rather suffered banishment, or willingly killed themselves. Neither could the Christians live safely in the wilderness, but were fetched even from thence to death and torments, inasmuch, that this was a more grievous persecution under Maximinus the tyrant, than was the former cruel persecution under Maximinus the prince.—Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 6.

We have already heard of the cruel edict of Maximinus, proclaimed against the Christians, graven on brass, which he thought perpetually should endure, to the abolishing of Christ and his religion: now mark again the great handiwork of God, which immediately fell upon the same, checking the proud presumption of the tyrant, proving all to be false and contrary that was contained in the brazen proclamation. For where the aforesaid edict boasted so much of prosperity and plenty of all things in the same time of this persecution of the Christians, suddenly befell such unseasonable drought, with famine and pestilence among the people, besides also the wars with the Armenians, that all was found untrue that he had boasted of before; by reason of which famine and pestilence the poor were greatly consumed, inasmuch that one measure of wheat was sold for two thousand five hundred pieces of money of Athenian coin. By which scarcity multitudes died in the cities, but many more in the country and villages; so that most part of the husbandmen and countrymen died by the famine and pestilence. Many there were, who bringing out their best treasure, were glad to give it for any kind of sustenance, were it never so little. Others, selling away their possessions, fell by reason thereof to extreme poverty and beggary. Certain eating grass, and feeding on other unwholesome herbs, were fain to relieve themselves with such food as did hurt and poison their bodies. Also a number of women, in the cities being brought to extreme misery and want, were constrained to depart the cities, and fall to begging through the country. Some others were weak and faint, as women without breath wandering up and down, and not able to stand for feebleness, fell down in the middle of the streets, holding up their hands most pitifully, cried out for scraps or fragments of bread to be given them; and being at the last gasp, ready to give up the ghost, and not being able to utter any other words, yet cried out that they were hungry. Of the richer sort many there were, who being weary with the number of beggars and askers, after they had bestowed largely upon them, became hard-hearted, fearing lest they should fall into the same misery themselves as those who begged. By reason whereof the market-place, streets, lanes, and alleys, lay full of dead and naked bodies, lying out and unburied, to the pitiful and grievous beholding of them that saw them; wherefore many were moved by doing so, which cause they that lived fell to killing of them, lest their running mad should fall upon them and kill them.

In like manner the pestilence scattering through all conditions and ages of men, did no less consume them, especially those who through plenty of victuals escaped the famine. Wherefore the rich princes and presidents, and innumerable numbers of the magistrates, being more apt to receive the infection by reason of their plenty, were quickly despatched. Thus the miserable multitude being consumed by famine and by pestilence, all places were full of mourning, neither was there any thing else seen but wailing and weeping in every corner. So that death, what by famine and pestilence, in a short time broke and consumed whole households, two or three dead bodies being borne out together from one house to a funeral.

These were the rewards of the vain boastings of Maximinus in his edicts, which he published in all cities and towns against us, when it was evident to all men, how diligent and charitable the Christians were to them all in this miserable extremity. For they only, in all this time of distress, shewing compassion unto them, laboured every day, some in curing the sick, and some in burying the dead, who otherwise by their own sort were forsaken. Others of the Christians, calling and gathering the multitude together who were in jeopardy through famine, distributed bread unto them, whereby they gave occasion to all men to glorify the God of the Christians, and to confess them to be the true worshippers of God, as appeared by their works. By the means and reason whereof, the great God and defender of the Christians, who before had shewed his anger and indignation against all men, for their wrongful afflicting of us, opened again unto us the comfortable light of his providence, so that by means thereof peace fell unto us, as light unto them that sit in darkness, to the great admiration of all men, who easily perceive God himself to be a perpetual director of our doings; who many times chastens his people with calamities for a time, to exercise them, but, after sufficient correction, again shews himself merciful and favourable to them who with faith call upon him.

Thus most plainly and evidently was verified the true promise of Christ to his church, affirming and assuring us, "that the gates of hell shall not prevail against his church, built upon his faith:" as sufficiently may appear by these ten persecutions before specified and described. Wherein, as no man can deny, but that Satan and his malignant world have assayed the uttermost of their power and might to overthrow the church of Jesus; so must all men needs grant, who read these accounts, that when Satan and the gates of hell have done their worst, yet have they not prevailed against the mount of Sion, nor ever shall. For what else was here to be thought, where so many emperors and tyrants together (Diolesian, Maximian, Galerius Maximinus, Severus, Maxentius, Licinius, with their captains and officers) were let loose, like so many lions, upon a scattered and unarmed flock of sheep, intending nothing else but the utter subversion of all Christianity; especially also when laws were set up in brass against the Christians as a thing perpetually to stand, what was here to be looked for, but a final destruction of the name and religion of Christians? But what followed, partly ye have heard, partly more is to be remarked, as in the account following.

Now let us return to Maxentius again, who all this while reigned at Rome with tyranny and wickedness intolerable, much like another Pharaoh or Nero. For he slew the most part of his noblemen, and took from them their goods; and in his rage he would destroy great multitudes of the people of Rome by his soldiers, as Eusebius declares, lib. 7. cap. 14. Also, he left no mischievous or lascivious act

unattempted, but was the utter enemy of all chastity; he used to send the honest wives, whom he had adulterated, with shame and dishonesty unto their husbands, (being worthy senators,) after that he had ravished them. He abstained from no adulterous act, but was inflamed with the unquenchable lust of deflowering women. Letus declares, that he being that time far in love with a noble and chaste gentlewoman of Rome, sent unto her such courtiers of his as were meet for that purpose, whom also he had in greater estimation than any others, and with such was wont to consult about matters for the commonwealth. These first fell upon her husband, and murdered him within his own house; then, when they could by no means, neither with fear of the tyrant, or with threatening of death, pull her away from him, at length, she being a Christian, desired leave of them to go into her chamber, and, after her prayers, she would do that which they requested: and when she had got into her chamber, under this pretence, she killed herself. But the courtiers, when they saw that the woman tarried so long, and being displeased therewith, broke open the doors, and found her there lying dead. They then returned, and declared this matter to the emperor; who was so far past shame, that, instead of repentance, he was the more inflamed in attempting the like wickedness.

Thus by the grievous tyranny and unspeakable wickedness of this Maxentius, the citizens and senators of Rome, being much grieved and oppressed, sent their complaints by letters unto Constantine, with most hearty petitions, desiring him to help and release their country and city of Rome: who hearing and understanding their miserable and pitiful state, and not a little grieved therewith, first sent by letters to Maxentius, desiring and exhorting him to refrain from his corrupt doings, and great cruelty. But when no letters nor exhortations could prevail, he at length, pitying the woful case of the Romans, gathered together his power and army in Britain and France, therewith to repress the violent rage of that tyrant. Thus Constantine, sufficiently furnished with strength of men, but especially with strength from God, entered on his journey towards Italy, which was about the last year of the persecution, three hundred and eighteen. Maxentius, knowing of the coming of Constantine, and trusting more to his devilish art of magic than to the good-will of his subjects, which he little deserved, durst not shew himself out of the city, nor encounter with him in the open field, but in privy garrisons laid in wait for him by the way, in sundry straits, as he should come. With whom Constantine had many skirmishes, and by the power of the Lord did ever vanquish them, and put them to flight. Notwithstanding, Constantine was yet in no great comfort, but had great fear and dread in his mind (approaching now near unto Rome) for the magical charms and sorceries of Maxentius, wherewith he had vanquished before Severus, sent by Galerius against him, as has been declared, which made also Constantine the more afraid. Wherefore being in great doubt and perplexity in himself, and revolving many things in his mind, what help he might have against the operations of his charming, who used to cut open women great with child, to take his devilish charms by the entrails of the infants, with such other like feats of wickedness which he practised. These things I say, Constantine doubting and revolving in his mind: in his journey drawing towards the city, and casting up his eyes many times to heaven, in the south part, about the going down of the sun, saw a great brightness in heaven, appearing in the similitude of a cross, with certain stars of equal brightness, giving this inscription, like Latin letters: *IN HOC VINCE*; that is, "IN THIS OVERCOME."—Eusebius de Vita Constantini.

lib. 2. Niceph. lib. 7. cap. 29. Eutrop. lib. 11. Sozom. lib. 1. cap. 3.—Socrat. lib. 1. cap. 2. That this miracle is true, and for greater credit, Eusebius Pamphilus, in his first book, *De Vita Constantina*, does moreover witness that he had heard the said Constantine himself often report, and also to swear this to be true and certain, which he did see with his own eyes in heaven, and also his soldiers about him. At the sight whereof when he was greatly astonished, and consulting with his men upon the meaning thereof, behold, in the night season in his sleep, Christ appeared to him with the sign of the same cross which he had seen before, bidding him to make the figure thereof, and to carry it in his wars before him, and so should he at all times have the victory over his enemies.

Wherein is to be noted (good reader) that this sign of the cross, and these letters withal, "*In hoc vince*," was given to him of God, not to induce any superstitious worship or opinion of the cross, as though the cross itself had any such power or strength in it to obtain victory; but only to bear the meaning of another thing, that is, to be an admonition to him, to seek and aspire to the knowledge and faith of him who was crucified upon the cross for the salvation of him, and of all the world, and so to set forth the glory of his name, as afterwards it came to pass. This by the way: now to the matter.

The next day following after this night's vision, Constantine caused a cross after the same form to be made of gold and precious stones, and to be borne before him instead of his standard; and so with much hope of victory, and great confidence, as one armed from heaven, hasted himself towards his enemy.—Against whom Maxentius being constrained by force to issue out of the city, sent all his forces to join with him in the field beyond the river Tiber, where Maxentius craftily breaking down the bridge called Pons Milvius, caused another deceitful bridge to be made of boats and wherries, being joined together, and covered over with boards and planks, in manner of a bridge, thinking therewith to take Constantine as in a trap. But here it came to pass, as in the 7th Psalm is written, "He digged a pit, and fell therein himself: let his working return upon his own head, and his unrighteousness upon his own pate."—Which here in this Maxentius was rightly verified. For after the two hosts did meet, he being not able to sustain the force of Constantine's fighting under the cross of Christ against him, was put to such a flight, and driven to such an exigency, that in retiring back, for haste thinking to get into the city upon the bridge which he did lay for Constantine, was overturned by the fall of his horse into the bottom of the flood, and there with the weight of his armour, he, and a great part of his benten men, were drowned: representing unto us the like example of Pharaoh and his host drowned in the Red Sea, who not unaptly seems to bear a propheticall figuration of this Maxentius. For as the children of Israel were in long thralldom and persecution in Egypt under tyrants there, till the drowning of this Pharaoh, their last persecutor; so was this Maxentius, Maximinus, and Licinius, the last persecutors of the Christians in the Roman monarchy, whom this Constantine, fighting under the cross of Christ, did vanquish, and set the Christians at liberty, who before had been persecuted now three hundred years in Rome, as has been before in this history declared. Wherefore as the Israelites, with their Moses, at the drowning of king Pharaoh sung gloriously unto the Lord, who miraculously had cast down the horse and his men into the sea: so no less rejoicing and exceeding gladness was here, to see the glorious hand of the Lord Christ fighting with his people, and vanquishing his enemies.

In histories we read of many victories and great conquests gotten: yet we never read, nor ever shall, of any victory so wholesome and so opportune to mankind as this was, which made an end of so much bloodshed, and obtained so much liberty and life to the posterity of so many generations. For although some persecution was yet stirring in the eastern country by Maximinus and Licinius, as shall be declared; yet, in Rome, and in all the western parts, no martyr died after this heavenly victory. And also in the eastern parts, the said Constantine, with the above cross borne before him (consequently upon the same) so vanquished the tyrants, and so established the peace of the church, that, for the space of just a thousand years after that, we read of no set persecution against the Christians, unto the time of John Wickliffe, when the bishops of Rome began with fire to persecute the true members of Christ, as in this history shall appear. So happy, so glorious, as I said, was this victory of Constantine, surnamed the Great. For the joy and gladness whereof, the citizens who had sent for him before, with exceeding triumph brought him into the city of Rome, where he with the cross was most honourably received, and celebrated the space of seven days together, having moreover in the market-place his image set up, holding in his right hand the sign of the cross, with this inscription: *Hoc salutari signo, veraci fortitudinis indicio, civitatem nostram jugo tyranni ereptam liberavi*: that is, "With this wholesome sign, the true token of fortitude, I have rescued and delivered our city from the yoke of the tyrant."—Eusebius, lib. 9. cap. 9.

By this heavenly victory of Constantine, and by the death of Maxentius, no little tranquillity came into the church of Christ. Constantine, with his fellow Licinius, being now established in their dominion, soon set forth their general proclamation or edict, not constraining therein any man to any religion, but giving liberty to all men, both for the Christians to persist in their profession without any danger, and for other men freely to join with them, whoever pleased. Which thing was very well taken, and highly approved by the Romans, and all wise men. The copy of the edict or constitution is as follows:

*The Copy of the Imperial Constitution of Constantine and Licinius, for establishing of the free worshipping of God after the Christian Religion.*

"Not long ago, we weighing with ourselves that the liberty and freedom of religion ought not in any case to be prohibited, but that free leave ought to be given to every man to do therein according to his will and mind: we have given commandment to all men to qualify matters of religion as they themselves thought good, and that also the Christians should keep the opinions and faith of their religion: but because that many and sundry opinions by the same, our first license, spring and increase through such liberty granted, we thought good manifestly to add thereunto, and make plain such things, whereby perchance some of them in time to come may from such observance be let or hindered. Wherefore, by prosperous success, I, Constantine Augustus, and I, Licinius Augustus, came to Mediolanum, and there sat in council upon such things as serve for the utility and profit of the commonwealth, these things, amongst others, we thought would be beneficial to all men, yea, and being all other things we proposed to establish those things which the true reverence and worship of God is comprehended: that is, to give unto the Christians free choice to follow what religion they think good, and whereby the same sincerity and celestial grace, which is in every place revealed

may also be received and accepted by all our loving subjects. According therefore unto this our pleasure, upon good advice and sound judgment, we have decreed, that no man so hardly be denied to choose and follow the Christian observance of religion; but that this liberty be given to every man, that he may apply his mind to what religion he thinks meet himself, whereby God may perform upon us all his accustomed care and goodness. To the intent therefore you might know that this is our pleasure, we thought it necessary to write unto you, whereby all such errors and opinions being removed, which in our former letters (being sent unto you in behalf of the Christians) are contained, and which seem very indiscreet and contrary to our clemency, may be frustrated and annihilated. Now therefore firmly and freely we will and command, that every man have a free liberty to observe the Christian religion, and that without any grief or molestation he may be suffered to do the same. These things have we thought good to signify unto you by as plain words as we may, that we have given to the Christians free and absolute power to keep and use their religion. And for so much as this liberty is absolutely given by us unto them, to use and exercise their former observance, if any be disposed, it is manifest that the same helps much to establish the public tranquillity of our time, every man to have license and liberty to use and choose what kind of worshipping he likes himself; and this is done by us only for the intent, that we would have no man to be enforced to one religion more than another. And this thing also, amongst others, we have provided for the Christians, that they may have again the possession of such places, in which heretofore they have been accustomed to make their assemblies: so that if any have bought or purchased the same, either of us, or of any other, the same places, without either money or any other recompense, forthwith and without delay we will to be restored again unto the said Christians. And if any man have obtained the same by gift from us, and shall require any recompense to be made to them in that behalf, then let the Christians repair to the president, being the judge appointed for that place, that consideration may be had of those men by our benignity; all which things we will and command, that you see to be given and restored freely, and with diligence, unto the society of the Christians, all delay set apart. And because the Christians themselves are understood to have had not only those places wherein they were accustomed to resort together, but certain other peculiar places also, not being private to any one man, but belonging to the right of their congregation and society; you shall see also all those to be restored unto the Christians, that is to say, to every fellowship and company of them, according to the decree whereof we have made mention, all delays set apart; provided that the order we have taken in the mean time be observed, that if any (taking no recompense) shall restore the same lands and possessions, they shall not mistrust, but be sure to be saved harmless by us. In all these things it shall be your part to employ your diligence in the behalf of the aforesaid company of the Christians, whereby this our commandment may speedily be accomplished; and also in this case by our clemency the common and public peace may be preserved. For undoubtedly by this means, as before we have said, the good-will and favour of God towards us (whereof in many cases we have had good experience) shall always continue with us. And to the intent that this our constitution may be notified to all men, it shall be requisite that the copy of these our letters be set up in all places, that men may read and know the same, lest any should be ignorant thereof, and our favour fail of its effect.

By these accounts, I doubt not, good reader, but thou dost right well consider and behold with thyself the marvellous working of God's mighty power; to see so many emperors at one time conspire and confederate together against the Lord and Christ his anointed, whose names before we have given, as Dioclesian, Maximinian, Galerius, Maxentius, Maximinus, Severus, and Licinius, who having the subjection of the whole world under their dominion, did bend and extend their whole might and devices to extirpate the name of Christ, and of all Christians. Wherein if the power of man could have prevailed, what could they not do? or what could they do more than they did? If policy or devices could have served, what policy was there wanting? If torments or pains of death could have helped, what cruelty of torment by man could be invented which was not attempted? If laws, edicts, proclamations, written not only in tables, but engraved on brass, could have stood, all this was practised against the weak Christians. And yet notwithstanding, to see how no counsel can stand against the Lord, note here how all these are gone, and yet Christ and his church stand. First, of the taking away of Maximinian you have heard, also of the death of Severus; of the drowning moreover of Maxentius, enough hath been said; what a terrible plague was upon Galerius, has also been described; how Dioclesian, the late emperor, being at Salona, hearing of the proceedings of Constantine, and this edict, either for sorrow died, or, as some say, did poison himself. Only Maximinus now in the eastern parts remained alive, who bare a deadly hatred against the Christians, and no less expressed the same with mortal persecution; to whom Constantine and Licinius caused this constitution of theirs to be delivered. At the sight whereof, although he was somewhat appalled and defeated in his purpose; yet for so much as he saw himself too weak to resist the authority of Constantine and Licinius, the superior princes, he dissembled his counterfeit piety, as though he himself had tendered the quiet of the Christians, directing down a certain decree in their behalf, wherein he pretends to write to Sabinus before-mentioned, first repeating unto him the former decree of Dioclesian and Maximinian in few words, with the commandment therein contained, touching the persecution against the Christians. After that, he recites the decree which he himself made against them, when he came first to the imperial dignity in the eastern part joined with Constantine; then the countermand of another decree of his again, for the rescuing of the Christians, with such feigned and pretended causes as is in the same to be seen. After that he declares, how he coming to Nicomedia, at the suit and supplication of the citizens, (which he also feigned, as may appear before,) he applying to their suit, revoked his former edict, and granted them that no Christians should dwell within their city or territories. Upon which Sabinus also had given forth his letters, rehearsing withal the general countermand sent forth by him, for the persecution again of the Christians. Last of all he sent down again another countermand, with the causes therein contained, touching the safety of the Christians, and tranquillity of them; commanding Sabinus to publish the same. Which edict of his, is at large set forth by Eusebius, lib. 9, cap. 9. But this countermand he then dissembled, as he had done in the other before. Howbeit, shortly after, he making wars, and fighting a battle with Licinius, wherein he lost the victory, coming home again, took great indignation against the priests and prophets of his gods, whom before that time he had great regard unto, and honoured; upon whose answers he trusting, and depending upon their enchantments, began his war against Licinius; but he perceiving himself to be deceived by them, as by wicked enchanters and deceivers, and



such as had betrayed his safety and person, put them to death. And he shortly after, oppressed with a certain disease, glorified the God of the Christians, and made a most absolute law for the safety and preservation of them, with franchise and liberty; the copy whereof ensues:

"Imperator Cæsar, Gaius, Valerius, Maximinus, Germanicus, Pius, Fortunatus, Augustus. It is necessary that we always carefully provide and see unto the benefit and commodity of such as be our subjects, and to exhibit such things unto them, whereby they may best obtain the same. But we suppose that there are none of you so ignorant, but know and understand what things make best for the profit and commodity of the commonwealth, and best please every man's disposition. But it is meet and convenient that every man have recourse to that which they have seen done before their eyes, and that all sorts of men consider the same, and bear it in their minds. When therefore, and that before this time, it came to our knowledge upon the occasion that Dioclesian and Maximian, our progenitors of famous memory, commanded the assemblies and meetings of the Christians to be cut off, there were many of them spoiled and robbed by our officials; which thing we also perceive is now put in practice against our subjects, that they in like case may be spoiled of their goods and substance; which thing chiefly to prevent is our only endeavour. By our letters sent to the governors of our provinces the year past, we ordained, that if any man were disposed to lean unto the Christian religion, he might without any injury done unto him accomplish his desire, neither to be of any man either let or molested, and that he might without any fear or suspicion do whatever he therein thought good. But now also we understand that there are certain judges who have neglected our commandment, and have put our subjects in doubt, whether that has been our pleasure or not; which thing they did, that such men might be the better advised, how they entered into such religion; in doing which they followed their own fancy. To the intent, therefore, that after this all suspicion, doubt, and fear, may be taken away, we have thought good to publish this our edict, whereby it may be made manifest to every man, that it shall be lawful for all such as will follow that religion, by the benefit of this our grant and letters patent, to use what religion they like best: and also hereby we grant to them license to build themselves oratories or temples. And furthermore, that this our grant may more amply extend unto them, we vouchsafe to appoint and ordain, that whatever lands and substance before belonging and appertaining to the Christians, and, by the commandment of our predecessor, were transposed to our revenue and exchequer, or else be in the possession of any city by means of the franchises of the same, or else otherwise sold or given to any man, and every parcel thereof, we command shall be restored unto the proper use of the Christians again, whereby they may all have in this matter more experience of our godly devotion and providence."—Eusebius, lib. 9. cap. 10.

Maximinus then being conquered by Licinius, and also plagued with an incurable disease in his bowels, sent by the hand of God, was compelled by torments and adversity to confess the true God, whom before he regarded not, and to write this edict in the favour of those Christians whom before he did persecute. Thus the Lord makes many times his enemies, he they never so stern and stout, at length to stoop, and in spite of their hearts to confess him, as this Maximinus here did; who not long after, by the vehemency of his disease, ended his life; whereby no more tyrants were now left

alive to trouble the church, but only Licinius. Of which Licinius, and of his persecutions stirred up in the eastern parts against the saints of God, now remains in order of history to prosecute.

This Licinius being born a Dane, and made Cæsar by Galerius, as before specified, was afterwards joined with Constantine in the government of the empire, and in setting forth the edicts which we have described before: however, it seems all this was done by him with a dissembling mind. For so he is in all history described to be, a man passing others in insatiable desire of riches, given to lechery, hasty, stubborn, and furious. To learning he was such an enemy, that he named the same a poison and a common pestilence, and especially the knowledge of the laws. He thought no vice worse became a prince than learning, because he himself was unlearned.—Eutropius, Lætus, Ignatius, Euseb. lib. 3. cap. 13.

There was between him and Constantine in the beginning great familiarity, and such agreement, that Constantine gave unto him his sister Constantia in matrimony, as Aurelius Victor writes. Neither would any man have thought him to have been of any other religion than Constantine was of, he seemed in all things so well to agree with him; whereupon he made a decree with Constantine in behalf of the Christians, as we have shewed; Euseb. lib. 9. cap. 9. And such was Licinius in the beginning; but, after arming himself with tyranny, began to conspire against the person of Constantine, of whom he had received so great benefits; neither favourable to the law of nature, nor mindful of his oaths, his blood, nor promises. But when he considered in his conspiracies that he nothing prevailed, for he saw Constantine was preserved and safely defended by God, and partly being pulled up with the victory against Maximinus, he began vehemently to hate him, and not only to reject the Christian religion, but also deadly to hate the same. He said he would become an enemy to the Christians, for that in their assemblies and meetings they prayed not for him, but for Constantine. Therefore first by little and little, and that secretly, he went about to wrong and hurt the Christians, and banished them his court, who never were by any means prejudicial to his kingdom. Then he commanded that all those should be deprived which were knights of the honourable order, unless they would do sacrifice to devils.—Euseb. lib. 10. cap. 6. The same persecution afterward stretched he from his court into all his provinces, which with most wicked laws he set forth. First, that for no cause the bishops should in any manner communicate together: neither that any man should come to the churches next unto them, or to call any assemblies, and consult for the necessary matters and utility of the church.

After, that the men and women together should not come in companies to pray, nor that the women should come into those places where they used to preach and read the word of God; neither that they should be after that instructed any more by the bishop, but should choose out such women amongst them as should instruct them. The third, the most cruel and wicked of all, was, that none should help and succour those that were cast into prison, nor should bestow any alms or charity upon them, though they should die for hunger; and they who shewed any compassion upon those that were condemned to death, should be as greatly punished as they to whom they shewed the same should be.—Eusebius, libro primo de Vita Constantini.

After this he used violence against the bishops, but not openly, for fear of Constantine, but privily and by insinuation; by which means he slew those that were the most virtuous men amongst the doctors and prelates. And about the year



and other cities of Pontus, he razed the churches even with the ground. Others he shut up, that no man should come after their accustomed manner to pray to and worship God. And from this place in the eastern parts, to the Libyans, which bordered upon the Egyptians, the Christians durst not assemble and come together, for the displeasure of Licinius, which he had conceived against them.—Sozomene, lib. 1. c. 2.

Furthermore, the flattering officers that were under him, thinking by this means to please him, slew and made out of the way many bishops, and without any cause put them to death, as though they had been homicides and heinous offenders; and such rigour used they towards some of them, that they cut their bodies into small pieces in manner of a butcher, and after that threw them into the sea to feed the fishes.—Euseb. lib. 10. cap. 8. What shall we speak of the confiscations of goods, and the exile of virtuous men? For he took by violence every man's substance, and cared not by what means he came by the same; but threatened them with death, unless they would forego the same. He banished those who had committed no evil at all. He commanded that both gentlemen and men of honour should be put out of the way; but not content herewith, he gave their daughters that were unmarried to varlets and wicked ones to be deflowered; and Licinius himself, although by reason of his years his body was spent, yet shamefully did he vitiate many women, men's wives, and maids.—Eus. lib. 1. de Vita Constantina. Which cruel outrage caused many godly men of their own accord to forsake their houses; and it was also seen, that woods, fields, desert places, and mountains, were the habitation and resting places of the poor and miserable Christians.—Euseb. lib. 10. cap. 14. Of those worthy men and famous martyrs who in this persecution found the way to heaven, Nicephorus, lib. 7. cap. 10. first speaks of *Theodorus*, who first being hanged upon the cross, had nails thrust into his arm-pits, and after that, his head struck off. Also of another *Theodorus*, the bishop of Tyre; the third was a man of Perga; *Basilus* also, the bishop of Amasenus; *Nicholaus*, the bishop of Mirorus; *Gregorius*, of Armenia the Great; after that *Paul*, of Neocesarea, who, by the impious commandment of Licinius, had both his hands cut off with a searing iron. Besides these, there were in the city of Sebastia forty worthy men, and Christian soldiers, in the vehement cold of winter, drowned in a horse-pond, when Locias as yet, (of whom we spoke before,) and Agricola, executing the sheriff's office under Licinius in the eastern parts, were alive, and were in great estimation for inventing of new and strange torments against the Christians. The wives of those forty good men were carried to Heraclea, a city in Thracia, and there, with a certain deacon whose name was *Amones*, were, after innumerable torments by them most constantly endured, slain with the sword.—See Nicephorus, also Sozomen in his 9th book and 2d chap. And surely Licinius was determined, had the first face of this persecution fell out according to his desire, to have overrun all the Christians; to which thing neither captivel, good will, nor yet opportunity perhaps, were wanted. But God brought Constantine into those parts where he governed; where, in the wars which he himself began, (knowing very well that Constantine had intelligence of his conspiracy and treason,) joining battle with him, he was overcome. Many battles between them were fought, the first in Hungraria, where Licinius was overthrown; then he fled into Macedonia, and repairing his army, was again discomfited. Finally, being vanquished both by sea and land, he lastly, at Nicomedia, yielded himself to Constantine, and was commanded to live a private life in Thessalia, where at length he was slain by the soldiers.

Thus have ye heard the end and conclusion of all the seven tyrants, who were the authors and workers of this tenth and last persecution against the true people of God. The chief captain and incensor of which persecution was first Dioclesian, who died at Salena, as some say, by his own poison, in the year of our Lord three hundred and nineteen. The next was Maximinian, who, as is said, was hanged by Constantine at Masilia, about the year of our Lord three hundred and ten. Then died Galerius, plagued with an horrible disease sent by God. Severus was slain by Maximinian, father of Maxentius the wicked tyrant, who was overcome and vanquished by Constantine, in the year of our Lord three hundred and eighteen. Maximinius, the sixth tyrant, not long after, being overcome by Licinius, died about the year of our Lord three hundred and twenty. Lastly, how this Licinius was overcome by Constantine, and slain in the year of our Lord three hundred and twenty-four, is before declared. Only Constantius, the father of Constantine, being a good and godly emperor, died in the third year of the persecution, in the year of our Lord three hundred and ten, and was buried at York. After whom succeeded Constantine, his son, as a second Moses sent and set up by God to deliver his people out of this so miserable captivity, into a most joyful liberty.

Now it remains, after the end of these persecutions thus described, to gather up the names and histories of certain particular martyrs, which now are to be set forth, worthy of special memory, for their singular constancy and fortitude shewed in their sufferings and cruel torments. The names of all those who suffered in this aforesaid tenth persecution being endless in number, and in virtue most excellent, it is impossible here to comprehend; but the most notable, from the most approved authors, we shall insert, for the edification of other Christians, who may and ought to look upon their example; first beginning with *Alban*, the first martyr that ever in England suffered death for the name of Christ.

#### *Martyrdom of ALBAN, the first English Martyr.*

At the time Dioclesian and Maximinian, the pagan emperors, had directed out their letters with all severity for the persecuting of the Christians, Alban, being then an infidel, received into his house a certain clerk, flying from the persecutors' hands, whom when Alban beheld continually both day and night to persevere in watching and prayer, suddenly by the great mercy of God he began to imitate the example of his faith and virtuous life; whereupon by little and little, he being instructed by his wholesome exhortation, and leaving the blindness of his idolatry, became at length a perfect Christian. And when the before-named clerk had lodged with him a certain time, it was told the wicked prince, that this good man and confessor of Christ (not yet condemned to death) was harboured in Alban's house, or very near unto him; upon this immediately he gave charge to the soldiers to make more diligent inquisition of the matter: who, as soon as they came to the house of Alban the martyr, by putting on the apparel wherewith his guest was apparelled, (that is, a garment at that time used, called *caracalla*), offered himself instead of the other to the soldiers; who binding him, brought him forth to the judge, who happened at that instant, when blessed Alban was brought unto the judge, they found the same judge at the altar, offering sacrifice unto devils; who, as soon as he saw Alban, straightway in a great rage, that he would presume of his own voluntary will to offer himself to perish, and give himself a prisoner to the soldiers, for safeguard of his great name,

he harboured; and commanded him to be brought before the images of the devils whom he worshipped, saying, "For that thou hadst rather hide and convey away a rebel, than to deliver him to the officers, and that (as a contemner of the gods) he should not suffer punishment for his blasphemy; look, what punishment he should have had, thou for him shalt suffer the same, if I perceive thee any whit to revolt from our manner of worshipping."—But blessed Alban, who of his own accord had confessed to the persecutors that he was a Christian, feared not all the menaces of the prince, but, being armed with the spiritual armour, openly pronounced that he would not obey his commandment. Then said the judge, "Of what stock or kindred art thou come?" Alban answered, "What is that to you? Of what stock soever I came of, if you desire to hear the truth of my religion, I tell you, that I am a Christian, and apply myself altogether to that calling." Then said the judge, "I would know thy name, and see thou tell me the same without delay." Then said he, "My parents named me Alban, and I worship the true and living God, who hath created all the world." Then said the judge, fraught with fury, "If thou wilt enjoy the felicity of this present life, do sacrifice, and that without delay, to these mighty gods."—Alban replied, "These sacrifices, which ye offer unto devils, cannot help them that offer the same: neither yet can they accomplish the desires and prayers of their suppliants: but rather shall they, whatsoever they be that offer sacrifice to these idols, receive for their reward everlasting pains of hell-fire." The judge, when he heard these words, was enraged, and commanded the tormentors to whip this holy confessor of God, endeavouring to overcome the constancy of his heart by stripes, as he could prevail nothing by words. And when he was cruelly beaten, yet suffered he the same patiently, nay, rather joyfully, for the Lord's sake. Then, when the judge saw that he would not with torments be overcome, nor be reduced from the worship of the Christian religion, he commanded him to be beheaded.

As touching the name of the clerk mentioned in this story, whom Alban received into his house, I find in the English histories to be *Amphibalus*, although the Latin authors name him not; who the same time flying into Wales, was brought from thence again to the same town of Verolanium, otherwise called Verlancaſter, where he was martyred, having his belly opened, and made to run about a stake, while all his bowels were drawn out, then thrust in with swords and daggers; and at last was stoned to death, as the legend declares.

Moreover, the same time with Alban suffered also two citizens of the aforesaid city of Verlancaſter, whose names were *Aaron* and *Julius*; besides others, whereof a great number the same time, no doubt, did suffer, although our chronicles make no rehearsal of their names.

The time of the martyrdom of this blessed Alban, and the others, seems to be about the second or third year of this tenth persecution, under the tyranny of Dioclesian and Maximianus, Hercules bearing then the rule in England, about the year of our Lord 301, before the coming of Constantius to his government. Where, by the way, is to be noted, this realm of Britain being so christened before, yet never was touched by any other of the nine persecutions before this tenth persecution of Dioclesian and Maximian. In which persecution, our histories and polychronicon do record, that almost all Christianity in the whole island was destroyed, the churches subverted, all books of the scripture burned, and many of the faithful, both men and women, were slain; of whom the first and chief forerunner, as has been

said, was Alban; and thus much touching the martyrs of Britain.

Now from England to return again unto other countries, where this persecution did more vehemently rage; we will add hereunto the histories of others that suffered in this persecution, whose singular constancy in their strong torments is chiefly renowned in later histories; beginning first with *Romanus*, the notable and admirable soldier and true servant of Christ; whose history set forth in Prudentius does thus proceed, so lamentably by him described, that it will be hard almost for any man with dry cheeks to hear it.

*Martyrdom of ROMANUS, and a Child seven years of age.*

Pitiless Galerius, with his grand captain Asclepiades, violently invaded the city of Antioch, intending by force of arms to drive all Christians to renounce utterly their pure religion. The Christians, as God would, were at that time assembled together: to whom Romanus hastily ran, declaring that the wolves were at hand, who would devour the Christian flock. "But fear not, (said he,) neither let this imminent peril disturb you, my brethren." Thus was it brought to pass, by the great grace of God working in Romanus, that old men and matrons, young men and maidens, were all of one will and mind, most ready to shed their blood in defence of their Christian profession. Word was brought unto the captain that the band of armed soldiers was not able to wrest the staff of faith out of the hand of the armed congregation, and all by reason that one Romanus so mightily did encourage them, that they feared not to offer their naked throats, wishing gloriously to die for the name of their Christ. "Seek out that rebel, (says the captain,) and bring him to me, that he may answer for the whole sect." Apprehended he was, and, bound as a sheep appointed to the slaughter-house, was presented to the emperor, who with wrathful countenance beholding him, said, "What! art thou the author of this sedition? Art thou the cause why so many shall lose their lives? By the gods! I swear thou shalt smart for it, and first in thy flesh thou shalt suffer the pains, whereunto thou hast encouraged the hearts of thy fellows." Romanus answered, "Thy sentence, O emperor, I joyfully embrace; I refuse not to be sacrificed for my brethren, and that by as cruel means as thou canst invent; and whereas thy soldiers were repelled from the Christian congregation, that so happened because it lay not in idolaters and worshippers of devils to enter into the holy house of God, and to pollute the place of true prayer. Then Asclepiades, wholly inflamed with this stout answer, commanded him to be trussed up, and his bowels drawn out. The executioners themselves, more pitiful in heart than the captain, said, "Not so, sir, this man is of noble parentage; it is unlawful to put a nobleman to so disgraceful a death." "Scourge him then with whips (said the captain) with heads of lead at the ends." Instead of tears, sighs, and groans, Romanus sung psalms all the time of his whipping, requiring them not to favour him for nobility sake: "Not the blood of my progenitors, (said he,) but Christian profession, makes me noble." Then with great power of spirit he inveighed against the captain, laughing to scorn the false gods of the heathen, with the idolatrous worshipping of them, affirming the God of the Christians to be the true God, that created heaven and earth, before whose judicial seat all nations shall appear. But the wholesome words of the martyr were as oil to the fire of the captain's fury. The more the martyr spoke, the madder was he, insomuch that he commanded the martyr's sides to be lanced with knives, until the bones appeared.

again. "Sorry am I, O captain, (quoth the martyr,) not that my flesh shall be thus cut and mangled, but for thy cause am I sorrowful, who being corrupted with damnable errors, seducest others." The second time he preached at large the living God, the Lord Jesus Christ his well-beloved Son, and eternal life through faith in his blood, expressing therewith the abomination of idolatry, with a vehement exhortation to worship and adore the living God. At these words Asclepiades commanded the tormentors to strike Romanus on the mouth, that his teeth being struck out, his pronunciation, at least, might be impaired. The commandment was obeyed, his face buffeted, his eyelids torn with their nails, his cheeks scotched with knives, the hair of his beard was plucked by little and little from the flesh; finally, his comely face was wholly disfigured. The meek martyr said, "I thank thee, O captain, that thou hast opened unto me many mouths, wherewith I may preach my Lord and Saviour Christ. Look how many wounds I have; so many mouths I have lauding and praising God." The captain, astonished with his singular constancy, commanded them to cease from the tortures. He threatened cruel fire, he reviled the noble martyr, he blasphemed God, saying, "Thy crucified Christ is but a yesterday's god; the gods of the Gentiles are of most antiquity."

Here again Romanus taking good occasion, made a long oration of the eternity of Christ, of his human nature, of the death and satisfaction of Christ for all mankind. Which done, he said, "Give me a child, O captain, but seven years of age, which age is free from malice and other vices wherewith riper age is commonly infected, and thou shalt hear what he will say." His request was granted; and a pretty boy was called out of the multitude, and set before him. "Tell me, my babe, (says the martyr,) whether thou think it reasonable that we worship one Christ, and in Christ one Father, or else that we worship infinite gods?" Unto whom the babe answered, "That certainly, whatsoever it be that men affirm to be God, must needs be one; which one, is one and the same; and insomuch as this one is Christ, of necessity Christ must be the true God: for that there be many gods, we children cannot believe." The captain hereat quite amazed, said, "Thou young villain and traitor, where and of whom learned thou this lesson?"—"Of my mother, (said the child,) with whose milk I sucked in this lesson, that I must believe in Christ." The mother was called, and she gladly appeared. The captain commanded the child to be horsed up, and scourged. The pitiful beholders of this pitiless act could not refrain themselves from tears; the joyful and glad mother alone stood by with dry cheeks; yea, she rebuked her sweet babe for craving a draught of cold water; she charged him to thirst after the cup that the infants of Bethlehem once drank of, forgetting their mother's milk and breasts; she desired him to remember little Isaac, who beholding the sword wherewith, and the altar whereon, he should be sacrificed, willingly proffered his tender neck to the edge of his father's sword. While this counsel was in giving, the butchering tormentor plucked the skin from the crown of his head, hair and all. The mother cried, "Suffer, my child; soon thou shalt pass to him that will adorn thy naked head with a crown of eternal glory." The mother counsels, and the child is persuaded; she encourages, and the babe is strengthened, and receives the stripes with a smiling countenance. The captain perceiving the child invincible, and himself vanquished, commits the simple soul, the blessed babe, the child uncherished, to the stinking prison, committing the torments of Romanus to be renewed and increased, as chief author of this evil.

Thus was Romanus brought forth again to new stripes and

punishments, to be renewed and received upon his old sores, insomuch that the bare bones appeared, the flesh being all torn away; wherein no pity was shewn, but the raging tyrant, puffing out of his blasphemous mouth like a madman, cried out to the tormentors, saying, "Where is your strength? What, cannot ye kill one body, which is scarcely able to stand upright? Shall he still in despite of us continue to live? He scorns our gods; therefore use every species of torture, and put an end to his life."

Yea, no longer could the tyrant forbear, but needs must draw nearer to the sentence of death. "Is it painful to thee (said he) to tarry so long alive? A flaming fire, doubt thou not, shall be prepared for thee by and by, wherein thou and that boy, thy fellow of rebellion, shall be consumed into ashes." Romanus and the babe were led to the place of execution. As they laid hands on Romanus, he looked back, saying, "I appeal from this thy tyranny, O judge unjust, unto the righteous throne of Christ, that upright Judge; not because I fear thy cruel torments and merciless handlings, but that thy judgments may be known to be cruel and bloody." Now, when they were come to the place, the tormentors required the child from the mother, for she had taken it up in her arms; and she, only kissing it, delivered the babe. "Farewell (she said) my sweet child." And as the hangman applied his sword to the child's neck, she sung on this manner: "Praise be to the name of the Lord, in whose sight the death of his saints is precious."

The innocent's head being cut off, the mother wrapped it up in her garment, and laid it on her breast. On the other side a mighty fire was made, whereinto Romanus was cast; who said that he should not burn; wherewith a great storm, it is said, arose, and quenched the fire. The captain gave in commandment that his tongue should be cut out. Out it was plucked by the hard roots, and cut off; nevertheless he spoke, saying, "He that speaks Christ shall never want a tongue: think not that the voice that utters Christ has need of the tongue to be the minister."—The captain, at this, half out of his wits, asserted that the hangman deceived the sight of the people by some subtle sleight and crafty conveyance. "Not so, (said the hangman,) if you suspect my deed, open his mouth, and diligently search the roots of his tongue." The captain, at length being confounded with the fortitude and courage of the martyr, straitly commanded him to be brought back into the prison, and there to be strangled.—Where his sorrowful life and pains being ended, he now enjoys quiet rest in the Lord, with perpetual hope of his miserable body being restored again, with his soul, into a better life, where no tyrant shall have any power.—*Prudentius in Hymnis de Coronis Martyrum.*

### *Martyrdom of GORDIUS.*

Gordius was a citizen of Cesarea, a worthy soldier, and a captain of an hundred men. He, in the time of extreme persecution, refusing any longer to execute his charge, did choose of his own accord willing exile, and lived in the desert many years a religious and a solitary life. But upon a certain day, when a solemn feast of Mars was celebrated in the city of Cesarea, and much people were assembled in the theatre to behold the games, he left the desert, and got him up into the chief place of the theatre, and with a loud voice uttered this saying of the apostle, "Behold, I am found of them which sought me not, and to them which asked not for me have I openly appeared."—By which words he let it be understood, that of his own accord he came to those games. At this noise, the multitude, little regarding

the sights, looked about to see who it was that made such exclamation. As soon as it was known to be Gordius, and that the crier had commanded silence, he was brought unto the sheriff, who at that instant was present, and ordained the games. When he was asked the question who he was, from whence, and for what occasion he came thither? he told the truth of every thing as it was. "I am come (said he) to publish, that I set nothing by your decrees against the Christian religion, but that I profess Jesus Christ to be my hope and safety; and when I understood with what cruelty ye handled other men, I took this as a fit time to accomplish my desire." The sheriff with these words was greatly moved, and revenged all his displeasure upon poor Gordius, commanding the executioners to be brought out with scourges, while a gibbet, and whatever torments else, should be devised. Whereunto Gordius answered, saying, "That it should be to him an hinderance and damage, if he could not suffer and endure divers torments and punishments for Christ's cause." The sheriff being more offended with his boldness, commanded him to feel as many kinds of torments as there were. With all which, notwithstanding, Gordius could not be mastered or overcome; but lifting up his eyes unto heaven, sung this saying out of the Psalms, "The Lord is my helper, I will not fear what man can do to me;" and also this saying, "I will fear none evil, because thou, Lord, art with me."

After this, he against himself provoked the extremity of his tormentors, and blamed them if they favoured him any thing at all. When the sheriff saw that hereby he could gain but little, he goes about by gentleness and enticing words to turn the stout and valiant mind of Gordius. He promises to him great and large offers, if he will deny Christ: as, to make him a captain of as many men as any other is, to give him riches, treasure, and what other thing soever he desired. But in vain (as the proverb is) piped the minstrel to him that had no ears to hear; for he, deriding the foolish madness of the magistrate, said, "That it lay not in him to place any in authority, who are worthy to have a place in heaven." The magistrate, with these words thoroughly angered and vexed, prepared himself to his condemnation; whom after that he had condemned, he caused to be taken out of the city to be burned. There ran out of the city great multitudes in crowds to see him put to execution; some take him in their arms, and lovingly kiss him, persuading him to take a better way, and save himself, and that with tears. To whom Gordius answered, "Weep not, I pray you, for me, but rather for the enemies of God, who always make war against the Christians; weep, I say, for them who prepare for us a fire, purchasing hell-fire for themselves in the day of vengeance; cease, I pray you, to molest and disquiet my settled mind. Truly, I am ready for the name of Christ to suffer and endure a thousand deaths, if need were." Some others came unto him, who persuaded him to deny Christ with his mouth, and to keep his conscience to himself; but this witness for the truth was a stranger to jesuitical reservations, and would not save his life by dissimulation: "My tongue (said he) which by the goodness of God I have, cannot be brought to deny the author and giver of the same; for with the heart we believe unto righteousness, and with the tongue we confess unto salvation." Many more such like words he spake; but especially uttering to them such matter whereby he might persuade the beholders to death, and to the desire of martyrdom. After all which, with a cheerful and glad countenance, never changing so much as his colour, willingly gave himself to be burnt.—*Sermon in Sermonem in Gordium Militem Cæsariensem.*

### *Martyrdom of MENAS*

Not much unlike to the story of Gordius is that also of *Menas*, an Egyptian, who being likewise a soldier by his profession, in this persecution of Dioclesian forsook all, and went into the desert, where a long time he gave himself to abstinence, watching, and meditation of the scriptures. At length returning again to the city Cotis, there in the open theatre, as the people were occupied upon their spectacles or pastimes, he with a loud voice openly proclaimed himself to be a Christian; and upon the same was brought to Pyrrhus, the president. Of whom being demanded of his faith, made this answer: "Convenient it is that I should (said he) confess God, in whom is light and no darkness; forasmuch as Paul doth teach, that with heart we believe to righteousness, and with mouth confession is made to salvation." After this the innocent martyr was most painfully pinched and tormented with sundry punishments. In all which, notwithstanding, he declared a constant heart and faith invincible, having these words in his mouth, being in the midst of his torments: "There is nothing that can be compared to the kingdom of heaven; neither is all the world, if it were weighed in the balance, able to be compared with the price of one soul. Who is able to separate us from the love of Jesus Christ our Lord? shall affliction or anguish? I have thus learned of my Lord and my King, not to fear them which kill the body, and have no power to kill the soul; but to fear him rather, who hath power to destroy both body and soul in hell-fire." To make the story short, after manifold torments, when the last sentence of death was pronounced upon him, (which was to be beheaded,) *Menas* being then taken to the place of execution, said, "I give thee thanks, my Lord God, who hast so accepted me to be found a partaker of thy precious death, and hast not given me to be devoured by my fierce enemies, but hast made me to remain constant in thy pure faith unto this my latter end." And so this blessed soldier, fighting valiantly under the banner of Christ, lost his head, and saved his soul.—*Simeon Metaphrast. tom. 5.*

### *Martyrdom of Forty SOLDIERS.*

*Basilus*, in a certain sermon of forty martyrs, rehearses this story, not unworthy to be noted. There came, said he, unto a certain place (of which place he makes no mention) the emperor's marshal or officer, with the edict which the emperor had set out against the Christians, that whosoever confessed Christ should after many torments suffer death. And first they did privily suborn certain who should detect and accuse the Christians whom they found out, or had long wait for. Upon this, the sword, the gibbet, the wheel, and the whips, were brought forth; at the terrible sight whereof the hearts of all the beholders did shake and tremble. Some for fear did fly, some did stand in doubt what to do; certain were so terrified at the beholding of these engines and tormenting instruments, that they denied their faith. Some others began the trial, and for a time did abide the conflict and agony of martyrdom; but vanquished at length by the intolerable pain for their torments, made shipwreck of their consciences, and lost the glory of their confession. Among others there were at that time forty young gentlemen, all soldiers, who, after the marshal had showed the emperor's edict, and required of all men the obedience of the same, freely and boldly of their own accord confessed themselves to be Christians, and declared their names. The marshal, somewhat amazed at this bold



boldness of speech, stood in doubt what was best to do. Yet forthwith he goes about to win them with fair words, advising them to consider their youth, neither that they should change a sweet and pleasant life for a cruel and untimely death; after that, he promised them money and honourable offices in the emperor's name. But they, little esteeming all these things, broke forth into a bold and long oration, affirming that they neither did desire life, dignity, nor money, but only the celestial kingdom of Christ; saying further, that they were ready, for the love and faith they had in God, to endure the affliction of the wheel, the cross, and the fire. The rude marshal being herewith offended, devised a new kind of punishment: he spied out in the middle of the city a certain great pond, which lay full upon the cold northern wind, (for it was in the winter time,) wherein he caused them to be put all that night; but they being joyful, and comforting one another, received this their appointed punishment, and said, as they were putting off their clothes, "We put off now not our clothes, but we put off the old man, corrupt with the deceit of concupiscence: we give thee thanks, O Lord, that with this our apparel we may also put off, by thy grace, the sinful man; for by means of the serpent we once put him on, and by means of Jesus Christ we now put him off." When they had thus said, they were brought naked into the place, where they were left, most extremely cold, in such that all parts of their bodies were stark and stiff therewith. As soon as it was day, they, yet having breath, were brought into the fire, wherein they were consumed, and their ashes thrown into the flood. By chance there was one of the company more alive, and not so near dead as the rest; of whom the executioner taking pity, said unto his mother, standing by, that they would save his life. But she, with her own hands taking up her son, brought him to the pile of wood, where the remainder of his companions lay ready to be burned; and admonished him to accomplish the blessed journey he had taken in hand with his companions.—Basil.

#### *Martyrdom of St. CYRUS.*

In this fellowship and company of martyrs cannot be left out and forgot the story of *Cyrus*. This *Cyrus* was a physician, born in Alexandria, who flying into Egypt in the persecution of Dioclesian and Maximinian, led a solitary life in Arabia, being much spoken of for his learning and miracles, unto whose company, after a certain time, did *Johannes*, born in the city of Edessa, beyond the river Euphrates, join himself, leaving the soldier's life, which before that time he had exercised. But whilst as yet the same persecution raged in a city in Egypt, called Canope, there was cast into prison for the confession of their faith a certain godly Christian woman called *Athanasia* and her, three daughters, *Theodista*, *Theodota*, and *Eudoxia*, with whom *Cyrus* was well acquainted: for whose infirmities he much fearing, accompanied by his brother *John*, came and assisted them for their better confirmation. At which time *Lirianus* was chief captain and lieutenant of Egypt; of whose wickedness and cruelty, especially against women and maidens, *Athanasius* makes mention in his Apologies, and in his Epistle to those that lead a solitary life. This *Cyrus* therefore and *Johannes*, being accused and apprehended by the heathens, (as by whose persuasions the maidens and daughters of *Athanasia* contumeliously despised the gods and the emperor's religion, and could by no means be brought to do sacrifice,) were, after the publication of their constant confession, put to death by the sword; *Athanasia* also, and her three daughters, being condemned to death.—Simeon Metaphrastes.

#### *Martyrdom of St. SEBASTIAN.*

*Sebastian*, being born in that part of France called Gallia Narbonensis, was a Christian, and was lieutenant-general of the vaward of Dioclesian the emperor; who also encouraged many martyrs of Christ by his exhortations unto constancy, and kept them in the faith. He being therefore accused to the emperor, was commanded to be apprehended, and that he should be brought into the open field, where by his own soldiers he was thrust through the body with innumerable arrows; and after that his body was thrown into a ditch or sink. Ambrosius makes mention of this *Sebastian* the martyr, in his Commentary on the hundred and eighteenth psalm; and Simeon Metaphrastes, among other martyrs that suffered with *Sebastian*, numbers also these following: *Nicostratos*, with *Zoe* his wife, *Tranquillinus*, with *Martia* his wife, *Traglinus*, *Claudius*, *Castor*, *Tibertius*, *Castellus*, *Marcus*, and *Marcellinus*, with many others.

#### *Martyrdom of BARLAAM.*

*Basilus*, in another sermon, also makes mention of one *Barlaam*, being a noble and famous martyr, who abode all the torments of the executioners even to the point of death; which thing when the tormentors saw, they brought him and laid him upon the altar, where they used to offer sacrifices to their idols, and put fire and frankincense into his right hand, wherein he had some strength, (thinking that the same, by the heat and force of the fire, would have scattered the burning incense upon the altar, and so have sacrificed. But of that hope the iniquitous tormentors were disappointed; for the flame devoured round about his hand, and the same endured, although it was covered with hot embers; when *Barlaam* recited out of the Psalms this saying, "Blessed is the Lord my God, who teacheth my hands to fight."

#### *Martyrdom of AGRICOLA and VITALIS.*

To this narration of *Basilus* touching the martyrdom of *Barlaam*, we will annex another story of Ambrose. Making an exhortation to certain virgins, in the same oration commends the martyrdom of *Agricola* and *Vitalis*, who suffered also in the same persecution under Dioclesian and Maximinian (as they affirm) at Bononny. This *Vitalis* was servant to *Agricola*, who both together between themselves had made a compact to give their lives with other martyrs for the name of Christ. Whereupon *Vitalis* being sent before by his master, to offer himself to martyrdom, fell first into the hands of persecutors, who laboured about him by all means to cause him to deny Christ. Which when he would in no case do, but stoutly persisted in the confession of his faith, they began to exercise him with all kinds of torments so unmercifully, that there was no whole skin left on all his body; so, *Vitalis*, in the midst of the agony and painful torments, after he had in a short prayer commended himself to God, gave up his life. After him, the tormentor set upon *Agricola* his master, whose virtuous manners and courteous carriage, because they were singularly well liked, and known to the enemies, his sufferings therefore were the longer deferred. But *Agricola*, not abiding this long delay and putting off, and provoking moreover the adversaries to quicker speed, at length was fastened unto the cross, and so finished his martyrdom, which he so long desired.

#### *Martyrdom of VINCENTIUS.*

No less worthy of commemoration is the lamentable martyrdom of *Vincentius*, whose history here follows. This *Vin-*



centius was a Spaniard, and a Levite most godly and virtuous, who at this time suffered martyrdom at Vulture, under Dacianus the president, as we may gather from Prudentius, in his hymn.—Bergomensis, in his supplement, recites these words concerning his martyrdom, out of a certain sermon of St. Augustine: Our heart conceived not a vain and fruitless sight, as it were, in beholding of lamentable tragedies; but certainly a great sight and marvellous, and there with singular pleasure received it, when the painful passion of victorious Vincentius was read unto us. Is there any so heavy hearted, that will not be moved in the contemplation of this immoveable martyr, so manly, or rather so godly, fighting against the craft and subtlety of that serpent, against the tyranny of Dacianus, against the horrors of death, and by the mighty Spirit of his God conquering all? But let us in few words rehearse the degrees of his torments, though the pains thereof in many words cannot be expressed. First, Dacianus caused the martyr to be laid upon the torture, and all the joints of his body to be distended and racked out, until they cracked again. This being done in a most extreme and cruel manner, all the members of his painful and pitiful body were grievously indented with deadly wounds.—Thirdly, that his pains and griefs might be augmented, they miserably vexed his flesh with iron combs sharply filed; and to the end the tormentors might vomit out all their vengeance on the meek and mild martyr's flesh, the tormentors themselves were also vilely scourged at the president's commandment.—And lest his passion through want of pains might seem imperfect, or else too easy, they laid his body, being all out of joint, upon a grate of iron; which, when they had opened with iron hooks, they seared it with fiery plates, with hot burning salt sprinkling the same. Last of all, into a vile dungeon was this mighty martyr drawn, the floor whereof was thick spread with the sharpest shells that could be gotten; his feet then being fast locked in the stocks, there was he left alone without any worldly comfort. But the Lord his God was with him, the Holy Spirit of God (whose office is to comfort the godly afflicted) filled his heart with joy and gladness. Hast thou prepared a terrible rack, O cruel tyrant! O devouring lion! for the martyr's bed? the Lord shall make that bed soft and sweet unto him. Rackest thou his bones and joints all asunder? his bones, his joints, his hairs, are all numbered. Tormentest thou his flesh with mortal wounds? the Lord shall pour abundantly into all his sores his oil of gladness. Thy scraping combs, thy sharp flesh-hooks, thine hot searing-irons, thy parched salt, thy stinking prison, thy cutting shells, thy pinching stocks, shall turn to this patient martyr for the best; altogether shall work contrary to thine expectation; great plenty of joy shall he reap into the barn of his soul, out of this mighty harvest of pains that thou hast brought him into. Yea, thou shalt prove him Vincentius indeed; that is, a vanquisher, a triumpher, a conqueror, subduing thy madness by his meekness, thy tyranny by his patience, thy manifold means of torture by the manifold graces of God, wherewith he is plentifully enriched.

In this catalogue or company of such holy martyrs as suffered in this aforesaid tenth persecution, many more, and almost innumerable, there are expressed in authors, besides those whom we have hitherto comprehended; as *Philoromus*, a man of noble birth and great possessions in Alexandria, who, being persuaded by his friends to favour himself, to respect his wife, to consider his children and family, did not only reject the counsel of them all, but also neglected the threats and torments of the judge, to keep the confession of

Christ inviolate unto death, and losing of his head.—Euseb. lib. 8. cap. 9. Niceph. lib. 7. cap. 9. Of whom Eusebius bears witness, that he was there present himself.

Of like estate and dignity was also *Procopius*, in Palestine, who, after his conversion, broke his images of silver and gold, and distributed the same to the poor; and after all kinds of torments, of racking, of cording, of tearing his flesh, of goring and stabbing, of firing, at length had his head almost smitten off; as witnesses Nicephorus, lib. 8. cap. 15.

To this may be joined also *Georgius*, a young man of Cappadocia, who stoutly inveighing against the impious idolatry of the emperors, was apprehended and cast into prison, then torn with hooked irons, burnt with hot lime, stretched with cords; after that, his hands and feet, with other members of his body, being cut off, at last by a sword lost his head.—Niceph. *ibid*.

### *Martyrdom of CASSIANUS.*

It were too long a work of trouble to relate all and singular names of them particularly, whom this persecution of Dioclesian did consume; the number of whom being almost infinite, is not to be collected or expressed. One story yet remains not to be forgotten, of *Cassianus*, whose pitiful history being described by Prudentius, we have here inserted, rendering metre for metre, as follows:

Through Forum, as in Italy,  
I passed once to Rome,  
Into a church by chance came I,  
And stood fast by a tomb;  
Which church some time a place had been,  
Where causes great in law  
Were scann'd, and tried, and judgment given,  
To keep bad men in awe.  
This place Sylla Cornelius  
First built, he rais'd the frame,  
And called the same *Forum*, and thus  
That city took the name.  
In prayer fervent as I stood,  
Casting mine eye aside,  
A picture in full piteous mood,  
Imbrued, by chance I spied;  
A thousand wounded marks full bad,  
All mangled, rent, and torn;  
The skin appear'd as though it had  
Been jagg'd and prick'd with thorn.  
A school of pictur'd boys did band  
About that loathsome sight,  
That with their sharpen'd goads in hand,  
His members thus had dight.  
These goads were but their pens, wherewith  
Their tables written were,  
And such as often scholars sith  
Unto the schools do bear.  
Whom thou seest here thus pictur'd sit,  
And firmly dost behold,  
No fable is, I do thee wit,  
Unask'd a prelate told  
That walk'd thereby; but doth declare  
The history of one,  
Which written, would good record bear,  
What faith was long ago.  
A skilful schoolmaster this was,  
That here sometime did teach;

The bishop once of Brixia was,  
 And Christ full plain did preach.  
 He knew well how to comprehend  
 Long talk in a few lines,  
 And it at length how to amend,  
 By order and by times.  
 His sharp precepts, and his stern looks,  
 His beardless boys did fear,  
 When hate in heart yet for their books  
 Full deadly they did bear.  
 The child that learns, I do ye weet,  
 Terms aye his tutor cruel;  
 No discipline in youth seems sweet,  
 Count this a common rule.  
 Behold the raging time now here,  
 Oppressing so the faith,  
 Doth persecute God's children dear,  
 And all that Christ bewraith.  
 This trusty teacher of the swarm  
 Profess'd the living God;  
 The chief good thing they count their harm,  
 Perhaps he shakes his rod.  
 What rebel, ask'd the president,  
 Is he I hear so loud?  
 Unto our youth an instrument,  
 They say, and low they bow'd.  
 Go, bring the caitiff forth, he bids,  
 And make no long delay;  
 Let him be set the boys amidst:  
 (They do as he doth say.)  
 Let him be given unto them all,  
 And let them have their will,  
 To do to him what spite they shall,  
 So that they will him kill.  
 Even as they list let them him fray,  
 And him deride so long,  
 Till weariness provokes their play,  
 No longer to prolong.  
 Let them, I say, then uncontroll'd  
 Both prick and scotch his skin;  
 To bathe their hands let them be bold,  
 In the hot blood of him.  
 The scholars hereat made great game,  
 (It pleaseth them full well.)  
 That they may kill and quench the flame  
 They thought to them a hell.  
 They bind his hands behind his back,  
 And naked they him strip;  
 In bodkin wise at him they pack,  
 They laugh to see him skip.  
 The private hate that each one hath  
 In heart, it now appears;  
 They pour it out in gawdy wrath,  
 They wreak them of their tears.  
 Some cast great stones, some others break  
 Their tables on his face;  
 Lo, here thy Latin and thy Greek!  
 (O barren boys of grace!)  
 The blood runs down his cheek, and doth  
 Imbrue the boxen leams,  
 Where notes by them were made (tho' loath)  
 And well proponed themes.  
 Some whet, some sharp their pencils' points,  
 Serving to write withal;  
 Some others gage his flesh and joints,  
 As with a pointed nail.

Sometimes they prick, sometimes they rent,  
 This worthy martyr's flesh;  
 And thus by turns they do torment  
 This confessor afresh.  
 Now all with one consent on him  
 Their bloody hands they lay;  
 To see the blood from limb to limb  
 Drop down, they make a play.  
 More painful was the pricking pang  
 Of children, oft and thick,  
 Than of the bigger boys that stand,  
 And near the heart did stick;  
 For by the feeble strokes of th' one,  
 Death was denied his will,  
 Of smart that made him woe begone,  
 He had the better skill.  
 The deeper strokes the great ones gave,  
 And nearer touch'd the quick;  
 The welcomer he thought the same,  
 Whom longing death made sick.  
 God make you strong (he saith) I pray,  
 God give you might at will,  
 And what you want in years, I say,  
 Let cruelty fulfil.  
 But whilst the hangman breatheth still,  
 And me with you doth match,  
 That weakly work, yet want no will  
 My life for to despatch,  
 My griefs wax great.—What, groan'st thou now?  
 Said some of them again,  
 In school advised well art thou  
 Whom there thou putt'st to pain?  
 Behold we pay, and now make good,  
 As many thousand stripes,  
 As when with weeping eyes we stood  
 In danger of thy gripes.  
 Art thou now angry at thy band,  
 That always criest, Write, write!  
 And never wouldst that our right hand  
 Should rest in quiet plight?  
 We had forgot our playing times,  
 Thou churl! deniedst us of:  
 We now but prick and point our lines!  
 (Now thus they grin and scoff.)  
 Correct, good sir, your viewed verse,  
 If ought amiss there be:  
 Now use thy power, and them rehearse,  
 That have not marked thee!  
 Christ, pitying this groaning man,  
 With torments torn and tir'd,  
 Commands his heart to break e'en then;  
 And life, that was but hir'd,  
 He yields again to him that gave;  
 And thus he makes exchange,  
 Immortal for mortal to have,  
 That in such pain did range.  
 That is, said he, that sad Picture,  
 Thou dost behold, O guest,  
 Of Cassianus, martyr pure,  
 Doth preach, I do protest.  
 If thou prudence have aught in store,  
 In piety to deal,  
 In hope of just reward, therefore,  
 Now shew thy loving zeal.  
 I could not but consent; I weep,  
 His tomb I do embrace:

Home I return, and after sleep,  
 This pitiful preface  
 I write as a memorial,  
 For ever to endure,  
 Of Cassianus, schoolmaster,  
 All others to allure  
 To constancy under the cross  
 Of their profession :  
 Accounting gain whatever loss  
 For Christ they take upon.

*Martyrdom of EULALIA.*

No less admirable than wonderful was the constancy also of women and maidens, who in the same persecution gave their bodies to the tormentors, and their lives for the testimony of Christ, with no less boldness of spirit than did the men above specified; who, being much more inferior in bodily strength, are so much more worthy of praise for their constancy. Of whom we shall give some examples, such as in our histories and chronicles seem most notable, first beginning with *Eulalia*, whose history we have taken out of the aforesaid Prudentius.

In Portugal is a city great and populous, named Emerita, wherein dwelt and was brought up a virgin, born of noble parentage, whose name was Eulalia; which Emerita, although for the situation thereof was both rich and famous, yet more adorned and famous was the renown thereof, by the martyrdom, blood, and sepulchre, of this blessed virgin. She was not much above twelve years of age, when she refused great and honourable offers in marriage; as one not used to, nor yet delighting in, courtly dalliance, neither taking pleasure in purple and gorgeous apparel, nor in precious balms, nor costly ornaments and jewels: but forsaking and despising all these and such like pompous allurements, she shewed herself most busy in preparing her journey to her hoped inheritance, and heavenly patronage. Which Eulalia, as she was modest and discreet in behaviour, and sage and sober in her conduct; so was she also witty and sharp in answering her enemies. But when the furious rage of persecution enforced her to join herself amongst God's children in the household of faith, and when the Christians were commanded to offer incense and sacrifice to devils and dead gods; then began the blessed spirit of Eulalia to kindle, and being of a prompt and ready wit, thought forthwith (as a courageous captain) to give a charge upon this so great and disordered a battle: and so she, weak woman, pouring out the feelings of her innocent heart before God, more provoked thereby the force and rage of her enemies against her. But the godly care of her parents, fearing lest the willing mind of this damsel, so ready to die for Christ's cause, might make her guilty of her own death, hid her, and kept her close at her house in the country, being a great way out of the city. She not liking that quiet life, and also detesting to make such delay, softly stole out of the doors in the night; and in great haste leaving the common way, opened the hedge-gaps, and with weary feet passed through the thorny and briery places, yet accompanied with spiritual guard. And although dark and dreadful was the silent night, yet had she with her the Lord and guider of light. And as the children of Israel, coming out of Egypt, had by the mighty power of God a cloudy pillar for their guide in the day, and a flame of fire in the night; so had this godly virgin, travelling in this dark night, when she, flying and forsaking the place where all idolatry abounded, and hastened her heavenly journey, was not oppressed with the dreadful darkness of the night.

In the morning betime, with a bold courage she went to

the tribunal or judgment-seat, and in the midst of them all, with a loud voice crying out, said, "I pray you, what a shame is it for you thus rashly and without inquiry to destroy and kill men's souls, and to throw their bodies alive against the rocks, and cause them to deny the omnipotent God? Would you know, O you unfortunate! what I am? Behold, I am one of the Christians, an enemy to your devilish sacrifices! I spurn your idols under my feet, I confess God omnipotent with my heart and mouth.—Isis, Apollo, and Venus, what are they? Maximinus himself, what is he? The one a thing of nought, for they are the work of men's hands; the other but a cast-away, because he worships the same work. Therefore frivolous are they both, and both not worthy of regard. Maximinus is a lord of substance, and yet he himself falls down before a stone, and vows the honour of his dignity unto those that are much inferior to his vassals. Why then does he oppress so tyrannically persons more worthy than himself? He must needs be a good guide and an upright judge, who feeds upon innocent blood, and breathing in the bodies of godly men, does rend and tear their bowels! and besides, delights in destroying and subverting the faith!"

"Go to therefore, thou hangman; burn, cut, and mangle thou, these earthly members. It is an easy matter to break a brittle substance, but the inward mind shalt thou not hurt for any thing thou canst do."—The prætor or judge then, at these words of her's put into a great rage, said, "Hangman, take her and pull her out by the hair of her head, and torment her to the uttermost; let her feel the power of our country gods, and let her know what the imperial government of a prince is. But yet, O thou sturdy girl, fain would I have thee, if it were possible, before thou die, to revoke this thy wickedness. Behold what pleasures thou mayest enjoy in the honourable house thou camest of! thy fallen house and progeny follow thee to death with lamentable tears, and the sorrowful nobility of thy kindred make doleful lamentation for thee. What meanest thou? wilt thou kill thyself, so young a flower, and so near these honourable marriages and great dowries thou mayest enjoy? Doth not the glittering and golden pomp of the bride-bed move thee? Doth not the reverend piety of thine ancestors prick thee? Who is it not but that this thy rashness and weakness grieves?—Behold here the furniture ready prepared for thy terrible death: either shalt thou be beheaded with this sword, or else with these wild beasts shalt thou be pulled in pieces; or else, thou being cast into the fiery flames, shalt be (although lamentably bewailed by thy friends and kinsfolks) consumed to ashes. What great matter is it for thee, I pray thee, to escape all this? If thou wilt but take and put with thy fingers a little salt and incense into the censers, thou shalt be delivered from all these punishments." To this Eulalia made no answer, but being in a great fury, she spit in the tyrant's face, she threw down the idols, and spurned about with her feet the heaps of incense they had prepared for the censers. Then, without further delay, the hangmen with their united strength took her, to pull her joint from joint, and with the talons of wild beasts tore her sides to the bones; she all this while singing and praising God in this manner: Behold, O Lord, I will not forget thee; what a pleasure is it for them, O Christ, that remember thy triumphant victories, to attain unto these high dignities!—and still called upon that holy name, all stained and imbrued with her own blood. This sung she with great boldness, neither lamenting nor yet weeping, but being glad and cheerful, abandoning from her mind all heaviness and grief, when, as out of a warm fountain, her mangled members with fresh blood bathed her white and fair skin. Then pro-

ceeded they to the last and final torment, which was not only the goring and wounding of her mangled body with the iron grate and hurdle, and terrible harrowing of her flesh, but burned on every side with flaming torches her tormented breasts and sides: her hair hanging about her shoulders, in two parts divided, (wherewith her shame-faced chastity and virginity was covered) reaching down to the ground. But when the cracking flame flew about her face, kindled by her hair, and reached the crown of her head, then she, desiring swift death, opened her mouth and swallowed the flame; and so rested she in peace.

#### *Martyrdom of St. AGNES.*

As ye have heard now the Christian life and constant death of Eulalia, much worthy of praise and commendation; so no less commendation is worthy to be given to blessed *Agnes*, that constant damsel and martyr of God, who, as she was begotten by honourable parents in Rome, so lies she there as honourably entombed and buried; which *Agnes*, for her pure and undefiled virginity, deserved no less praise and commendation than for her willing death and martyrdom. She was, says Prudentius, young and not marriageable, when first she being dedicated to Christ, boldly resisted the wicked edicts of the emperor, lest that through idolatry she might have denied and forsaken the holy faith; but yet proved firm, notwithstanding the many endeavours to induce her to the same; as now by the flattering and enticing words of the judge, now with the threatnings of the storming executioner: in spite of which she stood steadfast in all courageous strength, and willingly offered her body to hard and painful torments, not refusing, as she said, to suffer whatever it should be, yea, though it were death itself. Then said the cruel tyrant, "If to suffer pain and torment be so easy a matter, and lightly regarded by thee, and that thou accountest thy life nothing worth, yet the shame of thy dedicated or vowed virginity is a thing more regarded, I know, and esteemed by thee: wherefore this is determined, that unless thou wilt make obeisance to the altar of Minerva, and ask forgiveness of her for thy arrogance, thou shalt be sent or abandoned to the common stews or brothel-house." *Agnes* the virgin, with more spirit than vehemency, inveighed against both Minerva and her virginity. The youth run together, and crave that they may have *Agnes* for their prey. Then, said *Agnes*, Christ is not forgetful of those that are his, that he will suffer violently to be taken from them their golden and pure chastity, neither will he leave them so destitute of help: he is always at hand, and ready to fight for such as are shame-faced and chaste virgins; neither suffereth he his gifts of holy integrity or chastity to be polluted. Thou shalt, said she, willingly bathe thy sword in my blood, if thou wilt; but thou shalt not defile my body for any thing thou canst do. She had no sooner spoken these words, but he commanded that she should be set naked at the corner of some street, (which place was at that time such as strumpets commonly used) the greater part of the multitude, both sorrowing and shaming to see so shameless a sight, went their ways, some turning their heads, some hiding their faces. But one among the rest, with uncircumcised eyes beholding the damsel, and that in such opprobrious state; behold, a flame of fire like unto a flash of lightning fell upon him, and struck his eyes out of his head; whereupon he falling unto the ground for dead, sprawled in the kennel; whose companions taking him up and carrying him away, bewailed him as a dead man: the virgin, for this her miraculous deliverance from the shame and shame of that place, sings praises to God and

But blessed *Agnes*, after that she had climbed this her first step unto the heavenly palace, forthwith began to climb another: for fury engendering now the mortal wrath of her bloody enemy, wringing his hands, he cried out, saying, I am undone; O thou executioner, draw out thy sword, and do thine office that the emperor hath appointed thee. And when *Agnes* saw a sturdy and cruel fellow to behold, stand behind her, or approaching near to her with a naked sword in his hand; I am now more glad, said she, and rejoice that such a one as thou, being a stout, fierce, strong, and sturdy soldier, art come, than one more feeble, weak, and faint, should come, or that any other young man sweetly perfumed and wearing gay apparel, who might destroy me with shame; this, even this, is he, I now confess, that I do love. I will make haste to meet him, and will no longer protract my longing desire; I will willingly receive into my breast the length of his sword, and into my bosom will draw the force thereof even unto the hilt, that thus I being married unto Christ my spouse, may surmount and escape all the darkness of this world, that reaches even to the skies. O eternal Governor, vouchsafe to open the gates of heaven, once shut up against all the inhabitants of the earth, and receive, O Christ, my soul that seeketh thee. Thus speaking, and kneeling upon her knees, she prayed unto Christ in heaven above, that her neck might be readier for the sword, now hanging over the same. The executioner then with his bloody hand finished her hope, and at one stroke cut off her head; by which short and swift death preventing her feeling much pain.

#### *Martyrdom of St. CATHARINE.*

I have oftentimes before complained, that the histories of saints have been often decked out with many untrue additions and fabulous inventions of men, who, either of a superstitious devotion, or of a subtle practice, have so mangled their histories and lives, that almost nothing remains in them simple and uncorrupt, as in the usual portions wont to be read for daily service is manifest and evident to be seen; wherein few legends there are able to abide the touchstone of history, if they were truly tried. This I write upon the occasion especially of good *Catharine*, whom now I have in hand. In whom, although I nothing doubt but, in her life was great holiness, in her knowledge excellency, and in her death constancy; yet, that all things are true that are told of her, neither do I affirm, neither am I bound so to think. *Bergomensis* writes thus; That because she, in the sight of the people, openly resisted the emperor *Maxentius* to his face, and rebuked him for his cruelty, therefore she was commanded and committed upon the same to prison. It is said, that the same night an angel came to her, comforting and exhorting her to be strong and constant unto martyrdom, for that she was a maid accepted in the sight of God, and that the Lord would be with her, for whose honour she did fight, and that he would give her a mouth and wisdom which her enemies should not withstand. At length, after she had undergone the rack and the four sharp cutting wheels, at last having her head cut off with the sword, so she finished her martyrdom, about the year of our Lord (as *Antonius* affirms) 310.

#### *Martyrdom of JULITTA.*

Among the works of Basil, a certain oration is extant concerning *Julitta*, the martyr; who came to her martyrdom, as he witnesses, by this occasion.—A certain avaricious and greedy person, of great authority, and, as it may appear, the emperor's deputy, or other like officer, (who abused the

decrees and laws of the emperor against the Christians, to his own lucre and gain,) violently took from this Julitta all her goods, lands, chattels, and servants, contrary to all equity and right. She made her pitiful complaint to the judges: a day was appointed when the cause should be heard. The spoiled woman, and the spoiling extortioner, stood forth together; the woman lamentably declared her cause, and the man frowningly beheld her face. When she had proved that of good right the goods were her own, and that wrongfully he had dealt with her; the wicked and bloodthirsty wretch, preferring vile worldly substance before the precious substance of a Christian body, affirmed her action to be of no force, for that she was an outlaw, in not observing the emperor's gods since she had first abjured her Christian faith. His allegation was allowed as good and reasonable. Whereupon incense and fire were prepared for her, to worship the gods; which unless she would do, neither the emperor's protection, nor laws, nor judgment, nor life, should she enjoy in that commonwealth. When this handmaid of the Lord heard these words, she said, "Farewell life, welcome death; farewell riches, welcome poverty. All that I have, if it were a thousand times more, would I rather lose, than to speak one wicked and blasphemous word against God my Creator. I yield thee most hearty thanks, O my God, for this gift of grace, that I condemn and despise this frail and transitory world, esteeming Christian profession above all treasures."—Henceforth when any question was demanded, her answer was, "I am the servant of Jesus Christ." Her kindred and acquaintance flocking to her, advised her to change her mind; but that vehemently she refused, with detestation of their idolatry. Forthwith the judge, with the sharp sword of sentence, not only cut off all her goods and possessions, but judged her also most cruelly to the fire. The joyful martyr embraced the sentence as a thing most sweet and delectable. She prepared herself for the flames; in countenance, gesture, and words, declaring the joy of her heart, coupled with singular constancy. To the women beholding her she said, "Stick not, O sisters, to labour after true piety and godliness. Cease to accuse the fragility of feminine nature. What! are not we created of the same nature as men are? Yea, after God's image and similitude are we made, as lively as they. Not flesh only God used in the creation of the woman, in sign and token of her infirmity and weakness; but bone of bones is she, in token that she must be strong in the true and living God, all false gods forsaken; constant in faith, all infidelity renounced; patient in adversity, all worldly ease refused. Grow weary, my sisters, of your lives led in darkness, and be in love with my Christ, my God, my Redeemer, my Comforter, who is the true Light of the world. Persuade yourselves, or rather may the Spirit of the living God persuade you, that there is a world to come, wherein the worshippers of idols and devils shall be tormented perpetually, and the servants of the most high God shall be crowned eternally." With these words she embraced the fire, and sweetly slept in the Lord.

#### *Martyrdom of divers VIRGINS.*

There have been, moreover, besides these above recited, divers godly women and faithful martyrs: as *Barbara*, a noble woman in Thuscia, who, after miserable imprisonment, sharp cords, and burning flames put to her sides, was at last beheaded. Also *Fausta*, the virgin, who suffered under Maximinus; by whom *Eulaisius*, a ruler of the emperor's palace, and Maximinus, the president, were both converted, and also suffered martyrdom, as witnesses Metaphrastes.

Likewise *Juliana*, a virgin of singular beauty in Nicomedia, who, after divers agonies, suffered also under Maximinus. Also *Anasia*, a maid of Thessalonica, who suffered under the said Maximinus.—Metaph. *ibid.* *Justina*, who suffered with Cyprianus, bishop of Antioch; not to omit also *Tecla*, although most writers do record that she suffered under Nero. *Platina*, in *Vita Caii*, makes also mention of *Lucia* and *Agatha*. All which holy maids and virgins glorified the Lord Christ by their constant martyrdom, in this tenth and last persecution of Dioclesian.

#### *Several BISHOPS of ROME, Martyrs.*

During the time of this persecution, these bishops of Rome succeeded one after another: *Caius*, who succeeded next after *Nixtus*, before mentioned; *Marcellinus*, *Marcellus*, (of whom Eusebius in his history makes no mention,) *Eusebius*, and then *Miltiades*; all which died martyrs in the tempest of this persecution. First, Marcellinus, after the martyrdom of Caius, was ordained bishop; being brought by Dioclesian to the idols, he first yielded to their idolatry, and was seen to sacrifice; wherefore being excommunicated by the Christians, he fell into such repentance, that he returned again to Dioclesian, where he standing to his former confession, and publicly condemning the idolatry of the heathen, recovered the crown of martyrdom, suffering with *Claudius*, *Cyrinus*, and *Antoninus*.

Marcellus likewise was urged by Maxentius to renounce his bishopric and religion, and to sacrifice with them to idols; which when he constantly refused, was cruelly beaten with cudgels, and so expelled the city. Then entering into the house of one Lucina, a widow, assembled there the congregation; which coming to the ears of Maxentius the tyrant, he turned the house of Lucina into a stable, and made Marcellus the keeper of the beasts; who was put at last to death.

And thus have ye heard the histories and names of such blessed saints, who suffered in the time of persecution, from the nineteenth year of Dioclesian to the seventh and last year of Maxentius; describing also the deaths and plagues that fell upon these tormentors and tyrants, who were the captains of the same persecution. And now comes in, blessed be Christ, the end of these persecutions here in these western churches of Europe, so far as the dominion of blessed Constantine did chiefly extend.

#### MARTYRS IN ASIA, UNDER SAPORES, KING OF PERSIA.

YET, notwithstanding, in Asia all persecution ceased not for the space of four years, as before is mentioned, by the means of wicked Licinius, under whom there were diverse holy and constant martyrs, that suffered grievous torments, as, *Hermilus*, a deacon, and *Stratonicus*, keeper of the prison, both which, after sustaining divers punishments, were drowned in the river Ister.—Metast. Also, *Theodorus* the captain, who being sent for by Licinius, because he would not come, and because he broke his gods in pieces, and gave them to the poor, therefore was fastened to the cross, and, after being pierced with sharp thorns and bodkins in the secret parts of his body, was at last beheaded. Add to these also *Mithras*, who being first a soldier, was afterwards made bishop of a certain city in Persia; where he seeing he could do no good to convert them, after many tribulations and great afflictions among them, cursed the city, and departed; which city shortly after was destroyed by Sapore, king of Persia.



*Martyrdom of SIMEON, and USTHAZARES, an Eunuch.*

In the same country of Persia, about this time, suffered under Sapore the king, as records Simeon Metasthenes, divers valiant and constant martyrs; as, *Acindimas, Pegasus, Anem-podistus, Epidephoras*, also *Simeon*, archbishop of Seleucia, with *Ctesiphon*, another bishop of Persia, with other ministers and religious men of that region, to the number of one hundred and twenty-eight. Of this Simeon and Ctesiphon, thus writes Sozomen, lib. 2.—That the idolatrous magians in Persia, taking counsel together against the Christians, accused Simeon and Ctesiphon to Sapore the king, for that they were beloved by the Roman emperor, and betrayed to him such things as were done in the land of Persia. Whereupon Sapore being moved, took great displeasure against the Christians, oppressing them with taxes and tributes, unto their impoverishing, and killing all their priests with the sword; after that, he called for Simeon, the archbishop, who there before the king declared himself a worthy and valiant captain of Christ's church. For when Sapore had commanded him to be led to suffer torments, he neither shrunk for any fear, nor shewed any great humble suit of submission for any pardon: whereat the king partly marvelling, partly offended, asked, "Why he did not kneel down as he was wont before to do?" Simeon to this answered, "For that (said he) before this time I was not brought unto you in bonds to confess the true God, as I am now; and so long I refused not to accomplish that which the order and custom of the realm of me required; but now it is not lawful for me so to do, for now I come to stand in defence of our religion and true doctrine." When Simeon thus had answered, the king, persisting in his purpose, offered to him the choice either to worship him after his manner, (promising to him many great gifts if he would do so,) or, if he would not, threatened destruction to him, and to all the other Christians within his land. But Simeon, neither allured by his promises nor terrified by his threatenings, continued constant in his doctrine professed, so that neither could he be induced to idolatrous worship, nor yet to betray the truth of his religion. For which cause he was committed into bonds, and there commanded to be kept, till the king's pleasure be further known.

It befell in the way as he was going to prison, there was sitting at the king's gate a certain eunuch, an old tutor or schoolmaster of the king's, named *Usthazares*, who had been once a Christian, and afterward falling from his profession, fell with the heathenish multitude to their idolatry. This *Usthazares*, sitting at the door of the king's palace, and seeing Simeon passing by led to the prison, rose up and revered the bishop. Simeon in return with sharp words (as the time would admit) rebuked him, and in great anger cried out against him, who being once a Christian, would so cowardly revolt from his profession, and return again to the heathenish idolatry. At the hearing of these words, the eunuch forthwith bursting out into tears, laying away his courtly apparel, which was sumptuous and costly, and putting upon him a black and mourning weed, sat before the court gates weeping and bewailing, thus saying with himself, "Woe is me! with what hope, with what face, shall I look hereafter for my God, who have denied my God, when as this Simeon, my familiar acquaintance, thus passing by me, so much disciplines me, that he refuses with one gentle word to salute me?" These words being brought to the ears of the king, (as such tale-bearers as never wanting in princes' courts,) procured against him no little indignation. Whereupon Sapore the king, sending for him, first with gentle words and courtly promises began to speak him fair, asking him, "What cause

he had so to mourn, and whether there was any thing in his house which was denied him, or which he had not at his own will and asking?" Whereunto *Usthazares* answering again, said, "That there was nothing in that earthly house which was to him wanting, or whereunto his desire stood. Yea, would to God, O king, any other grief or calamity in all the world, whatever it were, had happened to me, rather than this; for which I do most justly mourn and sorrow! For this it grieves me, that I am this day alive, who should rather have died long since; and that I see this sun, who against my heart and mind (for your pleasure dissembling) I appeared to worship; for which cause doubly I am worthy of death: first, for that I have denied Christ; secondly, because I did dissemble with you." And immediately vowed, that although he had played the fool before, he would never be so mad again, as (instead of the Maker and Creator of all things) to worship the creatures which he had made. Sapore the king, being astonished at the so sudden alteration of this man, and doubting with himself whether to be angry with those enchanters, or with him; whether to treat him with gentleness or rigour; at length, in this mood, commanded the said *Usthazares* (his old and ancient servant, and first tutor and bringer up of his youth) to be taken away, and to be beheaded. As he was going to the place of execution, he desired the executioners to stop a little, that he might send a message unto the king; which was this, (sent by certain of the king's most trusty eunuchs,) desiring him, that for all the old and faithful service he had done to his father and to him, he would now requite him with this one favour again: to cause to be cried openly by a public crier, in these words following, "That *Usthazares* was beheaded, not for any treachery or crime committed against the king, or the realm, but only for being a Christian, and for refusing at the king's pleasure to deny his God." And so according to his request it was granted and performed. For this cause did *Usthazares* so much desire the cause of his death to be published: because, that as his shrinking back from Christ was a great occasion to many Christians to do the like; so now the same, hearing that *Usthazares* died for no other cause but only for the religion of Christ, should learn likewise by his example to be fervent and constant in that which they profess. And thus the blessed eunuch did consummate his martyrdom. Of which Simeon, being in prison, hearing, was very joyful, and gave God thanks. Who the next day following, being brought forth before the king, and constantly refusing to condescend to the king's request, to worship visible creatures, was likewise by the commandment of the king beheaded, with a great number more, who the same day did suffer, to the number it is said of an hundred or more; all which were put to death before Simeon, he standing by and exhorting them with comfortable words; admonishing them to stand firm and steadfast in the Lord; preaching and teaching them concerning death, the resurrection, and true piety; and proving by the scriptures that to be true which he had said; declaring moreover that to be true life so to die, and that to be death indeed to deny or betray God for fear of punishment. And added further, that there was no man alive but needs once must die: "Forasmuch as to all men is appointed necessarily here to have an end: but those things which after this life follow hereafter, to be eternal; which neither shall come to all men after one sort. But as the condition and trade of life in divers men do differ, and is not in all men alike; so the time shall come when all men in a moment shall render and receive, according to their doings in this present life, immortal rewards: such as have here done well, of life and glory, such as have done contrary, of perpetual punishment. As touching there-

fore our well doing, there is no doubt but of all other our holy actions and virtuous deeds, there is no higher or greater deed than if a man here lose his life for his Lord God." With these words of comfortable exhortation the holy martyrs being prepared, willingly yielded up their lives to death. After whom at last followed Simeon, with two other priests or ministers of his church, *Abdecalaas* and *Ananias*, who also with him were partakers of the same martyrdom.

At the suffering of those above mentioned it happened that *Pusices*, one of the king's officers and overseers of his artificers, was there present; who seeing *Ananias*, being an aged old father, somewhat to shake and tremble at the sight of them that suffered: "O father, (said he,) a little moment shut thine eyes, and be strong, and shortly thou shalt see the sight of God." Upon these words thus spoken, *Pusices* immediately was apprehended, and brought unto the king; who there confessing himself to be a Christian, and for that he was very bold and hardy in this cause of Christ's faith, was extremely and most cruelly handled in the execution of his martyrdom; for in the upper part of his neck they made a hole to thrust in their hand, and plucked out his tongue out of his mouth; and so he was put to death. At which time the daughter of *Pusices*, a godly virgin, by the malicious accusations of the wicked, was apprehended and put to death also.

The next year following, upon the same day when the Christians did celebrate the remembrance of the Lord's passion, which we call Good Friday before Easter, (as witnesses *Sozomen*,) *Sapores*, the king, sent out a cruel and sharp edict throughout all his land, condemning to death them whoever confessed themselves to be Christians. By reason whereof an innumerable multitude of Christians, through the wicked procuring of the malignant magians, suffered the same time by the sword, both in city and in town; some being sought for, some offering themselves willingly, lest they should seem by their silence to deny Christ. Thus all the Christians that could be found, without pity were slain, and divers also of the king's own court and household.—Amongst whom was also *Azades*, an eunuch, one whom the king did entirely love and favour; which *Azades*, after the king understood to be put to death, being greatly moved with the sorrow thereof, commanded afterwards that no Christian should be slain, but those only who were the doctors and teachers of the Christian religion.

In the same time it happened that the queen fell into a certain sickness: upon the occasion whereof the cruel Jews, with the wicked magians, falsely and maliciously accused *Trabula*, the sister of *Simeon* the martyr, a godly virgin, with another sister also of her's, that they had wrought privy charms to hurt the queen, in revenge for the death of *Simeon*. This accusation being received and believed, innocent *Trabula*, with the others, were condemned, and with a saw cut in under by the middle; whose quarters were then hanged upon stakes, the queen going between them, thinking thereby to be delivered from her sickness. This *Trabula* was a maid of a very comely beauty, and very amiable; with whom one of the magians fell in love, much desiring and labouring by gifts and rewards, sent into the prison, to win her to his pleasure, promising that if she would comply with his request she should be delivered and set at liberty. But she utterly refusing to consent unto him, or rather rebuking him for his incontinent attempt, did choose rather to die than to betray either the religion of her mind, or the virginity of her body. —*Sozomen*.

Now forso much as the king had commanded that no Christians should be put to death, but only such as were the teachers and leaders of the flock, the magians and archmagians left no diligence untried to set forward the matter.

Whereby great affliction and persecution was among the bishops and teachers of the church, who in all places went to slaughter, especially in the country of *Diobenor*: for that part of Persia, above all others, was most Christian. Where *Acepsimas*, the bishop, with a great number of his flock and clergy, were apprehended and taken. Upon the apprehension of whom, the magians, to fulfil the king's commandment, dismissed all the rest, only depriving them of their living and goods; but *Acepsimas* the bishop they retained, with whom one *Jacobus*, a minister or priest of his church, was also joined, not of any compulsion, but only so as himself desired and obtained of those magians, that he might follow him, and be joined in the same bonds to serve the aged bishop, and to relieve, as much as he could, his calamities, and heal his wounds. For he had been sore scourged before by the magians, after they had apprehended him, and brought him to worship the sun; which thing because he would not do, they cast him into prison again, where this *Jacobus* was waiting upon him. At the same time likewise *Athalas*, a priest or minister, also *Azadanes* and *Abdiesus*, deacons, were imprisoned, and miserably scourged for the testimony of the Lord Jesus. After this, the archmagian espying his time, complained unto the king of them, having authority and commission given him, unless they would worship the sun, to punish them as he pleased. This commandment received from the king, the master magus made known to them in prison. But they answered again plainly, that they would never be either betrayers of Christ, or worshippers of the sun. Whereupon without mercy they were put to bitter torments; and *Acepsimas*, strongly persisting in the confession of Christ, endured to death. The others being no less rent and wounded with scourges, yet marvelously continued alive; and because they would in no case turn from their constant profession, were turned again into prison; of whom, *Athalas*, in the time of his whipping, was so drawn and racked with pulling, that both his arms, being loosed out of the joints, hanged down from his body: which he so carried about, without use of hand to feed himself, but as he was fed by others.

#### Many BISHOPS martyred.

Miserable, and almost innumerable, were the slaughters under this *Sapores*, of bishops, ministers, deacons, religious men, holy virgins, and other ecclesiastical persons, such as then did cleave to the doctrine of Christ, and suffered for the same: the names of the bishops, besides the other multitudes taken in the persecution, are recited in *Sozom. lib. 2.* and in *Niceph. lib. 8. cap. 37.* in this order following: *Babasimes, Paulus, Gaddiabes, Sabinus, Mareas, Mocius, Johannes, Hormisdas, Papas, Jacobus, Romas, Maares, Agas, Bochres, Abdas, Abiesus, Joannes, Abramius, Agdelas, Abbores, Isaac, Dausas, Bicor*, also with *Maureanda*, his fellow bishop, and the rest of his churches under him, to the number of two hundred and fifty persons, who were the same time apprehended by the Persians, &c. In short, to comprehend the whole multitude of those that suffered in that persecution, the manner of their apprehension, the cruelty of their torments, how and where they suffered, and in what places, it is not possible for any history to discharge; neither are the Persians themselves (as *Sozomen* records) able to recite them. In fine, the multitude and number of those whom they are able to recite by name, comes to the sum of sixteen thousand men and women.

The rumour and noise of this so miserable affliction, among Christians in the kingdom of Persia, coming to the ears of

Constantine the emperor, put him in great heaviness, studying and revolving with himself how to help the matter, which indeed was very hard for him to do. It so befell the same time, that certain ambassadors were then at Rome from Sapore, king of Persia; to whom Constantine did readily grant and consent, satisfying all their requests and demands; thinking thereby to obtain the more friendship at the king's hands, that at his request he would be good to the Christians; to whom he wrote his epistle in their behalf, and sent the same by his messengers: "declaring unto him, how he should stand much beholden to him, if at his request he would permit the Christians to enjoy some repose, in whose religion there was nothing which he could justly blame. For so much as in their sacrifices they do not kill any thing, nor shed blood, but only offer up unbloody sacrifices, to make their prayers unto God; who delights not in shedding blood, but only in the soul that loves virtue, and follows such doctrine and knowledge as is agreeable to true piety. Moreover, he assures him to find God more merciful unto him, if he would embrace the godly piety and truth of the Christians." And in the end of the epistle adds these words: "What joy, (says he,) what gladness it would be to my heart, to hear the state also of the Persians to flourish, as I wish it to do, by embracing this sort of men, the Christians I mean. So that both you with them, and they with you, in long prosperity may enjoy much felicity together, as your hearts would desire, and in so doing no doubt ye shall. For so shall ye have God, who is the author and creator of the universe, to be merciful and gracious to you. These men therefore I commend unto you upon your kingly honour; and upon your clemency and piety, wherewith you are endued, I commit them unto you, desiring you to embrace and receive them according to your humanity and benignity; who in so doing shall now both procure to yourself grace through your faith, and also shall declare to me a great pleasure and benefit worthy of thanks."

This letter wrote Constantine to king Sapore; such care had this godly prince for them that believed in Christ, not only in his own monarchy, but also in all places of the world: neither is it to be doubted, but this intercession of the emperor did somewhat mitigate the heat of the Persian persecution, although we read nothing certain thereof.

Of other troubles and persecutions we read, which happened afterwards in the said country of Persia, under Isdigerdes, the king; but these followed long after, about the time of the emperor Theodosius. At which time suffered *Andas*, their bishop, and *Hormisda*, a great nobleman's son, and of great reputation among the Persians; whom when the king understood to be a Christian, and to deny to turn from his religion, condemned him to keep his elephants naked. In process of time, the king looking out, and seeing him all swarthy and tanned in the sun, commanded him to have a shirt put on, and to be brought before him: whom then the king asked, if he would deny Christ; *Hormisda*, hearing this, tore off his shirt from his body, and cast it from him, saying, "If ye think that I will deny my faith to Christ for a shirt, have here your gift again," &c. And so was upon that expelled the country.—Theodor. lib. 5.

Another there was at that same time, named *Suenes*, who had under him an hundred servants. The king taking displeasure at him, because he would not alter from his religion and godly truth, asked who was the worst of all his servants; and him the king made ruler of all the rest; and coupling him with his master's wife, brought *Suenes* under his subjection, thinking thereby to subdue also the faith of *Suenes*: but it was built upon a sure foundation.

Of *Benjamin*, the deacon, thus writes the said Theodoret in his first book: That after two years of his imprisonment, at the request of the Roman legate, he was delivered; who afterwards, contrary to the king's commandment, preached and taught the gospel of Christ, and was most miserably tormented, having twenty sharp prickling reeds thrust under his nails. But when he laughed at that, then a sharp reed was thrust into his private parts, with horrible pain; after that, a certain long stalk, ragged and thorny, being thrust into his body, with the horrible pain thereof the valiant and invincible soldier of the Lord gave up his life.—Theod. *ibid*. And thus much concerning the martyrs and persecutions among the Persians, although these persecutions belong not to this time, which came, as it is said, long after the days of Constantine, about the year of our Lord 425.

Likewise under Julian, the wicked Apostate, certain there were who suffered martyrdom by heathen idolaters: as *Emilianus*, who was burned in Thracia, and *Domitius*, who was slain in his cave. *Theodorus* also, for singing of a psalm at the removing of the body of *Babilas* (whereof mention is made before) being apprehended, was so proved with exquisite torments, and so cruelly tormented from morning almost to noon, that he hardly escaped with life. He being asked afterwards by his friends how he could abide so sharp torments? said, "That at the first beginning he felt some pain, but afterwards there stood by him a young man, who, as he was sweating, wiped away his sweat, and refreshed him with cold water oft-times; wherewith he was so delighted, that when he was let down from the engine, it grieved him more than before."—Ruff. 5. cap. 26. Theod. lib. 3. cap. 11. Sozom. lib. 5. cap. 10.

*Artemius* also, the captain of the Egyptian soldiers, the same time lost his head for his religion indeed; although other causes were pretended against him.—Theodor. Niceph. lib. 10. cap. 11.

Add unto these, moreover, *Eusebius* and *Nestabus*, two brethren, with *Nestor* also; who for their Christianity were dragged through the streets, and murdered, by the idolatrous people of Gaza.—Sozom. lib. eod. cap. 11.

But especially the cruelty of the *Arethusians*, a people of Syria, exceeded against the Christian virgins, whom they set out naked before the multitude to be scorned; after that, being shaved, they covered them with the swill and draff wont to be given to their hogs, and so caused their bowels and flesh to be devoured by the hungry swine. This rage and fury of the wicked *Arethusians*, Sozomen supposes to be occasioned by this: because that Constantine before had broken them from their country manner of setting forth and exposing their virgins filthily to whosoever lusted, and destroyed the temple of *Venus* in *Heliopolis*, restraining the people there from their filthiness and vile whoredom.—Sozom. lib. 5. cap. 10.

Of the lamentable story, or rather tragedy, of *Marcus Arethusius*, their bishop, thus writes the said Sozomen, and also Theodoretus in his third book, in these words, as follows:

This tragedy, says he, of *Marcus Arethusius*, does require the eloquence and worthiness of *Eschylus* and *Sophocles*, who may, as the matter deserves, set forth and beautify his great afflictions. This man, at the commandment of Constantine, pulled down a certain temple dedicated to the idols, and instead thereof built up a church, where the Christians might assemble. The *Arethusians*, remembering the little good-will that Julian bare unto him, accused him as a traitor and enemy to him. At the first, according as the scripture teaches, he prepared himself to fly; but when he perceived that there were certain of his kinsmen or friends apprehended

in his stead, returning again of his own accord, he offered himself to those that thirsted for his blood. Whom when they had got, as men neither pitying his old age and worn years, nor abashed at his virtuous conversation, being a man so adorned both with doctrine and manners, first stripped him naked, and pitifully beat him: then after a while they cast him into a foul filthy sink, and from thence being brought, they caused boys to thrust sharpened sticks into him, made for the purpose, to provoke his pain the more. Lastly, they put him in a basket, and, being anointed with honey and broth, they hung him abroad in the heat of the sun, as meat for wasps and flies to feed upon. And all this extremity they shewed unto him, for that they would enforce him to do one of these things, that is, either to build up again the temple which he had destroyed, or else to give so much money as should pay for the building of the same. But even as he purposed with himself to suffer and abide their grievous torments, so refused he to do what they demanded of him. At length, they taking him to be put a poor man, and not able to pay such a sum of money, promised to forgive him the one half, so that he would be content to pay the other half. But he, hanging in the basket, wounded pitifully with the sharpened sticks of boys and children, and bitten by wasps and flies, did not only conceal his pain and grief, but also derided those wicked ones, and called them base, low, and earthly people, and he himself to be exalted and set on high. At length, they demanding of him but a small sum of money, he answered thus, "It is as great wickedness to confer one half-penny in the cause of impiety, as if a man should bestow the whole." Thus they being not able to prevail against him, let him down, and leaving him, went their way; so that every man might learn at his mouth the example of true piety and faithfulness.

It may perhaps be wondered by some, reading the history of these so terrible persecutions above specified, why God Almighty, director of all things, would suffer his own people and faithful servants, believing in his own and only begotten Son Jesus, so cruelly to be handled, so wrongfully to be vexed, so extremely to be tormented and put to death, and that the space of so many years together, as in these aforesaid persecutions may appear. To which surprise I have nothing to answer, but to say in the words of Jerome, *Non debemus super hac rerum iniquitate perturbari, videntes, &c.* We ought not to be moved with this iniquity of things, to see the wicked to prevail against the godly; forasmuch as in the beginning of the world we see Abel, the just, to be killed by wicked Cain, and afterwards Jacob being thrust out, Esau to reign in his father's house: in like case, the Egyptians with brick and tile afflicted the sons of Israel; yea, and the Lord himself, was he not crucified by the Jews, Barabbas the thief being let go? Time would not suffice me to recite and reckon up how the godly in this world go to wreck, the wicked flourishing and prevailing.

As I was in hand with these histories, and therein considering the exceeding rage of these persecutions, the intolerable torments of the blessed saints, so cruelly racked, rent, torn, and plucked in pieces, with all kinds of torments, pains, and punishments, that could be devised, more bitter than even death itself; I could not without great sorrow and compassion of mind behold their sorrowful afflictions, or write of their bloody passions. In doing which it has happened nearly to me as it did to Titus Livius, who writing of the wars of Carthage, was so moved in writing thereof, *ac si in parte aliqua laboris ac periculi ipse pariter fuisset.* Further I proceed in the history, and the hotter the persecutions grew, the more

my grief with them and for them increased; not only pitying their woeful case, but almost reasoning with God: thus thinking like a fool with myself, why God of his goodness would suffer his children and servants so vehemently to be tormented and afflicted? If mortal things were governed by heavenly providence, (as must needs be granted,) why did the wicked so rage and flourish, and the godly go so to wreck? If sins deserved punishment, yet neither were they sinners alone; and why was their death above all others so sharp and bitter? At least, why would the Lord suffer the vehemency of these so horrible persecution to endure so long time against his poor church, shewing unto them no certain determined end of their tribulations, whereby they, knowing the appointed determination of Almighty God, with more consolation might endure out the same? As the Israelites, in the captivity of Babylon, had seventy years limited unto them; and under Pharaoh they were promised a deliverance; also under the Syrian tyrants threescore and two weeks were abridged unto them. Only in these persecutions I could find no end determined, nor limitation set, for their deliverance. Whereupon much travelling with myself, I searched the book of *Revelation*, to see whether any thing there might be found; where, although I well perceived the beast there described to signify the empire of Rome, which had power to overcome the saints; yet concerning the time and continuance of these persecutions under the beast, I found nothing to satisfy my doubts. For although I read there of forty-two months, of a time, times, and half a time, of one thousand two hundred and threescore days; yet all this by computation coming but to three years and a half, came nothing near to the long continuance of these persecutions, which lasted three hundred years. Thus being vexed and troubled in spirit, about the reckoning of these numbers and years; it so happened upon a Sunday in the morning, I lying in my bed, and musing about these numbers, suddenly it was answered to my mind, as with authority, thus inwardly saying to me, "Thou fool, count these months by sabbaths, as the weeks of Daniel are counted by sabbaths." The Lord I take to witness, thus it was. Whereupon being thus admonished, I began to reckon the forty-two months by sabbaths; first of months, that would not serve; then by sabbaths of years, wherein I began to feel some probable understanding. Yet not satisfied herewith, to have the matter more sure, soon I repaired to certain merchants of my acquaintance. To whom the number of these aforesaid forty-two months being propounded and examined by sabbaths of years, the whole sum was found to amount unto two hundred and ninety-four years, containing the full and just time of these aforesaid persecutions, neither more nor less.

Now this one clue being opened, the other numbers that follow are plain and manifest to the intelligent reader to be understood. For where mention is made of three years and a half; of one time, two times, and half a time; also of one thousand two hundred and threescore days; all these come to one reckoning, and signify forty and two months: by which months, as is said, is signified the whole time of these primitive persecutions, as here in order may appear:

#### THE MYSTICAL NUMBERS IN THE APOCALYPSE OPENED.

##### I. One thousand two hundred and sixty, Rev. xi. 12.

First, where mention is made, Apoc. ch. xi. that the two prophets shall prophesy 1200 days; and also that the woman flying into the desert, shall there be fed 1200 days; who knows not that 1260 days make three years and a half that is, months - - - - -



II. *Three days and a half*, Rev. xi.

Secondly, where we read, ch. xi. the bodies of the two aforesaid prophets shall lie in the streets of the great city unburied the space of three days and a half, and after the said three days and a half they shall revive again, &c. let the hours of these three days and a half (which are 42) be reckoned every day for a sabbath of years, or else every day for a month, and they come to months - - - - - 42

III. *A time, times, and half a time*, Rev. xii.

Thirdly, whereas in the same book is expressed, that the woman had two wings given her to fly unto the desert for a time, times, and half a time; give for one time one year, or one day; for two times, two years, or two days; for half a time, half a year, or half a day; and so it is manifest, that these three years and a half amount to months - - - - - 42

IV. *Forty-two months, or three years and a half*, Rev. xi.

Fourthly, reckon these forty-two months aforesaid (in which the beast had power to make war, Apoc. xi.) by sabbaths of years, that is, seven years for a month, or every month seven years, and it amounts to the sum of years - - - - - 294

And so have ye the just years, days, times, and months, of these aforesaid persecutions under the beast, neither shorter nor longer, reckoning from the death of John Baptist, under Herod the Roman king, to the end of Maxentius and of Licinius, the two last great persecutors, the one in the west, the other in the east, who were both vanquished by godly Constantine. And so peace was given to the church, although not in such ample wise, but that divers tumults and troubles afterwards ensued, yet they lasted not long; and the chief fury, to speak of these Roman persecutions, which the Holy Ghost especially considered above all others in this his *Revelation*, thus ended in the time of Constantine. Then was the great dragon the devil, to wit, the fierce rage and power of his malicious persecuting, tied short for a thousand years after this, so that he could not prevail in any such sort, but that the power and glory of the gospel by little and little increasing and spreading with great joy and liberty, so prevailed, that at length it got the upper hand, and replenished the whole earth; rightly verifying therein the water of Ezekiel, which issuing out of the right side of the altar, the further it ran the deeper it grew, till at length it replenished the whole ocean, and healed all the fishes therein. No otherwise the course of the gospel, proceeding by small and hard beginnings, kept still its stream; the more it was stopped, the swifter it ran; by blood it seeded, by death it quickened, by cutting it multiplied, through violence it sprung; till at last, out of thralldom and oppression, it burst forth into perfect liberty, and flourished in all prosperity!—and this would have continued, had Christians wisely and moderately used this liberty, and not abused it; forgetting their former state, through their pride, pomp, and worldly ease, as it came afterwards to pass: by which, in process of time, a flood of evils was let in upon the Christian church, destructive alike of the simplicity of its worship, and the purity of its morals. Basking in the sunshine of royal protection, its priests, who had been distinguished in the primitive times by unassuming diligence in their sacred office, began to usurp a dominion over the consciences, purses, and even lives of their flock, till pride, luxury, and intolerance every where prevailed, and Rome, nominally Christian, had fully reimbibed the persecuting spirit, and no small portion of the idolatrous worship, of her pagan state.

## SOME ACCOUNT OF THE STATE OF RELIGION IN ENGLAND, FROM THE TIME OF KING LUCIUS TO POPE GREGORY, AND AFTERWARDS TILL THE TIME OF KING EGBERT.

ABOUT the year of our Lord 180, king Lucius, son of Coilus, who built Colchester, (king of the Britons, who then were the inhabitants and possessors of this land, which we Englishmen now call England,) hearing of the miracles and wonders done by the Christians at that time in divers places, as Monumetensis writes, directed his letters to Eleutherius, bishop of Rome, to receive of him the Christian faith. Who hearing the request of this king, and glad to see the godly forwardness of his well-disposed mind, sent him certain teachers and preachers, called *Fugatius*, or by some *Fuganus*, and *Damianus*, or *Dimianus*, who converted first the king and people of Britain, and baptized them, and gave them the sacraments of Christ's faith. The temples of idolatry, and all other Gentile monuments, they subverted, converting the people from divers and many gods, to serve one living God. Thus true religion with sincere faith increasing, superstition decayed, with all other rites of idolatry. There were then in Britain 28 head priests, which they called flamines, and three arch-priests among them, which were called arch-flamines, having the oversight of their manners, and as judges over the rest. These 28 flamines they turned to 28 bishops, and three arch-flamines to three arch-bishops, having then their seats in three principal cities in the realm, that is, in London, in York, and in Glamorgantia, (*Videlicet, in Urbe Legionem*.) by Wales. Thus the countries of the whole realm being divided every one under his own bishop, and all things settled in a good order, the aforesaid king Lucius sent again to the said Eleutherius, for the Roman laws, thereby likewise to be governed, as in religion now they were framed accordingly; unto whom Eleutherius again wrote after the tenor of these words ensuing:

*The Epistle of Eleutherius, Bishop of Rome, sent to King Lucius.*

"Anno 169, a Passione Christi scripsit Dominus Eleutherius Papa Lucio Regi Britanniae, ad correctionem Regis et procerum Regni Britanniae," and so forth, as follows in English.

"Ye require of us the Roman laws, and the emperor's, to be sent over to you, which you may practise and put in use within your realm. The Roman laws, and the emperor's, we may ever reprove, but the law of God we may not. Ye have received of late, through God's mercy, in the realm of Britanny, the law and faith of Christ; ye have with you within the realm both the parts of the scriptures. Out of them, by God's grace, with the council of your realm, take ye a law, and by that law (through God's sufferance) rule your kingdom of Britain. For you are God's vicar in your kingdom; according to the saying of the Psalm, *Deus, judicium tuum Regi da*, &c. that is, "O God, give thy judgment to the king, and thy righteousness to the king's son," &c. He said not, the judgment and righteousness of the emperor, but thy judgment and justice; that is to say, of God. The king's sons are the Christian people and inhabitants of the realm, which are under your government, and live and continue in peace within your kingdom; as the gospel says, "Like as the hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, so doth the king his people." The people and inhabitants of the realm of Britain



are yours; whom, if they be divided, ye ought to gather in concord and peace, to call them to the faith and law of Christ, and to the holy church; to cherish and maintain them, to rule and govern them, and to defend them always from such as would do them wrong, from malicious men and enemies. A king has his name from ruling, and not from having a realm. You shall be a king while you rule well; but if you do otherwise, the name of a king shall not remain with you, and you shall lose it; which God forbid. The Almighty God grant you so to rule the realm of Britain, that you may reign with him for ever, whose vicar you are in the realm."

After this manner was the Christian faith either first brought in, or else confirmed, in this realm of Britain, by the sending of Eleutherius, not with any cross or procession, but only at the simple preaching of Fagan and Damian, through whose ministry this realm and island of Britain was soon reduced to the faith and law of the Lord, according as was prophesied by Isaiah, as well of that as other islands more, where he says, ch. 42. "He shall not faint nor give over, till he hath set judgment in the earth, and islands shall wait for his law," &c. The faith thus received by the Britons continued among them and flourished the space of 216 years, till the coming of the Saxons, who then were Pagans. It is to be understood, that as yet the emperors of Rome had not received the faith, though the kings of Britain, and the subjects thereof, were converted to Christ; for which cause much trouble and perturbation was sought against them, not only here in Britain, but through all parts of Christendom, by the heathens; insomuch, that in the persecution only of Dioclesian and Maximinian, reigning both together, within one month 17,000 martyrs are numbered to have suffered for the name of Christ, as has been hitherto in this book sufficiently related.

*An Account of the Persecutions in Britain before the coming of St. Austin.*

1. The first was under Dioclesian, and that not only in England, but generally throughout all the Roman monarchy, as is before specified. In this persecution, *Alban, Julius, and Aaron*, with a great number more of other good Christian Britons, were martyred for Christ's name.

2. The second persecution, or destruction of Christian faith, was by the invading of Gnavius and Melga, whereof the first was captain of the Huns, the other of the Picts. These two tyrants, after the cruel slaughter of Ursula, and other 11,000 noble virgins, made their way into Britain, hearing the same to be destitute of the strength of men. At which time they made miserable murder of Christ's saints, spoiling and wasting churches, without mercy either to women or children, sparing none.

3. The third persecution came by Hengist, and the Saxons; who likewise destroyed and wasted the Christian congregations within the land, like raging wolves flying upon the sheep, and spilled the blood of Christians, till Aurelius Ambrosius came, and restored again the churches destroyed.

4. The fourth destruction of the Christian faith and religion, was by Gromundus, a Pagan king of the Africans; who joining in league with the Saxons, wrought much grievance to the Christians of the land. Insomuch, that Theonus, bishop of London, and Thadioceus, bishop of York, with the rest of the people, (so many as were left,) having no place where to remain with safety, did fly some to Cornwall, and some to the mountains of Wales, about the year of our Lord 550; and this persecution remained to the time of Ethelbert, king of Kent, in the year 580.

In the reign of this Ethelbert, who was then the fifth king of Kent, the faith of Christ was first received by the Saxons or Englishmen, by the means of Gregory, bishop of Rome, in manner and order as here follows, out of old histories collected and recorded.

First then to join the order of our history together: The Christian faith, first received by king Lucius, endured in Britain till this time about the space of 400 years, when by Gromundus Africanus, as is said, fighting with the Saxons against the Britons, it was nearly extinct in all the land, during the space of about forty-four years. So that the first springing of Christ's gospel in this land, was in the year of our Lord 180. The coming of the Saxons, was in the year 449 or 469. The coming of Austin was in the year 596. From the first entering in of the Saxons, to their complete conquest, and the driving out of the Britons, (which was about the latter time of Cadwalladar,) were two hundred and forty years. In fine, from Christ to Lucius were one hundred and eighty years. The continuance of the gospel from Lucius to the entering of the Saxons, was 302 years. The decay of the same, to the entering of Austin, was one hundred and forty-three years; which being added together make from Lucius to Austin four hundred and forty-five years; from Christ to Austin they make five hundred and ninety-eight years. In this year then, 598, Austin being sent from Gregory, came into England; the occasion upon which Gregory sent him thither was this:

In the days of Pelagius, bishop of Rome, Gregory chancing to see certain children in the market-place of Rome, (brought thither out of England to be sold,) being of fair and beautiful countenances, demanded out of what country they were? and understanding they were heathens out of England, lamented the case of the land; being so beautiful and angelical, so to be subject unto the prince of darkness! And asking, moreover, out of what province they were? It was answered, Out of Deira, a part of the North Saxons; whereof, as it is thought, that which we now call Durham takes its name. Then he alluding to the name of Deira, These people, said he, are to be delivered *De Dei ira*; which is, From God's wrath. Moreover, understanding the king's name of that province to be Alle, alluding likewise to his name, There, said he, ought Allelujah to be sung to the living God. Whereupon he being moved, and desirous to go and help the conversion of that country, was not permitted by Pelagius and the Romans at that time to accomplish his desire; but afterwards, being bishop himself next after Pelagius, he sent thither the aforesaid Austin, with other preachers, nearly to the number of forty. But by the way (how it happened I cannot say) as Austin and his company were passing in their journey, such a sudden fear entered into their hearts, that, as Antoninus says, they all returned. Others write, that Austin was sent back to Gregory again, to release them of that voyage so dangerous and uncertain amongst such a barbarous people, whose language they neither knew, nor were able to resist their rudeness. Then Gregory, with pithy persuasions confirming and comforting him, sent him again with letters, both to the bishop of Arelatensis, desiring him to help and aid the said Austin and his company, in all whatever its need required; also other letters he directed to the aforesaid Austin, and his fellows, exhorting them to go forward boldly to the Lord's work.

Thus they, emboldened and comforted through the good works of Gregory, sped forth their journey till they came at length to the isle of Thanet, lying upon the east side of Kent, near to which landing place was then the manory or palace of the king, not far from Sandwich, eastward from Canterbury.

which the inhabitants of the isle then called Richbough, whereof some part of the ruinous walls is yet to be seen. The king then reigning in Kent was Ethelbert, the fifth king of that province, who at that time had married a wife, a French woman, being christened, named Bertha, whom he had received of her parents upon this condition, that he should permit her, (with her bishop committed unto her, called Lebardus,) to enjoy the freedom of her faith and religion; by the means whereof he was more flexible, and sooner induced to embrace the preaching and doctrine of Christ. Thus Austin being arrived, sent forth certain messengers and interpreters to the king, signifying that such an one was come from Rome, bringing with him glad tidings to him and all his people, of life and salvation, eternally to reign in heaven with the only true and living God for ever, if he would so willingly hearken to the same, as he was gladly come to preach and teach it unto him.

The king, who had heard of this religion before by means of his wife, within a few days after came to the place where Austin was, to speak with him; but that should be without a house, after the manner of his law. Austin against his coming, as stories affirm, erected up a banner of the crucifix, (such was then the grossness of that time,) and preached to him the word of God. The king answering again, said in effect as follows: "The words are very fair that you preach and promise; nevertheless, because it is to me uncount and new, I cannot soon start away from my country law wherewith I have been so long inured, and assent to you. Yet notwithstanding, for that ye are come, as ye say, so far for my sake, ye shall not be molested by me, but shall be right well entreated, having all things to you ministered necessary for your support. Besides this, neither do we debar you, but grant you free leave to preach to our people and subjects, to convert whom ye can to the faith of your religion."

When they had received this comfort from the king, they went in procession to the city of Dorobernia, or Canterbury, singing Hallelujah, with the Litany which then by Gregory had been used at Rome, in the time of the great plague raging there at Rome, mentioned in old histories. The words of the Litany were these, *Deprecamur te, Domine, in omni misericordia tua, ut auferatur furor tuus et ira tua a civitate ista, et de domo sancta tua, quoniam peccavimus; Hallelujah*: that is, "We beseech thee, O Lord, in all thy mercies, that thy fury and anger may cease from this city, and from thy holy house, for we have sinned; Hallelujah."—Thus they entering into the city of Canterbury, the head city of all that domination at that time, where the king had given them a mansion for their abode; there they continued preaching, and baptizing such as they had converted, in the east side of the city in the old church of St. Martin; (where the queen was wont to resort,) unto the time that the king was converted himself to Christ. At length, when the king had well considered the honest conversation of their life, and moved with the miracles wrought through God's hands by them, he heard them more gladly: and, lastly, by their wholesome exhortations and example of godly life, he was by them converted and christened in the year above specified, 588, and the 36th year of his reign. After the king was thus converted, innumerable others daily came in and were joined to the church of Christ; whom the king did specially embrace, but compelled none: for so he had learned, that the faith and service of Christ ought to be voluntary, and not forced. Then he gave to Austin a place for the bishop's see at Christ's Church in Canterbury, and built the abbey of St. Peter and Paul, in the east side of the same city, where afterwards Austin and all the kings of Kent were buried; and that place is now called St. Austin.

Austin thus receiving his pall from Gregory, as is above said, and now of a monk being made an archbishop, after he had baptized a great part of Kent; he afterwards made two archbishops, or metropolitans, by the commandment of Gregory, one at London, another at York.

Mellitus, one of his assistants, was sent specially to the the East Saxons, in the province of Essex, where afterwards he was made bishop of London, under Sigebert, king of Essex; which Sigebert, together with his uncle Ethelbert, first built the church and minster of St. Paul in London, and appointed it to Mellitus for the bishop's see. Austin, associate with this Mellitus and Justus, through the help of Ethelbert, assembled and gathered together the bishops and doctors of Britain in a place which, taking the name of the said Austin, was called Austin's Oak. In this assembly he charged the said bishops, that they should preach with him the word of God to the Englishmen, and also that they should amongst themselves reform certain rites and usages in their church, especially for keeping of their Easter-tide, baptizing after the manner at Rome, and such other like. To this the Scots and Britons would not agree, refusing to alter the custom which they so long time had continued, without the assent of them all which used the same.

#### *Martyrdom of the MONKS of BANGOR*

Then Austin gathered another synod, to which came seven bishops of Britain, with the wisest men of the famous abbey of Bangor. But first they took counsel of a certain wise and holy man amongst them what to do, and whether they should be obedient to Austin or not. And he said, "If he be the servant of God, agree with him."—"But how shall we know that?" said they. He answered, "If he be meek and humble of heart, by that know that he is a servant of God." They said, "And how shall we know him to be humble and meek of heart?"—"By this, (said he:) seeing you are the greater number, if he at your coming into your synod rise up, and courteously receive you, perceive him to be an humble and meek man; but if he shall contemn and despise you, being as ye are the greater part, despise you him again." Thus the British bishops entering into the council, Austin, after the Romish manner, keeping his chair, would not remove.—Whereat they being not a little offended, after some heat of words, in disdain and great displeasure departed thence. To whom then Austin spake, and said, "That if they would not take peace with their brethren, they should receive war with their enemies; and if they disdained to preach with them the way of life to the English nation, they should suffer by their hands the revenge of death." Which not long after so came to pass by the means of Ethelfrid, king of Northumberland, who being yet a pagan, and stirred with a fierce fury against the Britons, came with a great army against the city of Chester; where Brocmaile, the consul of that city, a friend and helper of the British side, was ready with his forces to receive him. There was at the same time, at Bangor in Wales, an exceeding great monastery, wherein was such a number of monks, as Galfridus and other authors do testify, that if the whole company were divided into seven parts, in every of the seven parts were contained not so few as three hundred monks; who all did live by the sweat of their brows, and labour of their own hands, having one for their ruler named *Dino*. Out of this monastery came the monks of Chester, to pray for the good success of Brocmaile, fighting for them against the Saxons. Three days they continued in fasting and prayer. When Ethelfrid, the aforesaid king, seeing them so attentive to their prayers, demanded the cause of

their coming thither in such a company; and when he perceived it was to pray for their consul, "Then (said he) although they bear no weapons, yet they fight against us, and with their prayers and preachings they persecute us." Whereupon, after Broemaile was overcome, and did fly away, the king commanded his men to turn their weapons against the weak unarmed monks; of whom he slew, or rather martyred, *eleven hundred*; only fifty persons of that number escaping with Broemaile, the rest were all slain.—The authors that

rite of this lamentable murder, declare and say how the prespeak-  
g of Austin was here verified upon the Britons,

because they would not join peace with their friends, said should be destroyed by their enemies.

In the mean time, the aforesaid Ethelfred, king of Northumberland, after the cruel murder of the monks of Bangor, escaped not long after his murder: for after he had reigned two-and-twenty years, he was slain in the field by Edwin, who succeeded in Northumberland after him.

About this time departed Gregory, bishop of Rome; of whom it is said that of the number of all the first bishops before him in the primitive times, he was the basest; of all them that came after him, he was the best. About which time also died in Wales, David, archbishop first of Kaeleon, who then translated the see from thence to Menavia, and therefore is called David of Wales. Not long after this also died the aforesaid Aidan in England, after he had sat there fifteen or sixteen years.

About this present time also, which was anno 610, I read in the history of Ranaulphus Cestrensis, the writer of Polychronicon, of John, the patriarch of Alexandria, whom, for his rare example of hospitality and bountifulness to the poor, I thought no less worthy to have place amongst good men, than I see the same now to be followed by few. This John (being before probably a hard and sparing man) as he was at his prayer upon a time, as is said, there appeared to him a comely virgin, having on her head a garland of olive leaves, who named herself Mercy; saying to him, and promising, that if he would take her to wife, he should prosper well. The patriarch, after that day, (as the story records,) was so merciful and beneficial, especially to the poor and needy, that he counted them as his masters, and himself as a servant and steward unto them; this patriarch was wont commonly twice a week to sit at his door all the day long, to take up matters, and to make unity where there was any variance. One day it happened, as he was sitting all the day before his gate, and saw no man come, he lamented that all that day he had done no good. To whom his deacon answered, that he had more cause to rejoice, seeing he had brought the city into that order, and in such peace, that there needed no reconciliation amongst them. Another time, as the said John the Patriarch was at service, and reading the gospel in the church, the people (as their usual manner is) went out of the church to talk and jangle: he perceiving that, went out likewise, and sat amongst them; whereat they marvelled to see him do so. His children, (said he,) where the flock is, there ought the shepherd to be: wherefore either come you in, that I may also come in with you; or else, if you tarry out, I will likewise tarry out together with you."

#### *Martyrdom of ARNULPHUS.*

Certain histories make mention of one *Arnulphus*, in the time of pope Honorius the Second: some say he was archbishop of Lyons, as Hugo, Platina, and Sabellicus. Trite-

mius says he was a priest; whose history, as it is set forth in Trittenius, I will briefly in English rehearse. About this time, says he, in the days of Honorius the Second, one *Arnulphus*, priest, a man zealous and of great devotion, a worthy preacher, came to Rome, who in his preaching rebuked the dissolute and lascivious looseness, incontinency, avarice, and immoderate pride, of the clergy, persuading all to follow Christ and his apostles in their poverty rather, and in pureness of life. By reason whereof this man was well accepted, and highly liked by the nobility of Rome, as a true disciple of Christ; but by the cardinals and the clergy, he was no less hated than favoured by the other; insomuch, that privately in the night season they took and destroyed him. This his martyrdom (says he) was revealed to him before from God by an angel, he being in the desert when he was sent forth to preach. Whereupon he spoke unto them publicly with these words: "I know (says he) ye seek my life, and I know you will make me away privately: but why? because I preach to you the truth, and blame your pride, stoutness, avarice, and incontinency, with your unmeasurable greediness in getting and heaping up of riches; therefore you are displeased with me. I take here heaven and earth to witness, that I have preached unto you that which I was commanded by the Lord. But you condemn me and your Creator, who by his only Son has redeemed you. And no wonder if you seek my death, being a sinful person, when as if St. Peter were here this day, and rebuked your vices, which do so multiply above all measure, you would not spare him either." And as he was expressing this, with a loud voice, he moreover said, "For my part, I am not afraid to suffer death for the truth's sake; but this I say unto you, that God will look upon your iniquities, and will be avenged. You being full of impurity, are blind guides to the people committed unto you, leading them the way to hell. A God he is of vengeance." Thus the hatred of the clergy being raised against him, for preaching truth, they conspired against him, and so, laying privy wait for him, took and drowned him. Sabellicus and Platina say they hanged him.

About the year 257, *Saturnius*, bishop of Thoulouse, was set upon and seized by the rabble of that place, for preventing, as they alleged, their oracles from speaking. On refusing to sacrifice to their idols, he was treated with all the barbarous indignation imaginable, and then fastened by the feet to the tail of a bull. Upon a signal given, the enraged animal was driven down the steps of the temple, by which the worthy martyr's brains were dashed out.

#### *ECCLESIASTICAL TYRANNY DURING THE REIGNS OF HENRY IV. AND V.*

#### *Martyrdom of WILLIAM SAUTRE, the first who suffered by Fire in England.*

In 1400, one *William Sautre*, or *Chautris*, a Spanish priest, having received the knowledge of the truth, boldly proclaimed it against the wicked doctrines of the church of Rome. By Thomas Arundel archbishop of Canterbury, and divers other bishops and clergy, he was convicted of what they call heresy, degraded, and delivered up to the secular power.

Thus *William Sautre*, the servant of Christ, being thrust out of the pope's kingdom, and metamorphosed from a clerk to a secular layman, was committed, as ye have heard,

unto the secular power. Which being done, the bishops yet not herewith contented, ceased not to call to the king to cause him to be brought forth to speedy execution; whereupon the king (ready enough to gratify the clergy, and to retain their favours) directed out a terrible decree against the said Wm. Sautre, and sent it to the mayor and sheriffs of London to be put in execution; the tenor whereof here ensues.

*The Decree of the King against William Sautre.*

The decree of our Sovereign Lord the King, and his council in the parliament, against a certain new-sprung-up heretic, to the mayor and sheriffs of London, &c. Whereas the reverend father, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, by the assent, consent, and counsel, of other bishops, and his brethren suffragans, and also of all the whole clergy within his province or diocese, gathered together in his provincial council, the due order of the law being observed in all points in this behalf, hath pronounced and declared, by his definitive sentence, William Sautre, sometime chaplain, fallen again into his most damnable heresy, the which before-time the said William had abjured, thereupon to be a most manifest heretic; and therefore hath decreed that he should be degraded, and hath for the same cause really degraded him from all prerogative and privilege of the clergy, decreeing to leave him under the secular power; and hath really so left him, according to the laws and canonical sections set forth in this behalf, and also that our holy mother the church hath no further to do in the premises: We therefore, being zealous in religion, and reverend lovers of the Catholic faith, willing and minding to maintain and defend the holy church, and the laws and liberties of the same, to root all such errors and heresies out of our kingdom of England, and with condign punishment to correct and punish all such heretics, or such as be convicted: provided always that both according to the law of God and man, and the canonical institutions in this behalf accustomed, such heretics convicted and condemned in form aforesaid, ought to be burned with fire; we command you, as straitly as we may or can, firmly enjoining you, that you do cause the said William, being in your custody, in some public open place within the liberties of your city aforesaid, (the cause aforesaid being published unto the people,) to be put into the fire, and there in the same fire really to be burned, to the great horror of his offence, and the manifest example of other Christians. Fail not in the execution thereof, upon the peril that will fall thereupon.—Teste Rege, ap. West. 26 Feb. An. Regni sui.

Thus it may appear how kings and princes have been blinded and abused by the false prelates of the church, inso-much that they have been their slaves, and butchers to slay Christ's poor innocent members. See therefore what danger it is for princes not to have knowledge and understanding of themselves, but to be led by other men's eyes, and especially trusting to such guides, who through hypocrisy both deceive them, and through cruelty devour the people.

As king Henry IV. (who was the deposer of king Richard) was the first of all the English kings that began the unmerciful burning of Christ's saints for standing against the pope; so was this William Sautre, the true and faithful martyr of Christ, the first of all them in Wickliff's time which I find to be burned in the reign of the aforesaid king; which was in the year of our Lord 1400.

King Henry IV. having shed much blood, in order to establish himself on the throne, seeing himself hated by his subjects, thought to keep in with the clergy, and with the Bishop of Rome, seeking always his chiefest stay at their

hands. And therefore he was compelled in all things to serve their humour; as did well appear in condemning Wm. Sautre before, as also in other persecutions, which consequently we have now to treat of. In the number of which comes now by the course of time to write of one *John Badby*, a tailor, and a layman; who by the cruelty of Thomas Arundel, archbishop, and other prelates, was brought to his condemnation in this king's reign, anno 1409, according as it is proved by their own registers.

*The Martyrdom of JOHN BADBY; with an account of divers Constitutions and Decrees made against the true followers of God.*

In the year of our Lord 1409, on Sunday, being the first day of March, in the afternoon, the examination following of one John Badby, tailor, was made in a certain house within the precinct of the preaching friars of London, in an outer cloister, upon the crime of heresy, and other articles repugnant to the determination of the erroneous church of Rome, before Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, and other his assistants. Mr. Morgan read the articles of his opinions to the hearers, according as it is contained in the instrument which he read; the tenor whereof follows:

In the name of God, Amen.—Be it manifest to all men, by this present public instrument, that in the year after the incarnation of our Lord, according to the course and computation of the church of England, otherwise in the year 1409, John Badby, a layman, of the diocese of Worcester, appearing personally before the reverend father in Christ and lord, lord Thomas, by the grace of God bishop of Worcester, sitting in the said chapel for chief judge, was detected of and upon the crime of heresy, being heretically taught and openly maintained by the aforesaid John Badby; that is, That the sacrament of the body of Christ, consecrated by the priest upon the altar, is not the true body of Christ by the virtue of the words of the sacrament; but that after the sacramental words spoken by the priests to make the body of Christ, the material bread does remain upon the altar as in the beginning, neither is it turned into the very body of Christ after the sacramental words spoken by the priests. Which John Badby being examined, and diligently demanded by the aforesaid reverend father concerning the premises, in the end did answer, That it was impossible that any priest should make the body of Christ, and that he believed firmly that no priest could make the body of Christ by such words sacramentally spoken in such sort. And also he said expressly, that he would never while he lived believe that any priest could make the body of Christ sacramentally, unless that first he saw manifestly the like body of Christ to be handled in the hands of the priest upon the altar, in his corporal form. And furthermore he said, That John Raker, of Bristol, had as much power and authority to make the like body of Christ as any priest had. Moreover he said, That when Christ sat at supper with his disciples, he had not his body in his hand, to the intent to distribute it to his disciples; and he said expressly, that he did not this thing. And also he spoke many other words teaching and fortifying the heresy in the same place, both grievous, and also out of order, and horrible to the ears of the hearers, sounding against the Catholic faith.

Upon which occasion the same reverend father admonished and requested the said John Badby oftentimes, and very instantly, to charity; forso-much as he would willingly that he should have forsaken such heresy and opinion, held, taught,



and maintained, by him, in such sort against the sacrament, to renounce and utterly abjure them, and to believe other things which the holy mother the church does believe; and he informed the same John on that behalf both gently and laudably. Yet the said John Badby, although he were admonished and requested both often and instantly by the said reverend father, said and answered expressly, That he would never believe otherwise than as before he had said, taught, and answered. Whereupon the aforesaid reverend father, bishop of Worcester, seeing, understanding, and perceiving, the aforesaid John Badby to maintain and fortify the same heresy, being stubborn, and proceeding in the same stubbornness, pronounced the said John to be before this time convicted of such an heresy, and that he has been and is an heretic, and in the end declared it in these words:

"In the name of God, Amen.—We, Thomas, bishop of Worcester, do accuse thee John Badby, being a layman of our diocese, of and upon the crime of heresy, before us, sitting for chief judge, being oftentimes confessed and convicted of and upon that, That thou hast taught, and openly affirmed, as hitherto thou dost teach, boldly affirm, and defend, that the sacrament of the body of Christ, consecrated upon the altar by the priest, is not the true body of Christ, but after the sacramental words to make the body of Christ, by virtue of the said sacramental words pronounced, to have been in the crime of heresy; and we do pronounce thee both to have been and to be an heretic, and do declare it finally by these writings."

And when the articles in the aforesaid instrument contained were by the archbishop of Canterbury publicly read and approved, he publicly confessed and affirmed, that he had both said and maintained the same. And furthermore, the said archbishop said and affirmed there openly to the said John, That he would (if he would live according to the doctrine of Christ) engage his soul for him at the judgment day. And after that, again he caused those articles in the said instrument expressed to be read by the aforesaid Philip Morgan, and the said archbishop himself expounded the same in English as before: whereunto John Badby answered: As touching the first article concerning the body of Christ, he expressly said, that after the consecration at the altar there remains material bread, and the same bread which was before: notwithstanding, said he, it is a sign or sacrament of the living God.

Also, when the said article was expounded to him, That it is impossible for any priest, &c. To this article he answered and said, That it could not sink into his mind that the words are to be taken as they literally lie, unless he should deny the incarnation of Christ.

Also, being examined of the third article concerning Jack Raker, he said that if Jack Raker were a man of good living, and did love and fear God, he has as much power so to do as has the priest: and said further, That he had heard it spoken by some doctors of divinity, that if he should receive any such consecrated bread, he was worthy to be damned, and was damned in so doing.

Furthermore, he said, That he would believe the omnipotent God in Trinity; and said moreover, That if every host being consecrated at the altar were the Lord's body, that then there are 20,000 gods in England. But he believed, he said, in one God omnipotent; which thing the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury denied not.

And when the other conclusion was expounded, That Christ sitting with his disciples at supper, &c. To this he answered and said, That he would greatly wonder, if any man had a loaf of bread, and should break the same, and give to every man a mouthful, if the same loaf should afterwards be whole.

When all these things were thus finished, and all the said conclusions were often read in the vulgar tongue; the aforesaid archbishop demanded of him, Whether he would renounce and forsake his opinions, and such like conclusions, or not, and adhere to the doctrine of Christ, and the Catholic faith? He answered, That according to what he had said before, he would adhere and stand to those words which before he had made answer unto.

After all this, when the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of London, had consulted together, to what safe keeping the said John Badby, until the Wednesday next, might be committed; it was concluded, that he should be put into a certain chamber or safe house within the mansion of the friars preachers. And so he was: and the archbishop of Canterbury said, that he himself would keep the key thereof in the mean time. And when the aforesaid Wednesday was expired, being the 15th day of March, and that the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury, with his fellow brethren and suffragans, were assembled in the church of St. Paul in London, the archbishop of Canterbury taking the episcopal seat: before whom the said John Badby was called personally to answer unto the articles premised in the aforesaid instrument; who when he came personally before them, the articles were read by the official of the court of Canterbury, and by the archbishop in the vulgar tongue expounded publicly: and the same articles as he had before spoken and deposed, he still held and defended, and said, that whilst he lived he would never retract the same. And furthermore he said, specially to be noted, That the Lord Duke of York, (personally there present,) and every man else for the time being, is of more estimation and reputation than the sacrament of the altar, by the priest in due form consecrated. And whilst they were thus in his examination, the archbishop considering and weighing that he would in no wise be altered, (executing the office of his great Master,) proceeded to confirm and ratify the former sentence given before him by the bishop of Worcester, against the said John Badby, pronouncing him to be an open and public heretic. And thus shifting their hands off him, they delivered him to the secular power; and desired the said temporal lords then and there present, very instantly, that they would not put the same John Badby to death for that offence, nor deliver him to be punished or put to death. And this hypocritical conduct of theirs, shows them to have been murderous wolves in sheep's clothing.

These things thus done and concluded by the bishops in the forenoon; in the afternoon the king's writ was not far behind. By the authority of which, John Badby, still persevering in his constancy unto death, was brought into Smithfield, and there being put into an empty barrel, was bound with iron chains fastened to a stake, having dry wood put about him.

And as he was thus standing in the pipe or tun, (for as yet Perillus' bull was not in use among the bishops,) it happened that the prince the king's eldest son, was there present; who, shewing some part of the good Samaritan, began to endeavour to save the life of him, whom the hypocritical Levites and Pharisees sought to put to death. He admonished and counselled him, that having respect unto himself, he should speedily withdraw himself out of these dangerous labyrinths of opinions; adding sometimes threatenings, which might have daunted any man's courage.

In the mean time the prior of St. Bartholomew's, in Smithfield, brought with all solemnity the sacrament of God's body with twelve torches borne before it, and so shewed the sacrament to the poor man at the stake; and then they demanded of him, how he believed in it? He answered, that he knew



well it was hallowed bread, and not God's body. And then was the tun put over him, and fire put to him; and when he felt the fire, he cried, Mercy! (calling upon the Lord.) And so the prince immediately commanded to take away the tun, and quench the fire. The prince then asked him if he would forsake heresy, to betake him to the faith of holy church? which thing if he would do, he should have goods enough, promising also unto him a yearly stipend out of the king's treasury, so much as would suffice him.

But this valiant champion of Christ, neglecting the prince's fair words, as also contemning all men's devices, refused the offer of worldly promises, (being no doubt more vehemently inflamed with the Spirit of God, than with any earthly desire.) Wherefore, as he yet continued immoveable in his former mind, the prince commanded him straight to be put again into the pipe or tun, and that he should not afterwards look for any grace. But as he could be allured by no rewards, even so was he nothing at all abashed by their torments, but as a valiant champion of Christ, he persevered invincibly to the end; not without a great and most cruel battle, but with much greater triumph of victory; the Spirit of Christ having always the upper hand in his members, in spite of the fury, rage, and power, of the whole world.

This godly martyr, John Badby, having thus consummated this testimony and martyrdom in fire, the persecuting bishops, not yet contented, and thinking themselves as yet either not strong enough, or else not sharp enough, against the poor innocent flock of Christ, to make all things sure and substantial on their side, in such sort that this doctrine of the gospel now springing should be suppressed for ever,) laid their conspiring heads together, and having now a king for their purpose, ready to serve their turn in all points, (during the time of the said parliament above recited yet continuing,) the aforesaid bishops and clergy of the realm exhibited a bill unto the king's majesty, subtilly declaring what quietness had been maintained within this realm by his noble progenitors, who always defended the ancient rites and customs of the church, and enriched the same with large gifts, to the honour of God and the realm; and contrariwise, what trouble and disquietness was now risen by divers (as they termed them) wicked and perverse men, teaching and preaching openly and privately a certain new, and wicked, and heretical kind of doctrine, contrary to the Catholic faith, and determination of the holy church. Whereupon the king, always oppressed with blind ignorance, (by the crafty means and subtle pretences of the clergy,) granted in the said parliament, by consent of the nobility assembled, a statute to be observed, called *Ex Officio*, as follows:

#### *The Statute EX OFFICIO.*

That is to say, That no man within this realm, or other the king's majesty's dominions, presume to take upon him to preach privily or openly, without special license first obtained of the ordinary of the same place, (curates in their own parish churches, and persons heretofore privileged, and others admitted by the canon law, only accepted.) Nor that any hereafter do preach, maintain, teach, inform openly or in secret, or make or write any book contrary to the Catholic faith, and determination of the holy church. Nor that any hereafter make any conventicles or assemblies, or keep and exercise any manner of schools touching this sect, wicked doctrine, and opinion. And further, that no man hereafter shall by any means favour any such preacher, any such maker of unlawful assemblies, or any such book-maker or writer; and finally, any such teacher, informer, or stirrer up of the people. And that all and singular persons having any the said

books, writings, or schedules containing the said wicked doctrines and opinions, shall within forty days after this present proclamation and statute, really and effectually deliver, or cause to be delivered, all and singular the said books and writings unto the ordinary of the same place. And if it shall happen any person, or persons, of what kind, state, or condition, soever he or they be, to do or attempt any manner of thing contrary to this present proclamation and statute, or not to deliver the same books in form aforesaid; that then the ordinary of the same place in his own diocese, by authority of the said proclamation and statute, shall cause to be arrested and detained under safe custody, the said person or persons in this case defamed and evidently suspected, or any of them, until he or they so offending have by order of law purged him or themselves as touching the articles laid to his or their charge in his behalf; or until he or they denied and recanted (according to the laws ecclesiastical) the said wicked sect, preachings, teachings, and heretical and erroneous opinions. And that the said ordinary, by himself or his commissaries, proceed openly and judicially to all the effect of law against the said persons so arrested and remaining under safe custody, and that he end and determine the matter within three months after the said arrest (all delay and excuses set apart) according to the order and custom of the canon law. And if any person, in any cause above-mentioned, shall be lawfully convicted before the ordinary of the diocese or his commissaries; that then the said ordinary may lawfully cause the said person so convicted, according to the manner and quality of his fact, to be laid in any of his own prisons, and there to be kept so long as to his discretion shall be thought expedient.

And further, The said ordinary (except in cases by the which according to the canon law the party offending ought to be delivered unto the secular power) shall charge the said person with such a fine of money to be paid unto the king's majesty, as he shall think competent for the manner and quality of his offence. And the said diocesan shall be bound to give notice of the said fine into the king's majesty's exchequer, by his letters patent under his seal; to the intent that the said fine may be levied to the king's majesty's use, of the goods of the person so convicted.

And further, if any person within this realm, and other the king's majesty's dominions, shall be convicted before the ordinary of the place, or his commissaries, of the said wicked preachings, doctrines, opinions, schools, and heretical and erroneous informations, or any of them; and will refuse to abjure and recant the said wicked sect, preachings, teachings, opinions, schools, and informations; or if, after his abjuration once made, the relapse be pronounced against him by the diocesan of the place, or his commissaries, (for so by the canon law he ought to be left to the secular power, upon credit given to the ordinary or his commissaries,) that then the sheriff of the same county, the mayor, sheriffs, or sheriff, or the mayor or bailiffs of the same city, village, or borough, of the same county, and nearest inhabiting to the said ordinary, or his said commissaries, shall personally be present, as oft as they shall be required, to confer with the said ordinary or his commissaries in giving sentence against the said persons offending, or any of them; and after the said sentence so pronounced, shall take unto them the said persons so offending, and any of them, and cause them openly to be burned in the sight of all the people; to the intent that this kind of punishment may be a terror unto others, that the like wicked doctrines and heretical opinions, or authors and favourers thereof, be no more maintained within this realm and dominions, to the great hurt (which God forbid) of Christian religion, and decrees of holy church. In all which and singular the premises

concerning the statute aforesaid, let the sheriff, mayors, and bailiffs of the said counties, cities, villages, and boroughs, be attendant, aiding and favouring the said ordinaries and the commissaries."

By this bloody statute, so severely and sharply enacted against these innocent men, here hast thou, gentle reader, a little to stay with thyself, and to consider the nature and condition of this present world, how it hath been set and bent ever from the beginning, by all might, counsel, and ways possible, to strive against the ways of God, and to overthrow that which he will have set up. And although the world may see, by infinite examples, that it is but vain to strive against him; yet such is the nature of this world, that it will not cease still to be like itself.

The like law and statute in the time of Dioclesian and Maximian was attempted, as before appears, and for the greater strength was written also in tables of brass, to the intent that the name of Christ should utterly be extinguished for ever. And yet the name of Christ remains, whereas that brazen law remained not three years. Which law written then in brass, although it differs in manner and form from this our statute *Ex Officio*, yet to the same end and cruelty, to spill the blood of saints, there is no difference between one and the other; neither is there any diversity touching the first original doer and worker of them both. For the same Satan, which then wrought his uttermost against Christ, before he was bound up, the same also now, after his loosing out, does what he can, though not after the same way, yet to the same intent. For then with outward violence, as an open enemy, he did what he could: now by a more covert way, under the title of the Church, he opposes the church of Christ, using a more subtle way to deceive, under gay pretended titles, but no less pernicious in the end, as well appears by this bloody statute *Ex Officio*, the sequel whereof cost afterwards many a Christian's life.

Furthermore, for the greater fortification of this statute of the king aforesaid, concurs also another Constitution made much about the same time by the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Arundel. So that no industry nor policy of man was wanting here to set the matter forward; but especially on the bishops' parts, who left no means unattempted how to subvert the right ways of the Lord.

But let us now return to Thomas Arundel, and his bloody Constitutions above mentioned. The style and tenor whereof, to the intent the rigour of the same may appear to all men, I thought hereunder to adjoin:

*The Constitution of Thomas Arundel against the followers of  
• God's truth; (highly worthy the attention of all those who  
feel gratitude to God for the Protestant faith in the Church,  
and a Protestant government in the State.)*

Thomas, by the permission of God, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the see apostolic; to all and singular our reverend brethren, fellow bishops, and our suffragans; and to abbots, priors, deans of cathedral churches, archdeacons, provosts, and canons, also to all parsons, vicars, chaplains, and clerks in parish churches; and to all laymen, whom and wheresoever dwelling within our province of Canterbury, greeting, and grace to stand firmly in the doctrine of the holy mother church. It is a manifest and plain case, that he doeth wrong and injury to the most reverend council, who so revolteth from the things being in the said council once discussed and decided. And whosoever dare presume to dispute of the supreme and principal judgment here in earth, in so doing incurreth

the pain of sacrilege, according to the authority of civil wisdom and manifold tradition of human law. Much more then they, who, trusting to their own wits, are so bold to violate, and with contrary doctrine to resist, and in word and deed to condemn, the precepts of laws and canons, rightly made, and proceeding from the key-bearer and porter of eternal life and death, bearing the room and person, not of pure man, but of true God, here in earth: which also have been observed hitherto by the holy fathers our predecessors, unto the glorious effusion of their blood, and voluntary sprinkling out of their brains, are worthy of greater punishment, deserving quickly to be cut off, as rotten members, from the body of the church militant. For such ought to consider what is in the Old Testament written: Moses and Aaron among his priests; that is, were chief heads amongst them. And in the New Testament, among the apostles there was a certain difference; and though they were all apostles, yet was it granted by the Lord to Peter, that he should bear pre-eminence above the other apostles; and also the apostles themselves would the same that he should be the chieftain over all the rest; and being called Cephas, that is, head, should be a prince over the apostles. Unto whom it was said, Thou being once converted, confirm thy brethren: as though he would say, If there happen any doubt among them, or if any of them chance to err and stray out of the way of faith, of just living, or right conversation, do thou confirm and reduce him in the right way again; which thing no doubt the Lord would never have said unto him, if he had not so minded, that the rest should be obedient unto him. And yet, all this notwithstanding, we know and daily prove that we are sorry to speak, how the old sophister, the enemy of mankind, foreseeing and fearing lest the sound doctrine of the church, determined from ancient times by the holy forefathers, should withstand his malice, if it might keep the people of God in unity of faith under one head of the church, doth therefore endeavour by all means possible to extirpate the said doctrine, feigning vices to be virtues. And so, under false pretences of verity dissembled, he soweth discord in Catholic people, to the intent that some going one way, some another, he in the mean time may gather to himself a church of the malignant, differing wickedly from the universal holy mother church. In the which, Satan transforming himself into an angel of light, bearing a lying and deceitful balance in his hand, pretendeth great righteousness, in opposing the ancient doctrine of the holy mother church, and refusing the traditions of the same, determined and appointed by holy fathers; persuading men, by feigned forgeries, the same to be naught; and so introducing other new kinds of doctrine, leading to more goodness, as he by his lying persuasions pretendeth, although he in very truth neither willet nor windeth any goodness, but rather that he may sow schisms, whereby divers opinions, and contrary to themselves, being raised in the church, faith thereby may be diminished, and also the reverend holy mysteries, through the same contention of words, may be profaned by Pagans, Jews, and other infidels and wicked miscreants. And so that figure in Apoc. 6. is well verified, speaking of him that sat on the black horse, bearing a pair of balances in his hand, by the which heretics are understood. Who at the first appearance, like to weights or balance, make as though they would set forth right and just things, to allure the hearts of the hearers. But afterward appeareth the black horse, that is to say, their intention, full of cursed speaking. For they, under a diverse show, and colour of a just balance, with the tail of a black horse, sprinkling abroad heresies and errors, do strike. And being poisoned themselves

under colour of good, raise up infinite slanders, and by certain persons fit to do mischief, do publish abroad as it were the sugared taste of honey mixed with poison, thereby the sooner to be taken; working and causing, through their sleight and subtilties, that error should be taken for verity, wickedness for holiness, and for the true will of Christ; yea, and moreover the aforesaid persons thus picked out do preach before they be sent, and presume to sow the seed before the seed discreetly be separated from the chaff. Who not pondering the constitutions and decrees of the canons, provided for the same purpose against such pestilent sowers, do prefer diabolical sacrifice (so to term it) before obedience to be given to the holy church militant.

"We, therefore, considering and weighing, that error which is not resisted seemeth to be allowed, and that he openeth his bosom too wide which resisteth not the viper, thinking there to thrust out her venom; and willing, moreover, to shake off the dust from our feet, and to see to the honour of our holy mother church, whereby one uniform holy doctrine may be sown and planted in the church of God, (namely, in this our province of Canterbury,) so much as in us doth lie, to the increase of faith and service of God, first rooting out the evil weeds and offences, which by the means of perverse preaching and doctrine have sprung up hitherto, and are like more hereafter to grow; purposing by some convenient way with all diligence possible to withstand them in time, and to provide for the peril of souls, which we see to rise under pretence of the premises; also to remove all such obstacles, by which the said our purpose may be stopped; by the advice and assent of all our suffragans and other prelates, being present in this our convocation of the clergy, as also of the procurators of them that be absent, and at instant the petition of the procurators of the whole clergy within this our province of Canterbury, for the more fortification of the common law in this part, adding thereunto punishments and penalties condign as be hereunder written, we will and command, ordain and decree:

"That no manner of person, secular or regular, being authorized to preach by the laws now prescribed, or licensed by special privilege, shall take upon him the office of preaching the word of God, or by any means preach unto the clergy or laity, either within the church or without, in English, except he first present himself, and be examined by the ordinary of the place where he preacheth. And so being found a fit person, as well in manners as knowledge, he shall be sent by the said ordinary to some one church or more, as shall be thought expedient by the said ordinary, according to the quality of the person. Nor any person aforesaid shall presume to preach, except first he give faithful signification in due form of his sending and authority, that is, that he that is authorized do come in form appointed him in that behalf; and those that affirm they come by special privilege, do shew their privilege unto the parson or vicar of the place where they preach. And those that pretend themselves to be sent by the ordinary of the place, shall likewise shew the ordinary's letters made unto him for that purpose, under his great seal. Let us always understand, the curate (having the perpetuity) to be sent of right unto the people of his own cure. But if any person aforesaid shall be forbidden by the ordinary of the place, or any other superior, to preach, by reason of his errors or heresies, which before peradventure he hath preached and taught; that then and from thenceforth he abstain from preaching within our province, until he have purged himself, and be lawfully admitted again to preach by the just arbitrement of him that suspended and forbade him. And shall always after that

carry with him, to all places wheresoever he shall preach, the letters testimonial of him that restored him.

"Moreover, the parish-priests or vicars temporal, not having perpetuities, nor being sent in form aforesaid, shall simply preach in the churches where they have charge, only those things which are expressly contained in the provincial constitution set forth by John our predecessor, of good memory, to help the ignorance of the priests, which beginneth Ignorantia Sacerdotum. Which book of constitutions we would should be had in every parish church in our province of Canterbury, within three months next after the publication of these presents, and (as therein is required) that it be effectually declared by the priests themselves yearly, and at the times appointed. And lest this wholesome statute might be thought hurtful to some, by reason of payment of money, or some other difficulty; we therefore will and ordain, That the examinations of the persons aforesaid, and the making of their letters by the ordinary, be done gratis and freely, without any exaction of money at all by those to whom it shall appertain. And if any man shall willingly presume to violate this our statute grounded upon the old law, after the publication of the same, he shall incur the sentence of greater excommunication, ipso facto: whose absolution we specially reserve by tenor of these presents to us and our successors. But if any such preacher, despising this wholesome statute, and not weighing the sentence of greater excommunication, do the second time take upon him to preach; saying and alleging, and stoutly affirming, that the sentence of greater excommunication aforesaid cannot be appointed by the church in the persons of the prelates of the same; that then superiors of the place do worthily rebuke him, and forbid him from the communion of all faithful Christians.

"And that the said person hereupon lawfully convicted (except he recant and abjure after the manner of the church) be pronounced an heretic by the ordinary of the place. And that from thenceforth he be reputed and taken for an heretic and schismatic, and that he incur, ipso facto, the penalties of heresy and schismaticism, expressed in the law; and chiefly that his goods be adjudged confiscated by the law, and apprehended, and kept by them to whom it shall appertain. And that his fautors, receivers, and defenders, being convicted, in all cases be likewise punished, if they cease not within one month, being lawfully warned thereof by their superiors.

"Furthermore, no clergyman, or parochians of any parish or palace, within our province of Canterbury, shall admit any man to preach within their churches, church-yards, or other places whatsoever, except first there be manifest knowledge had of his authority, privilege, or sending thither, according to the other aforesaid: otherwise the church, church-yard, or what place soever, in which it was so preached, shall, ipso facto, receive the ecclesiastical interdict, and so shall remain interdicted, until they that so admitted and suffered him to preach have reformed themselves, and obtained the place so interdicted to be released in due form of law, either from the ordinary of the place, or else his superior.

"Moreover, like as a householder casteth wheat into the ground, well ordered for that purpose, thereby to get the more increase; even so we will and command, That the preachers of God's word, coming in form aforesaid, preaching either unto the clergy or laity, according to his matter proposed, shall be of good behaviour, sowing such seed as shall be convenient for his auditory. And chiefly preaching to the clergy, he shall touch the vices commonly used amongst them; and to the laity, he shall declare the vices com-

monly used among them, and not otherwise. But if he preach contrary to this order, then shall he be sharply punished by the ordinary of that place, according to the quality of the offence.

*Item*, Forasmuch as the part is vile, that agreeth not with the whole; we do decree and ordain, that no preacher, or any other person whatsoever, shall otherwise teach or preach concerning the sacrament of the altar, matrimony, confession of sins, or any other sacrament of the church, or article of the faith, than that already is discussed by the holy mother church, nor shall bring any thing in doubt that is determined by the church; nor shall to his knowledge privily or openly pronounce blasphemous words concerning the same, nor shall teach, preach, or observe any sect, or kind of heresy whatsoever, contrary to the wholesome doctrine of the church. He that shall wittingly and obstinately attempt the contrary, after the publication of these presents, shall incur the sentence of excommunication, ipso facto. From which (except in point of death) he shall not be absolved, until he hath reformed himself by abjuration of his heresy, at the discretion of the ordinary in whose territory he so offended, and hath received wholesome penance for his offences. But if the second time he shall so offend, being lawfully convicted, he shall be pronounced an heretic, and his goods confiscated, and apprehended, and kept by them to whom it shall appertain. The penance before-mentioned shall be after this manner: If any man, contrary to the determination of the church, that is, in the decrees, decretals, or our constitutions provincial, do openly or privily teach or preach any kind of heresy or sect; he shall in the parish church of the same place where he so preached, upon one Sunday or other solemn day, or more, at the discretion of the ordinary, and as his offence is more or less, expressly revoke that he so preached, taught, or affirmed, even at the time of the solemnity of the mass, when the people are most assembled; and there shall effectually, and without fraud, preach and teach the very truth determined by the church; and further shall be punished after the quality of his offence, as shall be thought expedient to the discretion of the ordinary.

*Item*, Forasmuch as a new vessel, being long used, savoureth after the head, we decree and ordain, That no schoolmasters and teachers whatsoever, that instruct children in grammar, or others whatsoever in primitive sciences, shall in teaching them intermingle any thing concerning the Catholic faith, the sacrament of the altar, or other sacraments of the church, contrary to the determination of the church, nor shall suffer their scholars to expound the holy scriptures, (except the text as hath been used in ancient time,) nor shall permit them to dispute openly or privily concerning the Catholic faith, or sacraments of the church. Contrariwise, the offender herein shall be grievously punished by the ordinary of the place, as a favourer of errors and schisms.

*Item*, For that a new way doth more frequently lead astray than an old way; we will and command, That no book or treatise made by John Wickliff, or other whomsoever, about that time or since, or hereafter to be made, be from henceforth read in schools, halls, hospitals, or other places whatsoever, within our province of Canterbury aforesaid, except the same be first examined by the university of Oxford or Cambridge, or at the least by twelve persons, whom the said universities, or one of them, shall appoint to be chosen at our discretion, or the laudable discretion of our predecessors; and the same being examined, as aforesaid, to be expressly proved and allowed by us or our successors, and in the name and authority of the university, to be delivered unto the stationers to be copied out, and the same to be sold

at a reasonable price; the original thereof always to remain in some chest of the university. But if any man shall read any such kind of book in schools, or otherwise, as aforesaid, he shall be punished as a sower of schism, and a favourer of heresy, as the quality of the fault shall require.

*Item*, It is a dangerous thing (as witnesseth blessed St. Jerome) to translate the text of the holy scripture out of one tongue into another; for in the translation the same sense is not always easily kept, as the same St. Jerome confesseth, that although he were inspired, yet oftentimes in this he erred: we therefore decree and ordain, That no man hereafter by his own authority translate any text of the scripture into English, or any other tongue, by way of a book, libel, or treatise; and that no man read any such book, libel, or treatise, now lately set forth in the time of John Wickliff, or since, or hereafter to be set forth, in part or in whole, privily or openly, upon pain of greater excommunication, until the said translation be allowed by the ordinary of the place, or (if the case so require) by the council provincial. He that shall do contrary to this, shall likewise be punished as a favourer of error and heresy.

*Item*, For that Almighty God cannot be expressed with any philosophical terms, or otherwise invented of man; and St. Augustin saith, That he hath oftentimes revoked such conclusions as have been most true, because they have been offensive to the ears of the religious. We do ordain and specially command, that no manner of person, of what state, degree, or condition, soever he be, do allege or propound any conclusions or propositions contrary to the Catholic faith, or repugnant to good manners, (except necessary doctrine appertaining to their faculty of teaching or disputing in their schools, or otherwise,) although they defend the same with never so curious terms and words. For, as saith the blessed St. Hugh of the sacraments, That which oftentimes is well spoken is not well understood. If any man, therefore, after the publication of these presents, shall be convicted wittingly to have propounded such conclusions or propositions, except (being admonished) he reform himself in one month by virtue of this present constitution, he shall incur the sentence of greater excommunication, ipso facto, and shall be openly pronounced an excommunicate, until he hath confessed his fault openly in the same place where he offended, and hath preached the true meaning of the said conclusion or proposition in one church or more, as shall be thought expedient to the ordinary.

*Item*, No manner of person shall presume to dispute upon the articles determined by the church, as is contained in the decrees, decretals, or constitutions provincial, or in the general councils; but only to seek out the true meaning thereof, and that expressly, whether it be openly or in secret; nor shall call in doubt the authority of the said decretals or constitutions, or the authority of him that made them, nor teach any thing contrary to the determination thereof: and chiefly concerning the adoration of the holy cross, the worshipping of images, of saints, going on pilgrimage to certain places, or to the relics of saints, or against the oaths in cases accustomed to be given in both common places, that is to say, spiritual and temporal. But of all it shall be commonly taught and preached, that the cross and image of the crucifix, and other images of saints, in the honour of them whom they represent, are to be worshipped with procession, bowing of knees, offering of frankincense, kissing, oblations, lighting of candles, and pilgrimages, and with all other kind of ceremonies and manners that have been used in the time of our predecessors, and that giving of oaths in cases expressed in the law, and used by all men to whom it belongeth in both



common places, ought to be done upon the book of the gospel of Christ. Contrary unto this whosoever doth preach, teach, or obstinately affirm, (except he recant in manner and form aforesaid,) shall forthwith incur the penalty of heresy, and shall be pronounced an heretic, in all effect of the law.

“*Item*, We do decree and ordain, That no chaplain be admitted to celebrate in any diocese within our province of Canterbury, where he was not born, or received not orders, except he bring with him his letters of orders, and letters commendatory from his ordinary, and also from other bishops in whose diocese of a long time he hath been conversant, whereby his conversation and manners may appear; so that it may be known, whether he hath been defamed with any new opinions touching the Catholic faith, or whether he be free from the same: otherwise, as well he that celebrateth, as he that suffereth him to celebrate, shall be sharply punished at the discretion of the ordinary.

“*Finally*, Because those things which newly and unaccountably creep up, stand in need of new and speedy help; and where more danger is, there ought to be more wary circumspection and stronger resistance; and not without good cause, the less noble ought discreetly to be cut away, that the more noble may the more perfectly be nourished: Considering therefore, and in lamentable wise shewing unto you, how the ancient university of Oxford, which as a fruitful vine was wont to extend forth her fruitful branches to the honour of God, the great perfection and defence of the church; now partly being become wild, bringeth forth bitter grapes, which being indiscreetly eaten by ancient fathers, that thought themselves skilful in the law of God, hath set on edge the teeth of their children; and our province is infected with divers and unfruitful doctrines, and defiled with a new and damnable name of Lollardy, to the great reproof and offence of the said university, being known in foreign countries, and to the great irksomeness of the students there, and to the great damage and loss of the church of England, which in times past by her virtue, as with a strong wall, was wont to be defended, and now is like to run into ruin not to be recovered:

At the supplication therefore of the whole clergy of our province of Canterbury, and by the consent and assent of all our brethren and suffragans, and other the prelates in this convocation assembled, and the proctors of them that are absent, lest the river being cleansed the fountain should remain corrupt, and so the water coming from thence should not be pure, intending most wholesomely to provide for the honour and utility of the holy mother the church, and the university aforesaid; we do ordain and decree, that every warden, provost, or master of every college, or principal of every hall, within the university aforesaid, shall once every month at the least diligently inquire in the said college, hall, or other place, where he hath authority, whether any scholar or inhabitant of such college or hall, &c. have holden, alleged, or defended, or by any means proposed, any conclusions, propositions, or opinion concerning the Catholic faith, sounding contrary to good manners, or contrary to the determination of the church, otherwise than appertaineth to necessary doctrine. And if he shall find any suspected or defamed herein, he shall according to his office admonish him to desist; and if, after such admonition given, the said party offend again in the same or such like, he shall incur, ipso facto, (besides the penalties aforesaid,) the sentence of greater excommunication. And nevertheless, if it be a scholar that so offendeth the second time, whatsoever he shall afterwards do in the said university, shall not stand in effect. And if he be a doctor, a master, or bachelor, he shall forthwith be suspended from any scholar's act, and in both cases shall

lose the right that he hath in the said college, or hall, whereof he is, ipso facto; and by the warden, provost, master, principal, or other to whom it appertaineth, he shall be expelled, and a Catholic by lawful means forthwith placed in his place. And if the said wardens, provosts, or masters of colleges, or principals of halls, shall be negligent concerning the inquisition and execution of such persons suspected and defamed, by the space of ten days, from the time of the true or supposed knowledge of the publication of these presents; that then they shall incur the sentence of greater excommunication, and nevertheless shall be deprived, ipso facto, of all the right which they pretend to have in the colleges, halls, &c. and the said colleges and halls to be effectually vacant. And after lawful declaration hereof made by them to whom it shall appertain, new wardens, provosts, masters, or principals, shall be placed in their places, as hath been accustomed in colleges and halls being vacant in the said university. But if the wardens themselves, provosts, masters, or principals aforesaid, be suspected and defamed of and concerning the said conclusions or propositions, or be favourers and defenders of such as do therein offend, and do not cease, being thereof warned by us, or by our authority, or by the ordinary of the place; that then by law they be deprived as well of all such privilege scholastical within the university aforesaid, as also of their right and authority in such college, hall, &c. besides other penalties aforementioned, and that they incur the said sentence of greater excommunication.

“But if any man, in any case of this present constitution, or any other above expressed, do rashly and wilfully presume to violate these our statutes in any part thereof, (although there be another penalty expressly there limited,) yet shall he be made altogether unable and unworthy by the space of three years after (without hope of pardon) to obtain any ecclesiastical benefice within our province of Canterbury: and nevertheless, according to all his demerits and the quality of his excess, at the discretion of his superior, he shall be lawfully punished.

“And further, that the manner of proceeding herein be not thought uncertain, considering with ourselves, that although there be a kind of equality in the crime of heresy and offending the prince, as is avouched in divers laws; yet the fault is much unlike, and to offend the Divine Majesty requireth greater punishment than to offend the prince's majesty: and where it is sufficient (for fear of dangers that might ensue by delays) to convince by judgment the offender of the prince's majesty, proceeding against him fully and wholly, with a citation sent by messenger, by letters, or edict, not admitting proof by witnesses, and sentence definitive to be: we do ordain, will, and declare, for the easier punishment of the offenders in the premises, and for the better reformation of the church divided and hurt, that all such as are defamed, openly known, or vehemently suspected in any of the cases aforesaid, or in any article of the Catholic faith, sounding contrary to good manners, by the authority of the ordinary of the place, or other superior, be cited personally to appear by letters, public messenger being sworn, or by edict openly set at that place where the said offender commonly remaineth, or in his parish church, if he have any certain dwelling-house; otherwise, in the cathedral church of the place where he was born, and in the parish church of the same place where he so preached and taught: and afterward certificate being given, that the citation was formally executed against the party cited, being absent and neglecting his appearance, it shall be proceeded against him fully and plainly without sound or show of judgment, and without ad-



mitting proof by witnesses and other canonical probations. And also, after lawful information had, the said ordinary (all delays set apart) shall signify, declare, and punish the said offender, according to the quality of his offence, and in form aforesaid; and further shall do according to justice, the absence of the offender notwithstanding.

*"Given at Oxford."*

Who would not have thought, that by these laws and constitutions so substantially founded, so circumspectly provided, and so diligently executed, that the name and memory of this persecuted sort should utterly have been rooted up? And yet such are the works of the Lord, passing all men's admiration, all this notwithstanding, so far was it otherwise, that the number and courage of these good men rather multiplied daily. For so I find in registers recorded, that these aforesaid persons, whom the king and the Catholic fathers did so greatly detest for heretics, were in divers counties of this realm dispersed and increased.—The articles of whom, (which commonly they did hold, and which they were commanded to abjure,) were these which follow:

THEIR ARTICLES.

*First*, That the office of the holy cross (ordained by the whole church) celebrated, does contain idolatry.

*Item*, They said and affirmed, That all they which do reverence and worship the sign of the cross, do commit idolatry, and are reputed as idolaters.

*Item*, They said and affirmed, That the true flesh and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, is not in the sacrament of the altar, after the words spoken by the priest truly pronounced.

*Item*, They said and affirmed, The sacrament of the altar to be sacramental bread, not having life, but only instituted for a memorial of Christ's passion.

*Item*, They said and affirmed, That the body of Christ, which is taken on the altar, is a figure of the body of Christ as long as we see the bread and wine.

*Item*, They said and affirmed, That the decree of the prelates and clergy in the province of Canterbury, in their last convocation, with the consent of the king and the nobles in the last parliament, against him that was burnt lately in the city of London, was not sufficient to change the purpose of the said John, when the substance of material bread is even as before in the sacrament of the altar it was, no change made in the nature of bread.

*Item*, That any layman may preach the gospel in every place, and may teach it by his own authority, without the license of his ordinary.

*Item*, That it is sin to give any thing to the preaching friars, to the Minorites, to the Augustines, or the Carmelites.

*Item*, That we ought not to offer at the funerals of the dead.

*Item*, That the confession of sins to the priest is not needful for a Christian man.

*Item*, That every good man, though he be unlearned, is a priest.

*Item*, That an infant, though it die unbaptized, shall be saved.

*Item*, That neither the pope, nor the prelate, neither any ordinary, can compel any man to swear by any creature of God, or by the bible.

*Item*, That the bishop, the simple man, the priest and layman, are of like authority, as long as they live well.

*Item*, That no man is bound to give bodily reverence to any prelate.

The following Mandate of Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, we think worthy of insertion, that the Protestant reader may have the fullest proof of the folly, superstition, and intolerance of the ecclesiastics, in those dark ages.—See Fox, vol. 1. p. 631.

*A Mandate of Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, directed to the Bishop of London, to warn men to say certain Prayers at the tolling of the Aves, or ringing of the Curfew.*

"Thomas, &c. to the right rev. brother, the lord Robert, by the grace of God bishop of London, greeting, &c. While we lift our eyes round about us, and behold attentively with circumspect consideration, how the most high Word, that was in the beginning with God, chose to him an holy and immaculate virgin of the kingly stock, in whose womb he took true flesh by inspiral inspiration, that the merciful goodness of the Son of God, that was uncreate, might abolish the sentence of condemnation, which all the posterity of mankind that was created, had by sin incurred: Amongst other labours in the vineyard of the Lord of Sabaoth, we sung to God our Saviour with great joy in him, carefully thinking, that though all the people of the Christian religion did extol with voices of praise so worthy a virgin, by whom we receive the beginnings of our redemption, by whom the holy day first shined to us, which gave us hope of salvation: and although all the same people were drawn to reverence her, who, being a happy virgin, conceived the Son of God, the king of heaven, the Redeemer and Saviour of all nations, ministering light to the people that were miserably drowned in the darkness of death: We truly, as the servants of her own inheritance, and such as are written of to be of her peculiar dowry, as we are by every man's confession acknowledged to be, we, I say, ought more watchfully than any others to shew the endeavours of our devotion in praising her; who being hitherto merciful to us, yea, being even cowards, would that our power, being as it were spread abroad every where through all the coasts of the world, should with a victorious arm awe all foreign nations; that our power, being on all sides so defended with the buckler of her protection, did subdue unto our victorious standards, and made subject unto us, nations both near at hand and afar off.

"Likewise our happy estate (all the time that we have passed since the beginning of our lives) may be well attributed only to the help of her medicine; to whom also we may worthily ascribe now of late in, these our times, under the mighty government of our most Christian king, our deliverance from the ravening wolves, and the mouths of cruel beasts, which had prepared against our banquetts a mess of meat mingled full of gall, and hated us unjustly, secretly lying in wait for us, in recompense of the good-will that we shewed to them. Wherefore, that she being on high sitting before the throne of the heavenly Majesty, the defendress and patroness of us all, being magnified with all men's praises, may more plentifully exhibit to us, the sons of adoption, the teats of her grace, in all those things that we shall have to do: At the request of the special devotion of our lord the king himself, we command your brotherhood, strictly enjoining you, that you command the subjects of your city and diocese, and of all other suffragans, to worship our Lady Mary the mother of God, and our patroness and protectress, evermore in all diversity, with such like kind of prayer and accustomed manner of ringing, as the devotion of Christ's faithful people is wont to worship her at the ringing of *cours le feu*: And when before day in the morning ye shall cause them to ring, that with like manner of prayer and ringing she be ever

where honoured devoutly by the aforesaid our and your suffragans, and their subjects, as well religious as secular, in your and their monasteries and collegiate churches; that we so humbly calling upon the mercy of the heavenly Father, the right hand of the heavenly piety may mercifully come to the help, the protection, and the defence, of the same our lord the king, who, for the happy remedy of quietness, and for our succour from tempestuous floods, is ready to apply his hands to work, and his eyes with all his whole desire to watching. We therefore coveting more earnestly to stir up the minds of all faithful people to so devout an exercise of God, &c. we grant by these presents to all and every man, &c. that shall say the Lord's Prayer and the Salutation of the Angel, five times at the morning peal, with a devout mind, *toties quoties*, (how oft soever,) forty days' pardon by these presents. Given under our seal in our manor of Lambeth, the 10th day of Feb. anno nostræ translat. 9. Ex. Registr. T. ARUNDEL."

*Notes of certain Parliamentary Matters passed in the reign of King Henry IV.*

Forasmuch as our Catholic Papists will not believe but that the jurisdiction of their father the Pope hath ever extended throughout all the world, as well here in England as in other places; therefore, speaking of the parliaments holden in this king's days concerning this matter, I refer them to the parliament of the said king Henry in his first year, and to the 27th article of the same; where they may read in the tenth objection laid against king Richard, in plain words, how that, forasmuch as the crown of this realm of England, and the jurisdiction belonging to the same, as also the whole realm itself at all times lately past, hath been at such liberty, and enjoyed such prerogative, that neither the pope, nor any other out of the kingdom, ought to intrude himself nor intermeddle therein; it was therefore objected unto the forenamed king Richard II. for procuring the letters apostolical from the Pope, to the confirming and corroborating of certain statutes of his, and that his censures might be prosecuted against the breakers thereof. Which seemed then to the parliament to tend against the crown and regal dignity, as also against the statutes and liberties of this the said our realm of England.—Act. Parl. An. 1. Reg. Hen. 4. Act. 27.

Furthermore, in the second year of the said king, this was required in the parliament: That all such persons as shall be arrested by force of the statute made against the Lollards, in the second year of Henry IV. may be bailed, and freely make their purgation; that they be arrested by none other than by the sheriffs, or such like officers, neither that any havock be made of their goods. The king granted to their advice therein.

In the eighth year of this king's reign, it was likewise propounded in the parliament, that all such persons as shall procure, or sue in the court of Rome any process touching any benefice, collation, or presentation of the same, shall incur the pain of the statute of provisors, made in the thirteenth year of Richard II. Whereunto the king granted that the statutes heretofore provided should be observed.

Also, in the same parliament, there it was put up by petition, that the king might enjoy half the profits of every parson's benefice who is not resident thereon. Thereunto the king answered, that the ordinaries should do their duties therein, or else he would provide further remedy to stay their pluralities.

Likewise, in the said parliament it was required, that none do sue to the court of Rome for any benefice, but only to the king's courts.

In the next year following, which was the 9th of this king, another petition of the commons was put in parliament against the court of Rome, which I thought good here to express, as follows:

"The Commons do beseech, that forasmuch as divers provisors of the benefices of holy Church, dwelling in the court of Rome, through their singular covetousness now newly imagined, to destroy those that have been long time incumbents in divers their benefices of holy Church peaceably, some of them by the title of the king, some by title ordinary, and by the title of other true patrons thereof, by colour of provisions, relations, and other grants made to the same provisions by the apostolical of the said benefices, do pursue processes in the said court by citations made beyond the sea, without any citations made within the realm in deed against the same incumbents, whereby many of the said incumbents, through such privy and crafty processes and sentences of privation and inhabilitation, have lost their benefices, and others put in the places of the said incumbents, before the publication of the same sentences, they not knowing any thing; and many are in great hazard to lose their benefices through such processes, to their perpetual destruction and mischief. And forasmuch as this mischief cannot be holpen without an especial remedy be had by parliament: pleaseth it the king to consider the great mischief and danger that may so come unto divers his subjects without their knowledge, through such citations out of the realm; and thereupon to ordain, by the advice of the lords of this present parliament, that none presented be received by any ordinary unto any benefice of any such incumbent, for any cause of privation or inhabilitation, whereof the process is not founded upon citation made within the realm; and also that such incumbents may remain in all their benefices, until it be proved by due inquest in the court of the king, that the citations, whereupon such privations and inhabilitations are granted, were made within the realm; and that if such ordinaries, or such presented, or others, do pursue the contrary, that then they and their procurators, futors, and counsellors, do incur the pains contained in the statute made against provisors in the 13th year of the reign of the late Richard the Second, king of England, by process to be made, as is declared in the statute made against such provisors in the 27th year of the reign of king Edward, predecessor to our lord the king that now is, any royal licences or grants in any manner to the contrary notwithstanding; and that all other statutes made against provisors, and not repealed before this present parliament, be in their full force, and be firmly kept in all points.

"That the king's council have power by authority of parliament, in case that any man find himself grieved in particular, that he may pursue; and that the said council, by the advice of the justices, do right unto the parties. This to endure until the next parliament, reserving always unto the king his prerogative and liberty.

"Also, that no Pope's collector thenceforth should levy any money within the realm for first-fruits of any ecclesiastical dignity, under pain of incurring the statute of provisions."

Besides, in the said parliament holden the eleventh year of this king, is to be noted how the Commons of the land put up a bill unto the king, to take the temporal lands out of spiritual men's hands or possession. The effect of which bill was, that the temporalities inordinately wasted by men of the church, and which amounted to 322,000 marks per annum might suffice to find to the king 15 earls, 1500 knights, 6200 esquires, and 100 almshouses for the relief of poor

people, more than at those days within England; and over all these aforesaid charges, the king might put yearly into his coffers £20,000.

And over this, they alleged by the said bill, that over and above the said sum of 322,000 marks, divers houses of religion in England possessed as many temporalities as might suffice to find yearly 15,000 priests and clerks, every priest to be allowed for his stipend seven marks per annum.

To which bill no other answer was made, but that the king of this matter would take deliberation and advice, and with that answer ended; so that no further labour was made.

#### *The Trouble and Persecution of Sir JOHN OLDCASTLE, Lord of Cobham.*

But to let this by-matter pass, I must turn to an universal synod assembled by Thomas Arundel at St. Paul's church in London: the chief and principal cause of the assembling whereof, as the chronicle of St. Alban's reports, was to repress the growing and spreading of the gospel, and especially to withstand the noble and worthy lord Cobham, who was then noted to be a principal favourer, receiver, and maintainer, of those whom the bishop misnamed Lollards, especially in the dioceses of London, Rochester, and Hereford, setting them up to preach whom the bishops had not licensed, and sending them about to preach, (which was against the constitution provincial,) holding also and teaching opinions of the sacraments, of images, of pilgrimage, of the keys and church of Rome, contrary and repugnant to the received determination of the Romish church, &c.

In the mean time, as these were in talk amongst them concerning the good lord Cobham, the twelve inquisitors of heresies resorted unto them, (whom they had appointed at Oxford the year before, to search out heretics, with all Wickliff's books,) who brought 246 conclusions, which they had collected as heresies out of the said books. The names of the said inquisitors were these:

1. John Whitnam, a master in the new college.
2. John Langedon, monk of Christ's church, Canterbury.
3. William Ufford, regent of the Carmelites.
4. Thomas Claxton, regent of the Dominics.
5. Robert Gilbert.
6. Richard Earthisdaile.
7. John Lucke.
8. Richard Snedisham.
9. Richard Fening.
10. Thomas Rotorborne.
11. Robert Ronbery.
- 12. Richard Crasdale.

These things done, and the articles being brought in, they concluded that it was not possible for them to make whole Christ's coat without seam (meaning thereby their patched popish synagogue) unless certain great men were removed out of the way, which seemed to be the chief maintainers of the principles of Wickliff. Among whom this noble knight Sir John Oldcastle, the lord Cobham, was complained of by the general preceptors to be the principal. Him they accused first for a naughty maintainer of suspected preachers in the diocese of London, Rochester, and Hereford, contrary to the minds of the ordinaries. Not only they affirmed him to have sent thither the said preachers, but also to have assisted them there by force of arms, notwithstanding their synodal constitution made to the contrary. Last of all, they accused him that he was far otherwise in belief of the sacrament of the altar, of penance, of pilgrimage, of image worshipping, and

of the ecclesiastical power, than the holy church of Rome had taught many years before.

In the end it was concluded among them, that without any further delay process should be awarded out against him, as a most pernicious heretic.

Some of that fellowship, which were of more crafty experience than the other, thought it not best to have the matter so rashly handled, but to make some previous preparation, considering the said lord Cobham was a man of great birth, and in favour at that time with the king; their counsel was to know first the king's mind. This counsel was well accepted, and thereupon the archbishop, Thomas Arundel, with his other bishops, and a great part of the clergy, went straightways unto the king, then at Kensington, and there laid forth most grievous complaints against the said lord Cobham, to his great infamy and blemish, being a man right godly. The king gently heard these bloodthirsty prelates, and far otherwise than became his princely dignity; notwithstanding requiring, and instantly desiring them, that in respect of his noble stock and knighthood they should yet favourably deal with him. And that they would, if it were possible, without any rigour or extreme handling, reduce him again to the church's unity. He promised them also, that in case they were committed to take some deliberation, himself would seriously commune the matter with him.

Soon after, the king sent for the said lord Cobham; and when he was come, he called him secretly, admonishing him privately to submit himself to his mother the holy church, and as an obedient child to acknowledge himself culpable. Unto whom the Christian knight made this answer: "You, most worthy prince, (said he,) I am always prompt and willing to obey, forasmuch as I know you are a Christian king, and the appointed minister of God, bearing the sword to the punishment of evil-doers, and for safeguard of them that be virtuous.—Unto you, next my eternal God, owe I my whole obedience, and submit thereunto (as I have ever done) all that I have, either of fortune or nature, ready at all times to fulfil whatsoever you shall in the Lord command me. But as touching the Pope, and his spirituality, I owe them neither suit nor service, forasmuch as I know him by the scriptures to be the great Antichrist, the son of perdition, the open adversary of God, and the abomination standing in the holy place." When the king had heard this, with such like sentences more, he would talk no longer with him.

And as the archbishop resorted again unto him for an answer, he gave him his full authority to cite him, examine him, and punish him according to their devilish decree, which they called the laws of holy church. Then the said archbishop, by the counsel of his other bishops and clergy, appointed to call before him sir John Oldcastle, the lord Cobham, and to cause him personally to appear to answer to such suspected articles as they should lay against him. So he sent forth his chief summoner, with a very sharp citation, unto the castle of Cowling, where he at that time dwelt for his solace. And as the said summoner was come thither, he durst in no case enter the gates of so noble a man without his license; and therefore he returned home again without executing his message.

Then the archbishop called one John Butler unto him, who was then the doorkeeper of the king's privy-chamber; and with him he covenanted, through promises and rewards, to have this matter craftily brought to pass under the king's name. Whereupon the said John Butler took the archbishop's summoner with him, and went unto the said lord Cobham, shewing him that it was the king's pleasure that he should obey that citation; and so cited him fraudulently.

Then said he to them in few words, That he in no case would consent to those most devilish practices of the priests. As they had informed the archbishop of that answer, and that it was for no man privately to cite him after that, without peril of life, he decreed by and by to have him cited by public process or open commandment: and in all the haste possible, upon the Wednesday before the nativity of our Lady, in September, he commanded letters citatory to be set upon the great gates of the cathedral-church of Rochester, (which was but three miles from thence,) charging him to appear personally before him at Ledis, the 11th day of the same month and year, all excuses to the contrary set apart. Those letters were taken down soon after by such as favoured lord Cobham, and so conveyed aside. After that, the archbishop caused new letters to be set up on the nativity day of our Lady; which also were pulled down.

Then, forasmuch as he did not appear at the day appointed at Ledis, (where he sat in consistory, as cruel as ever was Caiaphas, with his court of hypocrites about him;) he judged him, denounced him, and condemned him of most deep contumacy. After that, when he had been falsely informed by his hired spies, that the said lord Cobham had laughed him to scorn, disdained all his doings, maintained his old opinions, contemned the church's power, the dignity of a bishop, and the order of priesthood, (for of all these was he then accused,) in his madness, without just proof, did he openly excommunicate him. Yet not with all this was his fierce tyranny satisfied; but he commanded him to be cited afresh, to appear before him the Saturday before the feast of St. Matthew the apostle, with these cruel threatenings added thereunto, That if he did not obey at the day, he would more extremely handle him. And to strengthen himself towards the performance thereof, he compelled the lay-power, by most terrible menacings of curses and interdictions, to assist him against that seditious apostate, schismatic, and heretic, the troubler of the public peace, that enemy of the realm, and great adversary of all holy Church; for all these hateful names did he give him.

This most constant servant of the Lord, and worthy knight, sir John Oldcastle, the lord Cobham, beholding the unpeacable fury of Antichrist thus kindled against him; perceiving himself also compassed on every side with deadly dangers; he took paper and pen in hand, and so wrote a Christian confession or account of his faith, both signing and sealing it with his own hands. Wherein he also answered to the four principal articles that the archbishop laid against him. That done, he took the copy with him, and went therewith to the king, trusting to find favour at his hand. That confession of his was none other than the common belief or sum of the church's faith, called The Apostles' Creed, by all Christians then used, with a brief declaration upon the same, as here ensues:

*The Christian Belief of the Lord Cobham.*

"I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth: and in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, crucified, dead, and buried, went down to hell; the third day arose again from death, ascended up to heaven, sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty; and from thence shall come again to judge the quick and the dead. I believe in the Holy Ghost, the universal holy Church, the communion of saints, the forgiveness of sins, the uprising of the flesh, and everlasting life, Amen.

"And for a more large declaration (says he) of this my faith in the Catholic Church; I steadfastly believe, That

there is but one God Almighty, in and of whose Godhead there are three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and that these three persons are the selfsame God Almighty. I believe also, That the second person in this most blessed Trinity, in most convenient time, appointed thereunto before, took flesh and blood of the most blessed Virgin Mary, for the safeguard and redemption of the universal kind of man, which was before lost in Adam's offence.

"Moreover, I believe, That the same Jesus Christ our Lord, thus being both God and Man, is the only head of the whole Christian Church, and that all those that have been or shall be saved, are members of this most holy Church. And this holy Church I think to be divided into three sorts of companies:

"Whereof the first sort are now in heaven, and they are the saints from hence departed. These as they were here conversant, conformed always their lives to the most holy laws and pure example of Christ, renouncing Satan, the world, and the flesh, with all their concupiscence and evils.

"The second sort are in purgatory (if any such place be in the scriptures) abiding the mercy of God, and a full deliverance from pain.

"The third sort are here upon the earth, and are called the Church Militant. For day and night they contend against crafty assaults of the devil, the flattering prosperities of the world, and the rebellious filthiness of the flesh.

"This latter congregation, by the just ordinance of God, is also divided into three divers estates, that is to say, into priesthood, knighthood, and the commons. Among whom the will of God is, that the one should aid the other, but not destroy the other. The priests first of all, secluded from all worldliness, should conform their lives wholly to the examples of Christ and his apostles. Evermore should they be occupied in preaching and teaching the scriptures purely, and in giving wholesome examples of good living to the other two degrees of men. More modest also, more loving, gentle, and lowly in spirit, should they be, than any other sort of people.

"In the knighthood are all they which bear sword by the law or office: these should defend God's laws, and see that the gospel be purely taught, conforming their lives to the same, and secluding all false preachers; yea, these ought rather to hazard their lives, than to suffer such wicked decrees as either blemish the eternal testament of God, or yet the free passage thereof, whereby heresies and schisms might spring in the church. For of none other arise they, as I suppose, than of erroneous constitutions, craftily first creeping in under hypocritical lies, for advantage. They ought also to preserve God's people from oppressors, tyrants, and thieves, and to see the clergy supported so long as they teach purely, pray rightly, and minister the sacraments freely. And if they see them do otherwise, they are bound by the law or office to compel them to change their doings; and to see all things performed according to God's prescript ordinance.

"The latter fellowship of this church is the common people; whose duty it is to bear their good minds and true obedience to the aforesaid ministers of God, their kings, civil governors, and priests. The right office of these, is justly to occupy every man his faculty, be it merchandise, handicraft, or the tithe of the ground. And so one of them to be as an helper to another, following always in their sorts the just commandments of the Lord God.

"Over and besides all this, I most faithfully believe, that the sacraments of Christ's church are necessary to all Christian believers; this always seen to, that they be truly ministered, according to Christ's first institution and ordinance.



And forasmuch as I am maliciously and most falsely accused of a misbelief in the sacrament of the altar, to the hurtful slander of many; I signify here unto all men, that this is my faith concerning that: I believe in that sacrament to be contained Christ's very body and blood under the similitude of bread and wine, yea, the same body that was conceived of the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, done on the cross, died, and was buried, arose the third day from the dead, and is now glorified in heaven. I also believe the universal law of God to be most true and perfect, and they which do not follow it in their faith and works (at one time or another) can never be saved. Whereas he that seeks it in faith, accepts it, learns it, delights therein, and performs it in love, shall taste for it the felicity of everlasting innocency.

"Finally, this is my faith also, That God will ask no more of a Christian believer in this life, but only to obey the precepts of that most blessed law. If any prelates of the church require more, or else any other kind of obedience than this to be used, he contemns Christ, exalting himself above God, and so becomes an open Antichrist. All the premises I believe particularly, and generally all that God hath left in his holy scripture that I should believe; instantly desiring you, my liege lord and most worthy king, that this confession of mine may be justly examined by the most godly, wise, and learned men, of your realm. And if it be found in all points agreeing to the truth, then let it be so allowed; and I thereupon holden for none other than a true Christian. If it be proved otherwise, then let it be utterly condemned: provided always, that I be taught a better belief by the word of God; and I shall most reverently at all times obey thereunto."

This brief confession of his faith the lord Cobham wrote, (as is mentioned before,) and so took it with all meekness unto the king to read it over. The king would in no case receive it, but commanded it to be delivered unto them that should be his judges. Then desired he in the king's presence, that an hundred knights and esquires might be suffered to come in upon his purgation, which he knew would clear him of all heresies. Moreover, he offered himself, after the law of arms, to fight for life or death with any man living, Christian or Heathen, in the quarrel of his faith, the king and the lords of his council excepted. Finally, with all gentleness he protested before all that were present, that he would refuse no manner of correction that should after the laws of God be ministered unto him, but that he would at all times with all meekness obey it. Notwithstanding all this, the king suffered him to be summoned personally in his own privy-chamber. Then said the lord Cobham to the king, That he had appealed from the archbishop to the Pope of Rome: and therefore he ought, he said, in no case to be his judge. And having his appeal there at hand ready written, he shewed it with all reverence to the king. Wherewith the king was then much more displeased than before, and said angrily unto him, That he should not pursue his appeal; but rather he should tarry in hold, till such time as it were by the Pope allowed. And then, whether he would or not, the archbishop should be his judge. Thus there was nothing allowed that the lord Cobham had lawfully before required. But forasmuch as he would not be sworn in all things to submit himself to the church, and so take what penance the archbishop would enjoin him; he was arrested again at the king's commandment, and so led forth to the Tower of London, to keep his day (so was it then spoken) that the archbishop had appointed him before in the king's chamber.

Then caused he the aforesaid confession of his faith to be copied again, and the answer also which he had made to the

four articles propounded against him, to be written in the manner of an indenture, on two sheets of paper; that when he should come to his trial, he might give the one copy to the archbishop, and reserve the other to himself. As the day of examination was come, (which was the 23d of September,) Thomas Arundel, the archbishop, sitting in Caiaphas's room in the chapter-house of St. Paul's, with Richard Clifford, bishop of London, and Henry Bolingbrook, bishop of Winchester; Sir Robert Morley, knight, and lieutenant of the Tower, brought personally before him the said lord Cobham, and there left him for the time. Unto whom the archbishop said these words:

"Sir John, in the last general convocation of the clergy of this our province, ye were detected of certain heresies, and by sufficient witnesses found culpable; whereupon ye were, in form of spiritual law, cited, and would in no case appear. In conclusion, upon your rebellious contumacy ye were both privately and openly excommunicated. Notwithstanding, we neither yet shewed ourselves unready to have given you absolution (nor yet do to this hour) would ye have meekly asked it."

Unto this the lord Cobham shewed as though he had given no ear. But said he would gladly before him and his brethren make rehearsal of that faith which he held and intended always to stand to, if it would please them to license him thereunto. And then he took out of his bosom a certain writing indented, concerning the articles whereof he was accused, and so openly read it before them, giving it unto the archbishop when he had made an end thereof. Whereof this is the copy:

"I, John Oldcastle, knight, lord of Cobham, will that all Christian men weet and understand, that I clepe Almighty God unto witness, that it hath been, now is, and ever, with the help of God, shall be, mine intent and my will to believe faithfully and fully all the sacraments that ever God ordained to be done in holy church: and moreover to declare me in these four points; I believe that the most worshipful sacrament of the altar is Christ's body in form of bread, the same body that was born of the blessed Virgin our Lady St. Mary, done on the cross, dead, and buried, the third day rose from death to life, the which body is now glorified in heaven.

"Also, as for the sacrament of penance, I believe, that it is needful to every man that shall be saved to forsake sin, and to do due penance for sin before done, with true confession, very contrition, and due satisfaction, as God's law limiteth and teacheth, and else may not be saved; which penance I desire all men to do.

"And as of images, I understand that they be not of belief; but that they were ordained sith they believe was zewe of Christ, but by the sufferance of the church to be calendars to lewd men, to represent and bring to mind the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, and martyrdom and good living of other saints: and that whosoever it be that doeth the worship to dead images that is due to God, or putteth such hope or trust in help of them as he should do to God, or hath affection in one more than in another, he doeth in that the greatest sin of maumetry.

"Also, I suppose this fully, that every man in this earth is a pilgrim towards bliss, or towards pain: and he that knoweth not, or will not know, nor keep the holy commandments of God, in his living here, (although that he goes on pilgrimages to all the world,) and he die so, he shall be damned; he that knoweth the holy commandments of God, and keepeth them to his end, he shall be saved, though he never in his life go on pilgrimage, as men now go to Canterbury, or to Rome, or to any other place."



This answer to his Articles thus ended and read, he delivered it to the bishops, as is said before. Then counselled the archbishop with the other two bishops, and with divers of the doctors, what was to be done in this matter; commanding him for the time to stand aside. In conclusion, by their assent and information he said thus unto him, "Come hither, sir John. In this your writing are many good things contained, and right Catholic also, we deny it not; but ye must consider that this day was appointed you to answer to other points concerning those articles, whereof as yet no mention is made in this your bill. And therefore ye must yet declare to us your mind more plainly. And thus, whether that ye hold, affirm, and believe, that in the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration rightly done by the priest, remaineth material bread, or not?"

After certain other communications, this was the answer of the good lord Cobham; That no otherwise would he declare his mind, nor yet answer unto his articles, than was expressly in his writing there contained. Then said the archbishop unto him, "Sir John, beware what ye do; for if ye answer not clearly to those things that are here objected against you, especially at the time appointed you only for that purpose, the law of the holy church is, That compelled once by a judge, we may openly pronounce you an heretic." Unto whom he gave this answer, "Do as ye shall think best, for I am at a point."

At last the archbishop counselled again with his other bishops and doctors, and in the end thereof declared unto him what the holy church of Rome had determined in these matters; (no manner of mention once made of Christ;) which determination, said he, ought all Christians both to believe and follow.

Then said the lord Cobham unto him, That he would gladly both believe and observe whatsoever holy church, of Christ's institution, had determined, or yet whatsoever God had willed him either to believe or do; but that the Pope of Rome, with his cardinals, archbishops, bishops, and other prelates of that church, had lawful power to determine such matter as stood not with his word throughout, that would he not, he said, at that time affirm. With this, the archbishop bade him to take good counsel till the Monday next following, (which was the 25th day of September,) and then justly to answer specially unto this point, Whether there remained material bread in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, or not? He promised him also, to send unto him in writing those matters clearly determined, that he might then be the more perfect in his making answer. And all this was nothing else but to blind the multitude with a show. The next day following, according to his promise, the archbishop sent unto him into the Tower this foolish and blasphemous writing, made by him and his unlearned clergy:

"THE faith and determination of the holy church, touching the blessed sacrament of the altar, is this: That after the sacramental words be once spoken by a priest in his mass, the material bread, that was before bread, is turned into Christ's very body. And the material wine, that was before wine, is turned into Christ's very blood. And so there remaineth in the sacrament of the altar, from thenceforth, no material bread nor material wine, which were there before the sacramental words were spoken.—How believe ye this article?"

"Holy church hath determined, that every Christian man living here bodily upon the earth, ought to be confessed to a priest ordained by the church, if he can come to him.—How feel ye this article?"

"Christ ordained St. Peter the apostle to be his vicar here

in earth, whose see is the holy church of Rome; and he granted, that the same power which he gave unto Peter should succeed to all Peter's successors, which we call now Popes of Rome; by whose power in churches particular he ordained prelates, as archbishops, bishops, parsons, curates, and other degrees more: unto whom Christian men ought to obey after the laws of the church of Rome. This is the determination of holy church.—How feel ye this article?"

"Holy church hath determined, that it is meritorious to a Christian man to go on pilgrimage to holy places; and there especially to worship holy relics and images of saints, apostles, and martyrs, confessors, and all other saints besides, approved by the church of Rome.—How feel ye this article?"

When lord Cobham had read over this most wretched writing, he marvelled greatly at their ignorance. But then he considered, that their uttermost malice was purposed against him, howsoever he should answer; and therefore he put his life into the hands of God, desiring his holy Spirit to assist him in his next answer.

When the said 25th day of September was come, in the said year of our Lord 1413, Thomas Arundel, the archbishop of Canterbury, commanded his judicial seat to be removed from the chapter-house of St. Paul's to the Dominic-friars' within Ludgate and London. And as he was there set with Richard bishop of London, Henry the bishop of Winchester, and Bennet the bishop of Bangor; he called in unto him his council and his officers, with divers other doctors and friars. John Stephens and James Cole, also, both notaries, he appointed there purposely to write all that should be said or done. All these, with a great number more of priests, monks, canons, friars, parish-clerks, bell-ringers, and pardoners, disdained him with innumerable mocks and scorns, reckoning him to be an horrible heretic, and a man accursed before God.

Then the archbishop called for a mass-book, and caused all these prelates and doctors to swear thereupon, that every man should faithfully do his office and duty that day.

After that came out before them Sir Robert Morley, knight, and lieutenant of the Tower, and he brought with him the good lord Cobham; there leaving him among them as a lamb among wolves, to his examination and answer.

Then said the archbishop unto him, "Lord Cobham, ye be advised, I am sure, of the process which we had unto you upon Saturday last. I said unto you then, That you were accursed for your contumacy and disobedience to the holy church; thinking that ye should with meekness have desired your absolution."

Then spake lord Cobham, with a cheerful countenance, and said, "God said by his holy prophet, *Maledicam benedictionibus vestris*; which is as much as to say, 'I shall curse where you bless.'"

The archbishop made then as though he had continued, "Sir, at that time I gently proffered to have absolved you, if you would have asked it; and yet do I the same, if ye will humbly desire it in due form and manner as holy church hath ordained."

Then said the lord Cobham, "Nay, forsooth will I not, for I never yet trespassed against you, and therefore I will not do it." And with that he kneeled down on the pavement, holding up his hands towards heaven, and said, "I confess me here unto thee, my eternal living God, that in my frail youth I offended thee, O Lord, most grievously, in pride, wrath, and gluttony, in covetousness, and in lechery. Many men have I hurt in mine anger, and done many horrible sins, O good Lord, I ask thee mercy." And therewith weeping, he stood up again, and said with a low voice, "Let good people

for the breaking of God's laws and his commandments, they never yet cursed me: but for their own laws and traditions, most cruelly do they handle me and other men. And therefore both they and their laws, by the promise of God, shall utterly be destroyed."—See Jer. 51.

At this the archbishop and his company were not a little ruffled: notwithstanding, he took courage, and examined lord Cobham of his Christian belief. Whereunto lord Cobham made this godly answer, "I believe fully and faithfully in the universal laws of God. I believe that all is true which is contained in the holy sacred scriptures of the Bible. Finally, I believe all that my Lord God would I should believe."

Then demanded the archbishop an answer to that bill which he and the clergy had sent him into the Tower the day before, in manner of a determination of the church, concerning the four articles whereof he was accused, specially for the sacrament of the altar, how he believed therein.

Whereunto lord Cobham said, That with that bill he had nothing to do. But this was his belief concerning the sacrament: That his Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, sitting at his last supper with his most dear disciples, the night before he should suffer, took bread in his hand; and giving thanks to his eternal Father, blessed it, brake it, and so gave it unto them, saying, Take it unto you, and eat thereof all; this is my body which shall be betrayed for you: do this hereafter in my remembrance. This do I thoroughly believe, said he, for this faith am I taught in the gospel of Matthew, in Mark, and in Luke, and also in the first epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, chap. 11.

Then asked the archbishop, If he believed that it were bread after the consecration, or sacramental words spoken over it?

Lord Cobham said, "I believe that in the sacrament of the altar is Christ's very body in form of bread, the same that was born of the Virgin Mary, nailed to the cross, dead, and buried, and that the third day arose from death to life, which now is glorified in heaven."

Then said one of the doctors of the law, "After the sacramental words be uttered, there remaineth no bread, but only the body of Christ."

Lord Cobham said then to one Mr. John Whitehead, "You said once unto me in the castle of Cowling, that the sacred host was not Christ's body. But I held then against you, and proved that therein was his body, though the seculars and friars could not therein agree, but held each one against the other in that opinion. These were my words then, if ye remember it."

Then shouted a number of them together, and cried with great noise, We say all, that it is God's body.

And divers of them asked him in great anger, Whether it were material bread after the consecration, or not?

Then looked lord Cobham earnestly upon the archbishop, and said, "I believe surely that it is Christ's body in form of bread. Sir, believe not you thus?"

And the archbishop said, Yes, marry, do I.

Then the doctors asked him, Whether it were only Christ's body after the consecration of a priest, and no bread, or not?

And he said unto them, "It is both Christ's body and bread; I shall prove it thus: for like as Christ dwelling here upon the earth had in him both Godhead and Manhood, and had the invisible Godhead covered under that Manhood, which was only visible and seen in him: so in the sacrament of the altar is Christ's very body and bread also; as I believe the bread is the thing that we see with our eyes, the body of Christ (which is his flesh and his blood) is thereunder hid, and not seen but in faith.

"And moreover, to prove that it is both Christ's body, and also bread after the consecration, it is by plain words expressed by one of your own doctors, writing against Eutyches, who says, 'Like as the selfsame sacraments do pass by the operation of the Holy Ghost into a divine nature, and yet notwithstanding keep the property still of the former nature; so that principal mystery declareth to remain one true and perfect Christ,' &c.

Then smiled they each one upon another, that the people should judge him taken in a great heresy; and with great boasting divers of them said, It is a foul heresy.

Then asked the archbishop, what bread it was? And the doctors also inquired of him, whether it were material bread or not?

Lord Cobham said unto them, "The scriptures make no mention of this word material, and therefore my faith has nothing to do therewith. But this I say and believe, that it is Christ's body and bread. For Christ says, in the sixth of St. John's gospel, I which came down from heaven am the living (and not the dead) bread. Therefore I say now again, as I said before, As our Lord Jesus Christ is very God and very Man, so in the most blessed sacrament of the altar is Christ's very body and bread."

Then said they all with one voice, It is an heresy.

One of the bishops stood up and said, What! it is an heresy manifest, to say that it is bread after the sacramental words be once spoken; but Christ's body only!

Lord Cobham said, "St Paul the apostle was, I am sure, as wise as you are now, and more godly learned, and he called it bread, writing to the Corinthians: 'The bread that we break, (says he,) is it not the partaking of the body of Christ? Lo, he called it bread, and not Christ's body, but a mean whereby we receive Christ's body.'"

Then said they again, Paul must be otherwise understood. For it is sure an heresy to say that it is bread after the consecration, but only Christ's body.

Lord Cobham asked, "How they could make good that sentence of their's?"

They answered him thus: For it is against the determination of holy church.

Then said the archbishop unto him, "Sir John, we sent you a writing concerning the faith of this blessed sacrament, clearly determined by the church of Rome our mother, and by the holy doctors."

Then said he again unto him, "I know none holier than is Christ and his apostles. And as for that determination, I know it is none of their's, for it stands not with the scriptures, but manifestly against them. If it be the church's, as ye say it is, it hath been her's only since she received the great poison of worldly possessions, and not before."

Then asked they him, (to stop his mouth therewith,) If he believed not in the determination of the church?

And he said unto them, "No, forsooth; for it is no God. In all our creed this word, *in*, is but thrice mentioned concerning belief: *in* God the father, *in* God the Son, *in* God the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God. The birth, the death, the burial, the resurrection and ascension of Christ hath no *in* for belief, but *in* him. Neither yet hath the church, the sacraments, the forgiveness of sin, the latter resurrection, nor yet the life everlasting, nor any other *in* than in the Holy Ghost."

Then said one of the lawyers, "Tush, that was but a word of office: but what is your belief concerning holy church?"

Lord Cobham answered, "My belief is, as I said before, that all the scriptures of the sacred Bible are true. All that is grounded upon them, I believe thoroughly; for I know it

re: God's pleasure that I should do so. But in your lordly laws and idle determinations have I no belief: for ye are, no part of Christ's holy church, as your open deeds do shew; but ye are very Antichrists, obstinately set against his holy law and will. The laws that ye have made are nothing to his glory, but only for your vain glory and abominable covetousness.

This, they said, was an exceeding heresy (and that in a great fame) not to believe the determinations of holy church?

Then the archbishop asked him, What he thought of holy church?

He said unto him, "My belief is, That the holy church is the number of them which shall be saved, of whom Christ is the head.—Of this church, one part is in heaven with Christ, another in purgatory, you say, and the third is here on earth. This latter part stands in three degrees, in knighthood, priesthood, and the commonality; as I said before plainly in the confession of my belief."

Then said the archbishop unto him, "Can you tell me who is of the church?"

Lord Cobham answered, Yes, truly can I.

Then said Dr. Walden, the prior of the Carmelites, "It is doubt unto you who is thereof: for Christ says in Matthew, Presume to judge no man. If ye be here forbidden the judgment of your neighbour or brother, much more the judgment of your superior."

Lord Cobham made this answer, "Christ says also in the self-same chapter of Matthew, That like as the evil tree is known by his fruit, so is a false prophet by his works, appear they never so glorious: but that ye left behind ye."

Then said Dr. Walden unto him, "Ye make here no difference of judgments; ye put no diversity between the evil judgments which Christ has forbidden, and the good judgments which he has commanded us to have."

Unto whom Lord Cobham thus answered, "Preposterous are your judgments evermore; for as the prophet Isaiah says, Ye judge evil good, and good evil. And therefore the same prophet concludes, that your ways are not God's ways, nor God's ways your ways. And as for the virtuous man, Wickliffe, whose judgment ye so highly disdain, I shall say here of my part, both before God and man, that before I knew that despised doctrine of his, I never abstained from sin. But since I learned therein to fear my Lord God, it has been otherwise, I trust, with me: so much grace could I never find in all your glorious instructions."

Then said Dr. Walden, "It were not well with me, if I had no grace to amend my life till I heard the devil preach. St. Jerome says, That he who seeketh such suspected masters, shall not find the mid-day light, but the mid-day devil."

Lord Cobham said, "Your fathers, the old pharisees, ascribed Christ's miracles to Beelzebub, and his doctrine to the devil. And you, as their natural children, have still the self-same judgment concerning his faithful followers. They that rebuke your vicious living must needs be heretics; and that must your doctors prove, when you have no scripture to do it." Then said he to them all, "To judge you as you are, we need go no further than to your own proper acts. Where do you find in all God's law, that you should thus sit in judgment on any Christian, or yet give sentence upon any other man unto death, as ye do here daily? No ground have ye in all the scripture so lordly to take it upon you, but in Annas and Caiaphas, who sat thus upon Christ, and upon his apostles after his ascension. Of them only have ye taken it to judge Christ's members as ye do, and neither of Peter nor John." Then said some of the lawyers, Yes, forasmuch, sir, for Christ judged Judas.

Lord Cobham said, "No, Christ judged him not, but he judged himself, and thereupon went forth, and so did hang himself; but indeed Christ said, Wo unto him! for that covetous act of his: as he does yet still unto many of you. For since his venom was shed into the church, ye never followed Christ, neither yet have ye stood in the perfection of God's law."

Then the archbishop asked what he meant by venom?

Lord Cobham said, "Your possessions and lordships; for then cried an angel in the air, as your own chronicles mention, Wo, wo, wo! this day is venom shed into the church of God! Before that time, all the bishops of Rome were martyrs in a manner; and since that time we read of very few. But indeed since that same time, one hath put down another, one hath poisoned another, one hath cursed another, one hath slain another, and done much more mischief besides, as all the chronicles tell. And let all men consider this well, That Christ was meek and merciful; the pope is proud, and a tyrant: Christ was poor, and forgave; the pope is rich, and a malicious man-slayer, as his daily acts do prove him. Rome is the very nest of Antichrist, and out of that nest come all his disciples. Of whom prelates, priests, and monks, are the body; and these pecked friars are the tail, which covers his most filthy part."

Then said the prior of the Augustine friars, "Alack, sir, why do you say so? that is uncharitably spoken."

And lord Cobham said, "Not only is it my saying, but also the prophet Isaiah, long before my time. The prophet (says he) who preacheth lies, he is the tail. For as you friars and monks are, like pharisees, divided in your outward apparel and visages, so make ye divisions among the people. And thus you, with such others, are the very natural members of Antichrist."

Then said he unto them all, "Christ says in his gospel, Wo unto you, scribes and pharisees, hypocrites; for ye close up the kingdom of heaven before men, neither enter ye in yourselves, not yet suffer any other that would enter into it: but ye stop up the ways thereunto with your own traditions, and therefore are ye the household of Antichrist; ye will not permit God's verity to have passage, nor yet to be taught by his true ministers, fearing to have your wickedness reprov'd. But by such flatterers as uphold you in your mischiefs, ye suffer the common people most miserably to be seduced."

Then said the archbishop, "By our Lady, sir, there shall none such preach within my diocese, and, God will, nor yet in my jurisdiction, if I may know it, as either make division, or yet dissension, among the poor commons."

Lord Cobham said, "Both Christ and his apostles were accused of sedition-making, yet were they most peaceable men. But Daniel and Christ prophesied, that such a troublesome time should come, as has not been yet since the world's beginning. And this prophecy is partly fulfilled in your days and doings; for many have ye slain already, and more will ye slay hereafter, if God fulfil not his promise: Christ says also, If those days of yours were not shortened, scarcely should any flesh be saved; therefore look for it justly, for God will shorten your days. Moreover, though priests and deacons, for preaching of God's word, and for ministering the sacraments, with provision for the poor, be grounded on God's law, yet have these other sects no manner of ground hereof, so far as I have read."

Then a doctor of the law, called Mr John Kemp, brought out of his bosom a copy of the bill which they had presented him into the Tower by the archbishop's command, charging thereby to make shorter work with him. For he was so amazed with his answers, (not at all unlike to some of

disputed with holy Stephen,) that they knew not well how to occupy the time; their wits and sophistry, as God would, so failed them that day.

"My lord Cobham, (said this doctor,) we must briefly know your mind concerning these four points here following.—The faith and determination of holy church touching the blessed sacrament of the altar, is this, That after the sacramental words are once spoken by a priest in his mass, the material bread, that was before bread, is turned into Christ's very body, and the material wine is turned into Christ's blood; and so there remains in the sacrament of the altar from thenceforth no material bread nor material wine, which were there before the sacramental words were spoken. Sir, believe you not this?"

Lord Cobham said, "This is not my belief. But my faith is, that in the worshipful sacrament of the altar is Christ's very body in form of bread."

Then said the archbishop, "Sir John, ye must say otherwise."

Lord Cobham said, "Nay, that I will not, if God be upon my side, as I trust he is, but that there is Christ's body in form of bread, as the common belief is."

Then read the doctor again,

"The second point is this: Holy church has determined, that every Christian man, living here bodily upon earth, ought to be shriven by a priest ordained by the church, if he can come to him. Sir, what say you to this?"

Lord Cobham answered and said, "A diseased or sore wounded man has need to have a sure, wise, and true chirurgeon, knowing both the ground and danger of the same.—Most necessary were it therefore to be first shriven unto God, who only knows our diseases, and can help us. I deny not in this the going to a priest, if he be a man of good life and learning; for the laws of God are to be required of the priest who is godly learned. But if he be an idiot, or a man of vicious living, that is my curate, I ought rather to fly from him than to seek unto him; for sooner might I catch evil of him than is naught, than any goodness towards my soul's health."

Then read the doctor again, "The third point is this: Christ ordained St. Peter the apostle to be his vicar here in earth, whose see is the church of Rome. And he granted that the same power which he gave unto Peter should succeed unto all Peter's successors, whom we now call Popes of Rome. By whose special power in churches in particular are ordained prelates and archbishops, parsons, curates, and other degrees more, to whom Christians ought to obey after the laws of the church of Rome. This is the determination of holy church. Sir, believe ye not this?"

To this he answered and said, "He that follows Peter nearest in pure living, is next unto him in succession. But your lordly order esteem not greatly the lowly behaviour of poor Peter, whatsoever ye prate of him. Neither care ye greatly for the humble manners of them that succeeded him till the time of Silvester, who for the most part were martyrs, as I told you before. Ye can let all their good conditions go by you, and not hurt yourselves with them at all. All the world knows this well enough by you, and yet ye can make boast of Peter."

With that, one of the doctors asked him, "Then what do ye say of the pope?"

Lord Cobham answered, "As I said before, so I say again, that ye and you together make whole the great Antichrist: of whom he is the great head; your bishops, priests, prelates, and monks, are the body; and the begging friars are the tail, which cover the filthiness of you both with their subtle flattery. Neither will I in conscience obey any of you all, but you, with Peter, follow Christ in conversation."

Then read the doctor again, "The fourth point is this: Holy church has determined, that it is meritorious to a Christian to go on pilgrimage to holy places, and there specially to worship the holy relics and images of saints, apostles, martyrs, confessors, and all other saints besides approved by the church of Rome. Sir, what say you to this?"

Whereunto he answered, "I owe them no service by any commandment of God, and therefore I mind not to seek them for your covetousness. It were best ye swept them fair from cobwebs and dust, and so laid them up from catching of scathe; or else to bury them far in the ground as ye do other aged people, who are God's images."

"It is a wonderful thing, that saints now being dead should become so covetous and needy, and thereupon so bitterly beg, who all their life-time hated all covetousness and begging. But this I say unto you, and I would all the world should mark it, that with your shrines and idols, your feigned absolutions and pardons, ye draw unto you the substance, wealth, and chief pleasures, of all Christian realms."

Why, sir, said one of the clerks, will ye not worship good images?

"What worship should I give them?" said lord Cobham.

Then said friar Palmer unto him, Sir, will ye worship the cross of Christ that he died upon?"

"Where is it?" said lord Cobham.

The friar said, I put you the case, sir, that it were here even now before you.

Lord Cobham answered, "This is a great wise man, to put me an earnest question of a thing, and yet he himself knows not where the thing itself is. Yet once again I ask you, what worship I should do unto it?"

A clerk said unto him, Such worship as Paul speaks of, and that is this, God forbid that I should joy, but only in the cross of Jesus Christ.

"Then said lord Cobham, (spreading his arms abroad, This is the very cross, yea, and so much better than your cross of wood, in that it was created by God; yet will not I seek to have it worshipped."

Then said the bishop of London, Sir, ye know well that he died on a material cross.

Lord Cobham said, "Yea, and I know also that our salvation came not in by that material cross, but alone by him that died thereupon. And well I know, that holy St. Paul rejoiced in none other cross, but in Christ's passion and death only, and in his own sufferings of like persecution with him, for the self-same verity that he had suffered for before?"

Another clerk yet asked him, Will ye then do none honour to the holy cross?

He answered him, "Yes, if it were my own I would lay him up honestly, and see unto him that he would take no more scathe abroad, nor be robbed of his goods, as he is now-a-days."

Then said the archbishop unto him, Sir John, ye have spoken here many wonderful words, to the slanderous rebuke of the whole spirituality, giving a great example unto the common sort here, to have us in the more disdain. Much time have we spent here about you, and all in vain, so far as I can see. Well, we must be now at this short point with you, for the day passes away: ye must either submit yourself to the ordinance of holy church, or else throw yourself (no remedy) into the most deep danger. See to it in time, for anon it will be else too late.

Lord Cobham said, "I know not to what purpose I should otherwise submit me.—Much more have you offended me than ever I offended you, in thus troubling me before this multitude."



Then said the archbishop again unto him, We once again require you to remember yourself well, and to have none other manner of opinion in these matters, than the universal faith and belief of the holy church of Rome is. And so like an obedient child return again to the unity of your mother. See to it, I say, in time, for yet ye may have remedy, whereas anon it will be too late.

Lord Cobham said expressly before them all, "I will none otherwise believe in these points than that I have told you here before; do with me what you will."

Finally,—Then the archbishop said, Well, then, I see none other but that we must needs do the law; we must proceed forth to the sentence definitive, and both judge you and condemn you for an heretic.

And with that the archbishop stood and read there a bill of his condemnation, all the clergy and laity veiling their bonnets. And this was the tenor thereof:

*The definitive Sentence of his Condemnation.*

"In the name of God; so be it. We, Thomas, by the sufferance of God, archbishop of Canterbury, metropolitan and primate of all England, and legate from the apostolic see of Rome, will this to be known unto all men. In a certain cause of heresy, and upon divers articles, whereupon sir John Oldcastle, and lord Cobham, after a diligent inquisition made for the same, was detected, accused, and presented before us in our last convocation of all our province of Canterbury, holden in the cathedral church of Paul's at London, at the lawful denouncement and request of our universal clergy of the said convocation, we proceeded against him according to the law, (God to witness,) with all the favour possible. And following Christ's example in all that we might, 'which willett not the death of a sinner, but rather that he be converted and live;' we took upon us to correct him, and sought all other ways possible to bring him again to the church's unity, declaring unto him what the holy and universal church of Rome hath said, holden, determined, and taught, in that behalf. And though we found him in the catholic faith far wide, and so stiffnecked that he would not confess his error, nor purge himself, nor yet repent him thereof; we yet pitying him, of fatherly compassion, and entirely desiring the health of his soul, appointed him a competent time of deliberation, to see if he would repent and seek to be reformed: but since that time we have found him worse and worse. Considering, therefore, that he is not corrigible, we are driven to the very extremity of the law; and with great heaviness of heart we now proceed to the publication of the sentence definitive against him.

"Forasmuch as we have found by divers acts done, brought forth, and exhibited, by sundry evidences, signs, and tokens, and also by many most manifest proofs, the said sir John Oldcastle, knight, and lord Cobham, not only to be an evident heretic in his own person, but also a mighty maintainer of other heretics against the faith and religion of the holy and universal church of Rome: We sententially and definitively by this present writing judge, declare, and condemn, the said sir John Oldcastle, knight, and lord Cobham, for a most pernicious, detestable heretic, convicted upon the same, and refusing utterly to obey the church again, committing him here from henceforth, as a condemned heretic, to the secular jurisdiction, power, and judgment, to do him thereupon to death. Furthermore, we excommunicate and denounce accursed, not only this heretic here present, but so many else besides as shall hereafter in favour of his error either receive him or defend him, counsel him or help him, or any other

way maintain him; as very fautors, receivers, defenders, counsellors, aiders, and maintainers, of condemned heretics."

After the archbishop had thus read the bill of his condemnation, with most extremity, before the whole multitude, lord Cobham said, with a most cheerful countenance, "Though ye judge my body, which is but a wretched thing, yet am I certain and sure that ye can do no harm to my soul, no more than Satan could do to the soul of Job. He that created that, will of his infinite mercy and promise save it. I have therein no manner of doubt. And as concerning these articles before rehearsed, I will stand to them even to the very death, by the grace of my eternal God."

And therewith he turned him unto the people, casting his hands abroad, and saying with a very loud voice, "Good Christian people, for God's love be well aware of these men, for they will else beguile you, and lead you blindfold into hell with themselves. For Christ saith plainly unto you, 'If one blind man leadeth another, they are like both to fall into the ditch.'"

After this he fell down there upon his knees, and thus before them all prayed for his enemies, holding both his hands and eyes towards heaven, and saying, "Lord God eternal, I beseech thee of thy great mercy's sake to forgive my persecutors, if it be thy blessed will." And then he was delivered to sir Robert Morley, and so led forth again into the Tower of London. And thus there was an end of that day's work.

While lord Cobham was thus in the Tower, he sent out privily unto his friends; and they at his request wrote this little bill here following, causing it to be set up in divers quarters of London, that the people should not believe the slanders and lies that his enemies the bishop's servants and priests had made on him abroad. And thus was the letter:

"FORASMUCH as sir John Oldcastle, knight, and lord Cobham, is untruly convicted and imprisoned, falsely reported and slandered among the common people by his adversaries, that he should both otherwise think and speak of the sacraments of the church, and specially of the blessed sacrament of the altar, than was written in the confession of his belief; which was indented and taken to the clergy, and so set up in divers open places of the city of London: Known be it here to all the world, that he never since varied in any point thereof, but this is plainly his belief, That all the sacraments of the church be profitable and expedient also to them that shall be saved, taking them after the intent that Christ and his true church hath ordained.—Furthermore he believeth, That the blessed sacrament of the altar is verily and truly Christ's body in form of bread."

After this the bishops and priests were in great discredit both with the nobility and commons; partly for that they had so cruelly handled the good lord Cobham; and partly again because his opinion, as they thought at that time, was perfect concerning the sacrament. The prelates feared this to grow to further inconvenience towards them both ways; wherefore they laid their heads together, and at the last consented to use another practice somewhat contrary to that they had done before. They caused it by and by to be blown abroad by their feed servants and friends, that the said lord Cobham was become a good man, and had lowly submitted himself in all things unto holy church, utterly changing his opinion concerning the sacrament. And thereupon they counterfeited an abjuration in his name, that the people should take no hold of his opinion by any thing they had heard of him before, and so to stand the more in awe of them, considering him so great a man, and by them subdued.



Thus have you here the judicial process of the bishops against this noble Christian knight. After all this, the sentence of death being given, the lord Cobham was sent away, sir Robert Morley carrying him again unto the Tower; where after he had remained a certain space, in the night season, (it is not known by what means, but thought by some to have been by the agency of sir Robert Acton,) he escaped out, and fled into Wales, where he continued by the space of four years.

In the mean time, a great sum of money was offered by the king, to him who would take lord Cobham either dead or alive. At the end of the four years mentioned above, he was apprehended by lord Powis in Wales, and brought up bound to London, where, on Tuesday, Dec. 14, 1417, he was sentenced to be carried from the Tower unto the new gallows in St. Giles, without temple-bar, there to be *hanged, and burnt while hanging*.

Reader! behold the cruelty of these bloody and persecuting times!—A man is condemned, hanged, and burned, for not believing what it is impossible for any soul of man to believe that exercises its reason. But why were such monstrous absurdities proposed? and why was the denying them persecuted with fire and faggot? Because they brought gain to the persecutors: and the indolent and avaricious found it their interest to support them, and burn all who pretended to call them into question, or examine them, either by the test of revelation or reason. The cruelty of this system, it is true, is at an end; because its power in England is ended: but restore the power, and multitudes of martyrs (should religion sufficient be found in the land) will have the honour of embracing the flames once more in Smithfield. O ye Britons! love and value your constitution. Know that it is opposed to barbarism, cruelty, and murder. But especially thank, love, and serve, that God, who has established Protestantism among you, and redeemed you from the iron hand of ignorance and oppression.

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AN ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE, CONDUCT, AND MARTYRDOM, OF MR. JOHN HUSS, WHO WAS BURN'T AT THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE, JULY 6, 1415: CAREFULLY EXTRACTED FROM M. L'ENFANT'S HISTORY OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THAT COUNCIL.

*An account highly interesting to every Christian scholar and critic; and especially to every Protestant.*

JOHN HUSS,\* alias *de Hussinetz*, was so called from a city or considerable town of Bohemia, in the south part of the kingdom, in the circle of Prachin, where he was born the 6th of July, 1373. It was the custom of those ages to name famous men after the place of their birth. 'Tis therefore a childish folly, or very malicious ignorance, for Varillas to say that "John Huss took the name from his village, because he knew not who was his father;" on purpose, no doubt, to insinuate that he was a bastard.

It seems very manifest, that if John Huss was of mean birth, (*obsuro loco natus*, as Æneas Sylvius, a cotemporary author, says,) he was however descended from honest parents, who took great care of his education. When he had gone

through the lower forms in the place where he was born, his mother (then a widow) carried him to a more considerable school at Prachatitz, a neighbouring town. They say, that when his mother carried him to Prague to have him entered into the university, she took a goose and a cake with her for a present to the rector, and that by mischance the goose fled away; which accident the poor woman taking for an ill omen, fell down on her knees, to recommend her son to the protection of God, and went on her journey with great heaviness of heart, that she had nothing to make a present of but the cake.

All the authors of that time testify, that John Huss was a man of wit, eloquence, and in great esteem for the regularity of his behaviour. The abbot Trithemius, who wrote about the close of that century, speaks of him as a "man of very great note for his judgment, subtlety, eloquence, and his knowledge of the holy scriptures." The jesuit Balbinus, who is by no means his friend, but had very good authorities at Prague, has given this character of him: "He was (says he) more subtle than eloquent; but the modesty and severity of his manners, his unpolished, austere, and entirely blameless life, his pale thin visage, his good-nature, and his affability to all, even to the meanest persons, was more persuasive than the greatest eloquence."

Nothing makes a better discovery of men's characters than the letters which they write to their particular friends, especially in some nice conjunctures, when they open their hearts, and depend upon secrecy. The letters which John Huss wrote from Constance were of this stamp. He had no design that they should be made public to gain him applause. On the contrary, it was his special request that they might be shewn to no person living, lest they should bring himself or his friends into trouble. For in these letters we shall find a great deal of passion expressed against the church, or the clergy of Rome in general, and against his judges in particular. But there is matter enough in this history to apologize for him on that head. For the rest, every impartial person will observe in all his letters, a piety, candour, simplicity, zeal, charity, constancy, and a greatness of soul, worthy of the apostolical ages.

He lived in times that were very favourable for the improvement of all his various talents. The university of Prague was at that time in a flourishing state, by the great resort of scholars to it from all parts. John Huss had gone through all the degrees of honour in it, except that of doctor, which I don't find he had. In the year 1393, he was made bachelor, master of arts in 1396, priest and preacher at Bethlehem in 1400, dean of the faculty of divines in 1401, and doctor of the academy in 1409.—This we find written with his own hand in the archives of the university of Prague, where he had very great authority, and where he signified his rectorship by the good order he procured there.

He was as much esteemed in the church as in the academy. In 1400 he was appointed confessor to Sophia of Bavaria, second wife of Wenceslaus, a princess of great merit, and over whom John Huss had a very great ascendancy. It was through this queen's favour, as well as through his own merit, that he soon acquired powerful friends at court.—Balbinus affirms, without proof, that after the condemnation of John Huss, and the death of Wenceslaus, the queen repented that she was ever engaged in Hussitism. What is certain, is, that by order of the emperor Sigismund, she was obliged to retire to Presburg, which is no very great proof of her conversion. She died in 1425.

In 1406, John Huss made himself very famous by the sermons he preached in the Bohemian language, in the

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\* This word signifies a goose in the Bohemian, and John Huss frequently alludes to this interpretation in his letters.

famous chapel of Bethlehem, of which he was parson. It does not appear that he had been charged with any innovation before that. 'Tis true that Balbinus pretends that, ann. 1402, he secretly supported Jerom of Prague and Jacobel, who propagated the opinions of John Wickliff in the university of Prague. Some of Wickliff's works had been brought into Bohemia, by a Bohemian gentleman, named Faulfisch, when he returned from the university of Oxford.—But Theobaldus, who, Balbinus says, was better informed of the particular circumstances of Hussitism than all the other authors, pretends that John Huss at the very first abhorred Wickliff's books, and even censured them as fit to be burnt; and Balbinus himself declares, upon the evidence of Ilages, that John Huss at first held Wickliff's opinions in abhorrence, and that he advised that his book might be thrown into the river. 'Tis true, that another author who wrote the life of John Huss, taken partly from his works, and partly from the history or protocol of Peter de Mladouswitz, a notary, and from a journal of John Huss himself; 'tis true, I say, that this author contradicts the account of his aversion to Wickliff's books. Nevertheless, the famous Claudius d'Espence, in his book of the Eucharist, alleges a profession of faith, made in 1428, by John de Rezibram, a Hussite, where he says, that John Huss, with the masters and doctors, had above twenty years ago publicly and unanimously condemned about forty of Wickliff's articles. If this fact be true, that condemnation must have been passed in the synod that Shynko, archbishop of Prague, assembled in 1408, which no doubt was the reason the archbishop pronounced that there had been no heresy in Bohemia. Such as have endeavoured to reconcile authors in this point, have said, that John Huss did at first censure Wickliff's opinions in public, but that he clandestinely fomented them. Perhaps too the case was the same with him, in regard to the works of Wickliff, as it was with Luther with regard to the works of John Huss. "When I studied at Erford, (says Luther,) I found in the library of the convent a book entitled the Sermons of John Huss. I had a great curiosity to know what doctrines that arch-heretic had propagated. My astonishment at the reading of them was incredible. I could not comprehend for what cause they burnt so great a man, who explained the scripture with so much gravity and dexterity. But as the very name of Huss was held in so great abomination, that I imagined the sky would fall, and the sun be darkened, if I made honourable mention of him, I shut the book with no little indignation. This however was my comfort, that he had written this perhaps before he fell into heresy. For I had not yet heard what had passed at the council of Constance."

Be that as it will, the great applause which John Huss had gained in his chapel at Bethlehem, and his interest at court, authorized him no doubt to inveigh without mercy against the abuses of the Romish church, and the irregularities of the clergy. However, it does not appear that he preached any doctrine in that chapel which was manifestly heretical, in the sense of the church of Rome, till the year 1409. For, as was but just now observed, Shynko, archbishop of Prague, declared in a synod held about the month of July, 1408, that, after a strict inquiry, he had not found any errors in Bohemia. 'Tis true, indeed, that in 1408, Sigismund, king of Hungary, who then assumed the title of Governor of Bohemia, having prohibited the raising of any money in that kingdom to be carried to Rome, because he was incensed against Boniface IX. who supported Ladislaus, king of Naples, his rival; John Huss took that opportunity to preach against the pope's indulgences. But

at that time this was neither a crime nor a heresy; Sigismund approved of it. Wenceslaus being also disgusted at Boniface IX. because he had consented to his being deposed, was not sorry for it; and more than all this, the scandalous schism of the popes was a sufficient warrant for preachments of that nature. 'Tis true also that he composed, in what year I know not, a treatise against the imposture of the covetous priests and laymen; who gave out false miracles on the pretended appearances of the blood of Jesus Christ; wherein he proved, 1. That the blood of Jesus Christ had been glorified with his body by the resurrection, and was entirely separable from it. 2. That no believer ought to worship any thing upon earth, as the blood of Jesus Christ, because that blood cannot exist there. 3. He complains bitterly of the malice of the covetous priests, who diabolically put their own blood into the host, to make fools believe that 'tis the blood of Jesus Christ. 4. Then he answers objections. The first is taken from the custom of exposing in some churches the crown, the thorns, the nails, the cross, of Jesus Christ, where his blood is very plain to be discerned. He answers in the first place, that admitting the fact, the redness which appears is not the very redness of the blood of Jesus Christ, but a redness left in those relics in memory of that blood. In the second place he answers, that if in the sacrament of the holy supper 'tis agreed that the accidents subsist therein without the subject; with much more reason may redness be in the nails, the cross, the spear, and the crown, and yet the blood of Jesus Christ not be there. The second objection is founded on the custom at Rome, of exposing the flesh of Jesus Christ's foreskin. He denies the fact point blank in these terms, "Before those forgers, who pretend to shew that foreskin, will be able to prove the reality of it, the angel will sound the trumpet for the day of judgment." And, says he, if it be objected, that it will follow from thence, that such as expose the foreskin of Jesus Christ at Rome are knaves, and that such as believe them are fools; "I own it, and that they are deceived in just the same manner at Prague by impostors, who pretend to shew the blood of Jesus Christ mixed with dust, his beard, and the milk of the Virgin Mary." There are many other objections taken from the almighty power of God, which he answers by distinguishing what God can do, from what God will do. The last objection runs upon the miracles wrought by the blood of Jesus Christ, as making the lame to walk, and restoring sight to the blind, &c. He again denies the fact, and maintains that 'tis a lie, which a covetous priest cannot support but by other lies. 5. He gives an account of several sham miracles worked by the pretended blood of Jesus Christ, which have been convicted of falsehood, and for which the impostors have been punished; as in Italy, Bohemia, Poland, Hungary, Germany, and particularly at Wilsnach in Brandenburg. He reports, that in that little town a certain vassal, named Henry, having challenged Frederick his lord to a duel, devoted his arms to the blood of Jesus Christ, and killed his adversary; which made that place so famous, that every body flocked to it. This obliged Shynko the archbishop of Prague, in a synod, to order all the curates and preachers to forbid the people every Sunday from the pulpit to go to Wilsnach, under the pretence of the false miracles wrought there by the blood of Jesus Christ. Also, this Treatise of John Huss was approved of by the university, and by Shynko the archbishop.

This approbation shews, that John Huss had not yet fallen out with the church of Rome. It appears also from several sermons which he preached at Prague, in the archbishop's

presence. There is one he preached in a synod, the year of which is not specified, but it must be in 1404 or 1405.—In this sermon John Huss declaims with a great deal of force and freedom against the irregularities of the clergy, and particularly against their fornications and drunkenness, and exhorts his archbishop to use his authority to suppress those enormities.

There is another sermon preached in the episcopal palace in 1405, wherein the fornicating debauched priests, together with the mendicant friars, and the endowed monks, are lashed as severely as in the former. I find another that was preached in 1407, in the presence of the archbishop, upon Ephes. vi. 16. 'Tis of the same style as the two others; only I observe this difference in it, that it has not the invocation of the Virgin, or the Ave Mary, as the former have.

The great clamour against John Huss did not begin therefore, in my opinion, till about the latter end of 1408, and the beginning of 1409; upon this occasion: When the greatest part of Europe had abandoned Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII. to embrace the neutrality, John Huss exhorted all Bohemia to fall off also from Gregory XII. whom it obeyed, and to join with the college of cardinals in their labours for the union of the church. He had also engaged the whole university in the interest of the cardinals of the two obediences, who were united for assembling a council. But the archbishop of Prague and his clergy, always attached to Gregory, thundered at the university, and particularly at John Huss, as a schismatic, and forbade him to exercise the priest's functions in his diocese. John Huss, who upon this occasion spared neither the pope nor the clergy, brought the greatest part of the ecclesiastics upon his back. This appeared by a letter he wrote in 1411 to the college of cardinals.

Much about the same time another affair happened, which created him a great number of enemies in Germany; and this is what we must here briefly lay open, in order to come at a thorough knowledge of the origin of all those troubles. The emperor Charles IV. having founded the university of Prague in 1317, upon the footing of those at Paris and Bologna, he divided it the next year into four nations, viz. that of Bohemia, which included Hungary, Moravia, and Sclavonia; that of Bavaria, that of Poland, and that of Saxony, which were all three included under the name of the German nation. According to the plan of the two universities above mentioned, those of the country were to have three voices, and the foreigners one only, in the deliberations of the academy. But as the Germans were more numerous in the university than the Bohemians, who at that time neglected their studies very much, the former insensibly became masters of the three voices, and, by the same means, of all the profits of the university. John Huss perceiving that some of his countrymen, as Jerome of Prague, and John de Zwickowies, were very uneasy under this superiority of foreigners, joined with them in a petition to the court, that according to the practice of the university of Paris, and the ordinance of Charles IV. the natives might have three voices, and the other but one.—Dubravius pretends that John Huss undertook this affair out of spite against a German, who had carried a benefice from him, for which he was a competitor. But as I don't meet with this circumstance in any old author, I only mention it, that I might be sure not to omit any thing which might make for or against John Huss. It was on the 11th of May, 1408, that John Huss took occasion to explain himself publicly, as to the pretensions of the Bohemians, when the university was assembled to choose a new rector. He got nine or ten masters in theology to support him, among whom were Jerome of Prague, Prebibrum, Peter of Dresden, James de Misc, or Jacobel.

The affair of the three voices was very warmly pleaded at court on both sides. Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, is said to have rejoiced at this process, because he found his account in it, each side sparing no money to gain the ascendant: insomuch that 'tis reported the covetous prince said with a smile, that he there found a rare *goose*, which laid him every day a fine parcel of eggs of gold and silver. 'Tis also said, that while the process for the rectorship was depending, the king created the master of his kitchen rector. Nevertheless, John Huss, who had interest at court, and especially with the queen, obtained a declaration at last from the king in favour of his countrymen. So that the Germans, being provoked that they had lost their cause, and at the same time their privileges, deserted the university by thousands. 'Tis very certain that a great number went away, because it was out of that detachment that the academy of Leipsic was formed, which was founded in 1409, by Frederic and William, dukes of Saxony. The first rector of this university was Dr. John Otho de Munsterberg, a Silesian, who was before dean of the university. The academies of Erford, Ingolstadt, Rostock, and Cracow, were also considerably augmented by this defection. But it appears, by a letter from the German nation to Wenceslaus, that before they retired, the Germans made a vain effort to get that decree revoked.

The Bohemians being then the masters, and having no more cause to fear contradiction from the Germans, began to dogmatize more publicly against the clergy, according to the notions of Wickliff, of whom they gave great encomia. John Huss, who at that time was chosen rector, spoke openly of him as a saint, in his public lectures, and in the sermons he preached at Prague in his chapel of Bethlehem; and his zeal, joined to his capacity, soon brought over to his party the greatest, and also what was reckoned the most substantial, part of Bohemia, notwithstanding all the opposition of the clergy. This affair coming to the knowledge of Alexander V. that pope ordered Sbynko, archbishop of Prague, to use all his diligence to stop the progress of these innovations. In pursuance of this order, the archbishop caused Wickliff's books to be burnt, and they were accordingly committed to the flames in 1410.

The year before, the same archbishop, upon the information of the Germans before their departure, had ordered all the doctors, masters, and bachelors, as well as all the gentlemen and citizens, who had Wickliff's books in custody, to bring them to the episcopal palace: but as this order was contrary to the privileges of the university, as well as to the *jus regium*, or royal prerogative of the kingdom, an appeal was made to Gregory XII. who prohibited Sbynko to push that affair any further. The archbishop, not content with having caused Wickliff's books to be burnt, forbade the curates to preach in chapels, even though licensed by the apostolic see. As this prohibition particularly affected John Huss, and his chapel of Bethlehem, he appealed, in the name of the university, to John XXIII. who had succeeded Alexander V.—John XXIII. having committed the examination of the affair to his doctors, the greatest number were of opinion, that the archbishop of Prague had no right to order Wickliff's books to be burnt, and that it was contrary to the privileges of the university, which held immediately of the see of Rome. Meantime, certain enemies of John Huss, having given this pope to understand that he taught heresies at Prague, he summoned him to appear before the court of Rome, which was then kept at Bologna. But the king and queen, the nobility, the university, and the city of Prague, sent a deputation to the court of Rome, to desire the pope to dispense with John Huss's appearance in person; on the one

hand, because he had been summoned upon a false accusation; and on the other hand, because it was not safe for him to go to Rome, by reason of the enemies he had in Germany. Sbynko himself wrote, by order of the king, to John XXIII. not only to entreat him to dispense with John Huss's personal appearance, but to assure him that there had been no heresy in Bohemia; and that all the disputes which he had been engaged in with John Huss, and the university, had been pacified by the interposition of Wenceslaus: but an author of credit affirms, that those letters from Sbynko to the pope were not delivered to him, because his reconciliation with John Huss was not sincere. Meantime, John Huss sent his proctors to the court of Rome, to answer for him; but they were committed to prison, and very unworthily treated, after having stayed there a year and a half to no purpose. This was followed by the excommunication of John Huss, who had no other remedy than to appeal to Jesus Christ, till the next council. As this appeal to God, or Jesus Christ, was charged on him as a crime, 'tis proper, in this place, to give the draft of it entire: 'God Almighty, one only Essence in three Persons, is the first and last refuge of those who are oppressed: 'Tis the Lord who protects the truth in all ages, doing justice to such as suffer wrong, standing by those who call upon him in truth, and condemning all incorrigible sinners to destruction. Our Lord Jesus Christ, very God and very Man, being encompassed by the popes, scribes, pharisees, and sacrificers, his judges and accusers, and being desirous to redeem from eternal damnation his children, (elected before the foundation of the world,) by a bloody and ignominious death, has given this excellent example to his disciples, to commit their cause to the judgment of God, who is able to do all things, knows all things, and doth whatsoever pleaseth him. In imitation of this holy, this great example, I appeal to God, who sees me oppressed as I am by the unjust sentence and pretended excommunication of popes, scribes, pharisees, and judges sitting on the seat of Moses. In this appeal I also imitate St. Chrysostom, who appealed from two councils; the blessed bishop Andrew of Prague, and Robert of Lincoln, who appealed humbly and usefully to the sovereign and most just Judge, who can no more be intimidated by any terror, or corrupted by presents, than be seduced by false witnesses. I wish that all believers in Christ, especially the princes, barons, gentlemen, vassals, and all the inhabitants of our kingdom of Bohemia, may be informed of, and touched with compassion for, the pretended excommunication fulminated against me by Peter, cardinal deacon of St. Angelo, commissioned thereto by pope John XXIII. at the instigation of my adversary Michael de Causis, and by the consent of the canons of Prague. This cardinal has for near two years refused all audience to my advocates and proctors, though it ought not to be refused to a Jew, a Pagan, and a heretic; that same prelate would not acquiesce in the reasonable excuses I made for being dispensed with from appearing, nor shew any regard to the authentic testimonies of the university of Prague. From whence 'tis clear, that I have not incurred the brand of contumacy, because 'tis not from contempt, but from valid reasons, that I did not appear at Rome, when I was cited thither. 1. Because ambushes were laid for me on the road. 2. Because I took warning from the dangers of others. 3. Because my proctors engaged to undergo the fiery trial against any persons whatsoever at the court of Rome.' [It appears from hence, that it was still the custom at that time to decide causes by ordeal; that is to say, by the touch of hot iron. This abuse was authorized, not only by the Christian princes, but also by the popes.] 4. Because my proctor was im-

prisoned at that court for no crime that deserved it, at least as I know of:—Therefore, since 'tis established by all the ancient laws, as well as by the divine books of the Old and New Testament, as by the canons, that the judges shall go to the places where the crime has been committed, and there take information of the matters in charge from people who well know the person accused; persons not ill-minded, nor his enemies, nor such as act out of malice, but from a zeal for God's law; and finally, as 'tis enjoined by the same laws, that the person who is summoned or accused shall appear in a safe and free place to make his defence, and that neither the judge nor witnesses shall be his enemies; 'tis manifest, that as all these conditions have not been performed to me, I am absolved in the sight of God of the crime of contumacy, and discharged from a pretended and frivolous excommunication. I, John Huss, present this appeal before Jesus Christ, my Master, and my righteous Judge, who knows, protects, and tries the just cause of any one whatsoever.'

Meantime, Conrad, archbishop of Prague, having at the solicitation of John Gerson forbid John Huss to preach at Prague, he retired once more probably to the place of his birth. From that time to the council of Constance, he wrote several tracts in defence of his doctrine, and to answer his adversaries; particularly his Treatise of the Church, from whence most of the articles upon which he was condemned were extracted; and another little work which he caused to be affixed to the chapel of Bethlehem, with the title of the Six Errors. The first was that of the priests, who boasted of their making the body of Jesus Christ in the mass. John Huss indeed believed transubstantiation, but he maintained that it was God that worked this miracle at the mention of the sacramental words, and that the priest only contributed to it by his ministry; for he could not endure that the priests should boast of being creators of their Creator. The second error he took notice of was the Credenda used at that time, "I believe in the Pope, I believe in the saints, I believe in the Virgin;" John Huss maintaining that a man must believe only in God. The third error he attacked was "the pretension of the priests to the power of remitting sins, and the guilt of sin, to whomsoever they pleased." The fourth was, "That a man is bound to obey his superiors in whatsoever they command." The fifth, "That excommunication binds and actually excommunicates the person against whom it is fulminated, whether it be just or not." The sixth error is Simony, which he calls a heresy, and of which he accuses the greatest part of the clergy. This treatise of John Huss was received with the more greediness by the greatest part of Bohemia, because, properly speaking, it fell upon none but the clergy, who had for a long time rendered themselves extremely odious to the whole world. The clergy on their part having attacked him with all their power, Bohemia became by that means the theatre of an intestine war, which the rigour of the council only served to render the more bloody.

When the season for the council drew near, John Huss took measures for his security. With this view he desired Conrad, and Nicholas bishop of Nazareth, who was inquisitor of the faith in Bohemia, to give him testimonies of his orthodoxy. He obtained them in the month of August, 1414, and in due time we shall produce them.—The archbishop having that same month assembled a provincial synod at Prague, John Huss went without being called to it, in order to give an account there of his faith, and to declare that he was going to the council with the same view. Not being able to obtain audience, he got the act of such refusal drawn up by the hands of a notary, and the act was signed in the



form by several witnesses. He afterwards caused writings to be fixed up at the doors of all the churches and all the palaces of Prague, to notify his departure, and to invite all persons to come to Constance, to be witnesses either of his innocence or his conviction. That which he caused to be set up at the door of the royal palace, was as follows:

*To the King, to the Queen, and to the whole Court.*

"I have heard from good hands, that your majesty has received letters from the pope, whereby he exhorts you not to suffer the heresy which has been propagated for some time in your kingdom, to take deeper root. Though these ill reports are not owing, I thank God, to any fault of mine, yet 'tis my duty not to suffer the court and kingdom of Bohemia to be exposed to calumny upon my account. Therefore I have caused letters to be fixed up every where, in order to engage the archbishop of Prague to vigilance in this affair, by way of public advertisement, that if there be any person in Bohemia who knows I am tainted with heresy, let him repair to the archbishop's court, and there declare what he knows; but as no accuser has appeared, the archbishop has permitted me and mine to set out for Constance: Therefore I beseech your majesty, as guardian of the truth, as well as the queen and council, that you would please to bear witness, that after having done all I could to justify myself, there is no adversary that appears against me. Besides, I make it known to all Bohemia, and to the whole world, that I shall go with the first opportunity, and make my appearance in the council where the pope is to preside, to the end that if there be any one who suspects me of heresy, he may repair thither, and demonstrate before the pope and the doctors whether I ever held and taught any false or erroneous opinion. And if they can convince me of any error, or of having taught any thing contrary to the Christian faith, I will readily submit to all the pains of heretics. But I hope that God will not give the victory to the unfaithful, who attack the truth for the nonce."

John Huss caused papers of this kind to be put up in every place on his road to Constance, as may be seen among his works.—That which he caused to be fixed up at Nuremberg ran thus: Master John Huss is going to Constance, there to make declaration of the faith which he always held, and which he still embraceth, and which, by the grace of God, he shall adhere to till death. Therefore, as he has given public notice throughout the whole kingdom of Bohemia, that he was willing, before his departure, to give an account of his faith in the general synod of the archbishop of Prague, and to answer all things that might be laid to his charge; he gives the same notice to this imperial city of Nuremberg, that if any person has any error or heresy to reproach him with, he need only repair to the council of Constance, because there he is ready to give an account of his faith.

I could never meet with the act which he demanded at court. But it appears by one of his letters, written just before he departed, that he had a safe-conduct from the king: now 'tis natural by that to understand the king of Bohemia, and not the king of the Romans. For he set out about the 11th, or, according to some, the 15th of October, 1414, at which time he had not yet received the safe-conduct from Sigismund, because it was not despatched till the 18th of that month. No wonder that he was for setting out before he had this safe-conduct. He had no danger to fear from Prague to Constance. He had indeed a great many enemies in Germany: but as they had all the reason in the

world to expect he would be condemned at the council, it was not probable they would waylay him. Therefore the safe-conduct was necessary for him, principally during his stay at Constance, and for his return to Prague. It appears also, that he was not without violent forebodings of what happened to him, though he was very well satisfied of his own innocence. For in a letter which he wrote immediately before his departure, to a priest named Martin, who had been one of his disciples, he entreats him on the back of it not to open it until he has certain news of his death: *Rogo te quod istam non aperiās Literam nisi certus fueris de hoc quod sim mortuus*. In this letter he makes a sort of will and confession. Among other sins for which he begs pardon of God, he declares his hearty repentance that he had lost too much time, and taken too much pleasure, in the game of chess, before he was priest; of having put himself into a passion at play, and unhappily drawing others into the like. In this same letter he does not dissemble that he has not spared the avarice and irregular manners of the clergy, and that 'tis for this, that, by the grace of God, he suffers a persecution which will shortly be consummated. Much about the same time he wrote a letter to his flock in Bohemia, (probably at Prague,) immediately before his departure, which is well worth abstracting. 1. He exhorts them to remain steadfast in the doctrine which he has faithfully taught them. 2. He tells them that he sets out with a safe-conduct from the king, which can only be understood of Wenceslaus, as will be seen in its place, *cum Literis publicæ fidei a Rege mihi datis*. 3. He says, that he expects to find more enemies in the council than Jesus Christ had in Jerusalem; first on the part of the bishops and doctors, then on the part of the secular princes, and lastly on the part of the pharisees, (that is to say, the monks.) 4. He prays the Lord to give him strength to persevere in the truth to the end, being resolved to suffer the last degree of punishment, rather than to betray the gospel by any cowardice. 5. He begs his friends to assist him with their prayers, to the end that if he be condemned, he may glorify God by a Christian end; or, that if ever he return to Prague, he may return thither innocent, and without having taken any one step against his conscience, in order to labour with more zeal than ever to extirpate the doctrine of Antichrist. 6. He says, that he had resolved indeed to go to Prague before he set out for Constance, in order to convince his enemies of falsehood, but that the time did not permit him. 7. He speaks of his return in a very uncertain manner, but is resigned to the will of God, and even joyful to die for his cause.—This letter, written in the Bohemian tongue, was translated into Latin, and forged by his enemies, who sent it to Constance, where one may imagine it gained him no good-will.

The next day after his arrival at Constance, he caused it to be notified to John XXIII. by two of the Bohemian noblemen that were his convoy, viz. John de Chlum and Henry de Latzenbock. They declared to the pope at the same time, that John Huss was furnished with a safe-conduct from Sigismund, and they also desired his holiness to grant him his protection, and to take care that his safe-conduct was not violated. The pope received those lords very courteously, and made this protestation to them: "Even though John Huss had killed my brother, I would make use of all my power to prevent any injustice from being done to him while he stays at Constance." He was there indeed for several days with freedom enough. It appears also by a letter from a parson, who was his friend, one John Janowitz, which was written at Prague the 4th or 5th of November, that the pope, by advice of his cardinals, had by his own full



power and authority taken off his excommunication, and had declared to him, that he might freely go where he pleased, provided that he kept from the solemn masses, in order to prevent scandal and popular combustion. This news was brought to him, as the letter says, by count Otho de Hochberg, bishop of Constance, accompanied by his official and an auditor of the sacred palace, (Auditor utnam sacri Palatii Apostolici.) By the way, this bishop was elected at 23 years of age, and resigned his bishopric in 1423. It appears also by this letter, that they were very apprehensive at Constance that John Huss would preach in public: somebody had actually given out that he was to preach before the clergy upon a certain Sunday, and that he would give a ducat to every one that would go to hear him. Whether it was a friend or an enemy that had given out this report, (says the letter,) is not known. But 'tis certain that John Huss expected to preach, as we find by two sermons he had prepared for that purpose, and which are inserted among his works.

Stephen Paletz, divinity professor at Prague, and Michael de Causis, parson of one of the parishes, were arrived at Constance some days ago. The first, who had been John Huss's intimate friend, was become his greatest adversary, upon occasion of the *Croisado* published by John XXIV. against Ladislaus. As to Michael de Causis, I learn from a German author, who wrote the history of John Huss in 1623, from the memoirs of that time, that Michael de Causis was parson of St. Adalbert in the old city of Prague. This author represents Causis as a man very covetous and greedy of money. "He quitted (says he) his church, and employed himself in recovering gold mines that were fallen in, for which he pretended to have a secret. The king of Bohemia having ordered him to retrieve one, he took up a round sum of money for it beforehand. But not being able to accomplish his undertakings, he fled to Rome with the money that was left. There he offered his service against John Huss: and it was upon this consideration, that when he came back to Bohemia, he was not troubled for the money which he had embezzled." Paletz had already written some tracts against John Huss, among which there was one entitled *Anti-Huss*, which I saw in MS. in the hamls of Dr. Von der Hardt, at Helmstadt. As Paletz and Causis were both animated with the same zeal against John Huss, they let no moment pass, nor left one stone unturned, for his condemnation. Their first care, after their arrival at Constance, was to cause bills to be posted up against John Huss, as an excommunicated heretic; for which he could obtain no justice from the pope. What can I do in it? (said John XXIII.) they who have done it are your own countrymen. On the other hand, they had drawn up certain articles, which they pretended to have extracted from his books, and which they distributed to the pope and cardinals. They not only acted as adversaries or accusers, but as mere spies upon him, by watching his behaviour at home; and insinuated to the cardinals, that it was proper to arrest him.

Being therefore assembled in a congregation at the pope's apartment, they deputed the bishops of Augsburg and Trent, with Henry of Ulm, consul of Constance, and a gentleman, to tell him that he must forthwith appear before the pope and cardinals, there to give an account of his doctrine, which he had so often wished to do. The deputies performed their commission with a great deal of civility and courtesy. Nevertheless, they had taken the precaution to post a good number of soldiers in the neighbourhood, in case of necessity. John Huss answered, that the only motive of his repairing to Constance, was to give an account of his faith in full council,

and not barely in a private congregation of the pope and cardinals; but that since they had so ordered it, he would go thither nevertheless, being fully resolved to lay down his life, rather than betray the truth. Accordingly he set out without delay, being accompanied by the count John de Chlum, a generous and zealous friend, who never abandoned him. When he arrived at the episcopal palace, one of the cardinals spoke to John Huss in these terms: "Many complaints have been made to us against you, of such a grievous nature, that, if they are just, it will be impossible to tolerate you. For public fame accuses you of having propagated capital and manifest errors in Bohemia, against the Catholic church. To know what truth there is in all this, is the reason we have sent for you hither."—"I entreat you, my fathers, to be assured, (said John Huss,) that I would sooner die than be convicted of any heresy, much less of capital errors, as you say: for this reason I came with joy to this council, and premise you, that if I am convicted of any error, I will abjure it without hesitation." The cardinals told him that they were satisfied with his answer; and leaving him in custody, as well as John de Chlum, till farther orders, they retired, with design to meet again in the afternoon.

Meantime, a certain monk, of the order of the minor friars was sent to him to be a spy upon his discourse, under pretence of friendly conversation. This monk, pretending first to be very simple and ignorant, told him that he came to him with a view of being instructed, and to have a true account from him of several articles which he was accused of teaching contrary to the Catholic faith, and which had raised some scruples in his mind. "In the first place, (says he to him,) you are accused of believing that nothing but bread remains in the sacrament of the altar after consecration, and the pronouncing of the sacramental words." John Huss answered bluntly, that it was a false imputation. "Why, (says the monk,) is not that your opinion?"—"No, replied John Huss, it is not. The monk was going to press him farther upon that article, when John de Chlum taxed him with indiscretion; upon which he called a new cause, still making ignorance, and his great desire of knowledge, his excuse. Therefore he asked John Huss, what he thought of the union of the Divine and Human Natures in the Person of Jesus Christ? Upon which John Huss, turning about to John de Chlum, said to him in the Bohemian tongue, Believe me, this man is not such an ignoramus as he pretends; for this question which he puts to me is very difficult." Then turning to the monk, "Brother, (says he,) you say you are simple; but I see, by this subtle question, that you are more knave than fool, and that under the veil of innocence you conceal a very great penetration of mind. Be that as it will, know then that this union is personal, inseparable, and entirely supernatural." John Huss having answered the monk's question, the latter withdrew, thanking him for his good explanations. But when John Huss heard afterwards that this monk was one of the most eminent divines of Italy, he was sorry that he did not know it at first, that he might have had more discourse with him.

The cardinals meeting again the same day at four o'clock in the afternoon, in the pope's chamber, it was resolved among them, at the instigation of Paletz, Causis, and some others, to commit John Huss to prison. At night, therefore, they sent the governor of the pope's palace to tell John de Chlum, that as for him he might go where he pleased, but that he had orders to commit John Huss to some place of security. John de Chlum went immediately, and complained of it to the pope, as a manifest violation of the public faith, and his own promise. But the pope laid the blame of it

upon the cardinals and bishops, adding, that he himself was in their hands. It does not appear, indeed, that the pope was present in the congregation when it was resolved to arrest John Huss. Nevertheless, 'tis not to be supposed that the cardinals would have presumed to have put such an undertaking in execution, without his knowledge and consent. But as the pope could not be ignorant that Sigismund would take this violation of his safe-conduct very ill, he was very glad he had an opportunity to say, this resolution was taken in his absence; and probably the cardinals engaged to pacify the emperor. Be it as it will, John Huss was carried to the house of the chanter of the cathedral of Constance, where he was confined under a strong guard. A Vienna MS. adds, that he was committed to the care of the bishop of Lausanne. Meantime, John de Chlum daily solicited John XXIII. for his enlargement; and as it still seemed to be a doubt with the pope whether he had a safe-conduct from Sigismund, though the Bohemian lords assured him of it the next day after their arrival, John de Chlum confirmed it to him again, but without shewing him the safe-conduct, because he did not wish to see it, and probably did not very much care to be convinced of it with his own eyes. But John de Chlum showed it then to any that had a mind to see it. In order that the public may be better able to judge of this important affair, the pope has inserted the passport in this place:

"Sigismund, by the grace of God, king of the Romans, Archduke of Austria, as well ecclesiastical as secular, &c. and to all other subjects, greeting. We affectionately recommend to all of you in general, and every one of you in particular, the honourable master John Huss, B. D. and A. M. the bearer of these presents, going from Bohemia to the council of Constance; whom we have taken into our protection and safeguard, and into that of the empire, desiring you, when he comes amongst you, to receive him well, and entertain him kindly, furnishing him with all necessaries for his despatch and security, whether he goes by land or water, without taking any thing either from him or his, at coming in or going out, for any sort of duties whatsoever; and to let him freely and securely pass, sojourn, stop, and repass; and providing him, if need be, with good passports, for the honour and respect of his Imperial Majesty. Granted at Spire, the 18th of October, 1414, the 33d of our reign, as king of Hungary, and in the 5th as king of the Romans. By order of the king." And underneath, "Michael de Paccst, canon of Breslaw."

If we may judge of this safe-conduct by the form of it, and by the term *affectionately*, it cannot be doubted but Sigismund granted it *bona fide*. But the event will illustrate it to us better than all conjectures. John Huss remained eight days at the chanter's house, from whence he was carried to the prison of the Dominicans' monastery, where he fell dangerously ill. The old historian of his life says here, that the pope, not willing perhaps that he should die a natural death, sent his physicians to him to take care of his health.

The accusers of John Huss were as zealous to bring him to a trial, as John de Chlum was to demand his liberty. With this view, Michael de Causis exhibited eight articles to the pope, which I will here set down, because they are the chief that were produced against him. In the first, which relates to the eucharist, 'tis pretended, 1. That he publicly taught that the sacrament ought to be administered to the people in both kinds. The proof of this article is, that his disciples practised it at Prague. 2. That he taught publicly also, both in the academy and the church, or that at least he holds, that, in the sacrament of the altar, the bread remaineth bread after the consecration. This article, says Causis, will be

cleared up in the examination of John Huss. The second article relates to the ministers of the church. He is therein accused of saying, that the ministers in a state of mortal sin cannot administer the sacraments, and that on the contrary any other person may do it, provided he be in a state of grace. The third article relates to the church, wherein he is accused of teaching, "1. That by the church, ought not to be understood the pope, cardinals, archbishops, and clergy; and that this is a wicked definition, invented by the schoolmen. 2. That the church ought not to possess temporalities, and that the secular lords may take them away from the churches and ecclesiastics with impunity." This appears, say they, because, at his solicitation, most of the churches of Bohemia had been stripped of their revenues. 3. "That Constantine, and the other princes, were guilty of an error in endowing the church. 4. That all priests are of equal authority, and that consequently the ordinations and casualties reserved to the popes and bishops, are the mere effects of their ambition. 5. That the church has no longer the power of the keys, when the pope, cardinals, bishops, and all the clergy, are in a state of mortal sin; which may be the case. 6. That he contemns excommunication, having all along celebrated the divine office during his journey." The two following articles contain nothing but what is included, at least in substance, in the preceding six. After these articles, Causis makes some remarks upon the conduct of John Huss. He accuses him first of having been the cause of the desertion from the university of Prague, by the use he made of the secular authority to the oppression of the Germans. 2. Of having single maintained the errors of Wickliff, against the whole university, which condemned them. 3. Of having persecuted the clergy, and set them and the laity together by the ears, by tempting the avarice and lust of the one, to the prejudice of the estates and revenues of the other. 4. Of being followed by none but heretics, and the enemies of the church of Rome. From hence he inferred, that if John Huss be not severely treated by the council, he will do the church more harm, than ever a heretic did since the reign of Constance; and prays the pope immediately to appoint commissioners to examine him, and doctors carefully to read his works.

This memorial did not fail of its effect.—The pope presently appointed three judges or commissioners, viz. the patriarch of Constantinople, with the bishop of Castel, in Naples, and the bishop of Lebus, in the marquisate of Brandenburg, the one an Italian, the other a German, to hear the articles exhibited against John Huss, and to take the oaths of the witnesses. Then those commissioners went and carried those articles to John Huss himself in his prison, where he lay very sick.—He desired them to grant him an advocate to defend his cause; by reason that being sick and a prisoner, he could not defend it himself. But this was what they would never allow him, because, said they, the canon law prohibits the espousing or pleading the cause of a person suspected of heresy. And as, according to the same law, all manner of witnesses are admitted against a heretic, they did not fail to pick up a great number among the clergy of Bohemia, whom John Huss had exasperated by his preaching. He complains in one of his letters, that so many false and ensnaring articles were every day invented against him, that he had scarce time enough to answer them. In those letters may be seen the great number of vexations which he suffered from his judges; the insults he met with from Paletz, Causis, and some other ecclesiastics; their refusal to allow him proctors and advocates; and the artifices and intrigues they made use of to hinder his having a hearing in council.

I will here give a fragment of one of his letters, because it contains some curious particulars:—'My enemies say, that they will not grant me hearing, unless I pay 2000 ducats to the minister of Antichrist. I hear that Michael de Causis has found means to get a copy of a letter which I wrote to master Jacobel, and of his answer, which no doubt will not be very pleasing. The said Michael de Causis came to me in the prison, together with the patriarch, accompanied by several notaries and witnesses. One of the commissioners having examined me upon oath, whether the letter was mine? I answered him, Yes.' Notwithstanding he was thus disturbed in his mind, he composed several Treatises, by which he comforted himself in his captivity; particularly, upon Marriage, the Decalogue, the Love and Knowledge of God, Repentance, the Three Enemies of Man, the Lord's Supper, and several others which he mentions in his letters, and may be found in his works. These Treatises were sent to Prague, by friends that John Huss had at Constance, who received them from the hand of his keepers.

Meantime, John de Chlum, not being able to obtain a reason from the pope why John Huss was detained, wrote about it to the emperor, who was still absent. This prince, being provoked to see his authority thus unworthily trampled under foot, immediately sent express orders to his ambassadors to cause John Huss to be set at liberty forthwith, and even to break the gates of the prison, in case of disobedience. Though the pope protested that he had no hand in that violence, yet he looked upon the emperor's orders with a very evil eye, and even complained of it after he was withdrawn, in these terms: 'Though John Huss was apprehended by our order, no process was yet made against him, nor sentence passed upon him. So far from it, that his releasement was solicited on the part of Sigismund, whom they called the protector of the council, and the advocate of the church, so far as to threaten to break open the gates of the heretic's prison, if he be not set at liberty.' These words plainly shew, that there was nothing could be more insincere than the protestation which John XXIII. had made, *viva voce*, that he had no hand in the imprisonment of John Huss.—And by leaving him in prison, he put a very gross contempt upon the emperor's orders.—This obliged John de Chlum to complain of it publicly in a Latin and German writing, which he caused to be fixed to the gates of all the churches in Constance. It was in these terms:

'1, John de Chlum, make known to all who shall see or hear these presents, that master John Huss, bachelor of divinity, being come to Constance, there to give an account of his faith in a public hearing, under the safe-conduct and protection of the most serene prince and lord Sigismund, king of the Romans and of Hungary, my most gracious lord, as well as under the protection and safeguard of the empire, for which he has my said lord the king's letters patent; yet notwithstanding this safe-conduct, master John Huss has been apprehended, and is actually detained in prison of this imperial city. And though the pope and cardinals have been very seriously required, by solemn ambassadors from the king of the Romans, to give him his liberty, and to recommit him to my care; they have hitherto and do still refuse it, to the great contempt of the safe-conduct of the king, and of the safeguard of the empire. Therefore I, John de Chlum, do declare in the king's name, that the imprisonment and detaining of master John Huss, is not at all pleasing to the king of the Romans, and that they have taken the advantage of his absence to commit an enterprise, which they would never have dared to do if he had been present. When he arrives, every one

will know how he resents the contempt of this safe-conduct. Dated at Constance upon Christmas Eve, 1414.'

The commissioners for religious matters, fearing that the safe-conduct which the emperor had granted to John Huss would cramp the council, desired that prince to allow them free liberty of acting. This step of theirs had two views in it; the one that the legates of Benedict XIII. and Gregory XII. might come to Constance, with all manner of security; the other, which is just now mentioned, and the chief, was to remove the obstacle which the safe-conduct granted to John Huss might prove in the course of his prosecution. They received as favourable an answer as they could desire. The emperor declared, 'That the council was free to act as they pleased in matters of faith; that they might proceed according to the rules (*servatis servandis*) against such as were notoriously tainted with heresy, and judge them according to their deserts, after having heard them publicly; that as to the menaces which had been made in certain places, and at certain times, in favour of John Huss, his majesty had forbid the putting them in execution, and would do it again if necessary, and would order passports to be despatched for all that were willing to come to the council.' Such a sudden turn makes it very plain, that Sigismund was already perverted, and that the clergy had made him believe that the council had a power to disengage him from a promise which he could not legally make to a heretic. This was the judgment passed upon it by Gebhard Dacher, an eye-witness, in the preface to his German history of this council. 'Sigismund was persuaded (says he) after a great many words, that by virtue of the decretals, he was dispensed with from keeping his faith with a man accused of heresy.' Naclerus, whose writings are of a date not very much later, reports likewise, 'That Sigismund was made to believe that he could not be accused of breach of promise, because the council, which is above the emperor, having not granted a safe-conduct to John Huss, he had no authority to grant him one without the consent of the council, especially in matters of faith; and that the emperor acquiesced in this decision, like a good son of the church.' The same thing may be inferred from the emperor's own words: for speaking to John Huss after his examination, he tells him, that there were some who believed he had no authority to grant any protection to a heretic, or a person suspected of heresy: and indeed 'tis visible, this was the opinion of the council, from two decrees, which they issued to disculpate the emperor, and as far as possible to defeat the disadvantageous rumours that were given out against him on account of this safe-conduct, so basely violated by the imprisonment of John Huss.—These decrees shall be exhibited in due time. From hence it must be inferred, that John Huss was a victim, not only to the passion of his enemies, but also to the weakness and superstition, not to say the treachery, of the emperor: and that they had such an opinion of him in Bohemia, appears from a letter which John Huss wrote in his prison, where he says, that there were people who before his departure had prophesied to him, that the said prince would betray him, and that, for his part, he should never see Prague again.

Nevertheless, it appears by a letter which that emperor wrote to the Bohemians in 1417, that it was against his consent. I will here insert as much of it as relates to this affair. 'Tis not one of those rude or satirical letters which an author, whom I quote elsewhere, says the emperor wrote to the Bohemians; on the contrary, he treats them here with a great deal of kindness and sincerity. He sets before them the fatal consequences which might attend their divisions about John Huss, with regard to the tranquillity of the kingdom, and the

security of the king himself; and that they had reason to fear that their neighbours, who already owed them no good-will, would take advantage of their broils to crush them. Then talking of John Huss, he says, 'That as he had with concern heard how many parties they were split into on account of this doctor, so he was very glad to hear of his design to go to the council, in hopes that there he would justify himself.—' Meantime (says he) he arrived at Constance before I was come, and was arrested there in the manner you have heard of. But if he had attended me beforehand, and had gone to Constance along with me, his affairs perhaps would have taken another turn. God knows, and I am not able to express, how much I was afflicted at his calamity; and all the Bohemians, who were then near me, plainly saw how uneasy that affair made me, and that several times I went out of the council in a rage. I had actually left Constance, when the fathers of the council sent me word, that if I would not permit the council to do justice, they had no business at Constance; so that I resolved not to meddle in that affair, because if I had determined to interest myself farther for John Huss, the council must have been entirely dissolved."

But Maimbourg pretends, that John Huss having not complied with the terms upon which the safe-conduct was granted him, there was no obligation to observe it. In order to shew the vanity of this pretence, one need only give a short history of the conduct of John Huss, to the first violation of his safe-conduct by his being detained. John Huss is summoned to the council; thither he comes: as soon as he arrives, he causes it to be notified to the pope, and desires his protection. The pope promises it to him in the strongest and most affectionate terms. John Huss stays about three weeks at his own lodging without going abroad, waiting for the judgment of the council. At the end of that term he is summoned before the cardinals, to give an account of his faith. He appears, and declares that he is come freely to the council to defend his doctrine against his accusers, and that he is ready to retract, if he be convinced of the least error. The cardinals are satisfied with his answers: and yet on that very day he is arrested, and remains a prisoner till his final punishment. After what has been said, I leave it to the reader to judge whether John Huss broke the conditions upon which he had obtained a safe-conduct.

When they heard at Prague that John Huss was committed to prison, the nobles of Bohemia were extremely enraged at it. They wrote several letters to the emperor to desire his liberty. In the first, three of those lords, speaking in the name of the rest, tell him, that at the entreaty of John Huss, they had demanded of Conrad, their archbishop, at one of their assemblies, whether he had ever observed that John Huss had taught any error? and that this prelate had declared of his own accord, and without any manner of constraint, "That he had never met with one single erroneous word in his writings, and that he had nothing to accuse him of." This declaration they send to the emperor sealed with their seal, and beseech him to procure the liberty of John Huss, that he might be in a capacity to confound his accusers. Meantime, this letter of the Bohemians had no other effect than to confine John Huss more closely. At the solicitation of Paletz, and other divines, he was removed to the convent of the Dominicans, where he fell sick of the stench and other annoyances of his prison.

This obliged the Bohemian nobility to write another letter to the emperor, which was larger and more to the purpose than the former. They represent to him, with respect, that John Huss is gone of his own accord to the council, to confute the false accusations laid against him and Bohemia:

that he earnestly desires and insists to be heard in full council, to evidence the purity of his doctrine, declaring, that if he be convinced of any error, he will readily retract it: that though 'tis notorious that he went to Constance with a safe-conduct from his imperial majesty to protect him, yet he is confined to a loathsome prison. That people from the highest to the lowest are astonished and provoked to see, that the pope should presume thus to commit an honest man to prison, contrary to the public faith, and without assigning any reason for it. That an enterprise of so dangerous a precedent may encourage all the world to depart from their respect to public faith, and to expose the best of men to the insults of the worst. They conclude with an earnest supplication to the emperor to procure the liberty of John Huss, to the end that he may be justified if innocent, or punished if guilty. 'God is our witness (say they) that we should be extremely sorry to hear that any thing should fall out to the dishonour of your majesty, much more that you should foul your hands with so enormous an act of injustice. 'Tis incumbent on yourself to repair, by your prudence and sagacity, all the wrong that has been done hitherto, and to make yourself master of this whole affair.' This letter is signed by ten lords in the name of all the others. Notwithstanding this, John Huss remained in the Dominicans' prison for two months, at the end of which he was removed to the Franciscans' prison, where he stayed till the pope's escape.

John Huss being confined from the 28th of November, when he was arrested, to the time of his condemnation, I know not how some authors could pretend that he made an attempt to escape.

Though the affair of John XXIII. took up great part of their time, yet the council did not neglect the others that were depending. On the one hand, the commissioners in the affair of John Huss did all they could to oblige him to retract, and his enemies on the other hand left no stone unturned, to aggravate his condemnation, as he complains in many of his letters. Though he was a prisoner, infirm, and fretted upon several accounts, yet he answered to every particular. But he declared at the same time, that he desired to have a public hearing, and that whatsoever the commissioners did, he intended to be governed only by the decision of the council. He had solicited for such a hearing a long while to no purpose. The emperor too had promised him, as John Huss says in his 34th letter, though when all's done he did not much expect it. While he was in suspense betwixt hope and fear upon this head, he was carried to a new prison. For the pope's officers, who had the guard of him at the Franciscans' monastery, and whom he praises to the last degree in his 52d letter, being gone to their master at Schaffhausen, he was, not many days after, delivered over to the bishop of Constance, and then carried to the fortress of Goleben. It appears from his 56th letter, which he wrote to the Bohemian gentlemen that were at Constance, and particularly to Wenceslaus de Duba and John de Chlum, how much he was alarmed at the withdrawing of those guards that had treated him so civilly. This letter must have been written on the 24th of March, being Palm Sunday. 'Tis in substance this: 'My guards are all drawn off, and I know not how I shall subsist, nor what will befall me in prison. I beg you to go with the other lords (of Bohemia) to find out the king, (Sigismund,) and to beseech him to make an end of my affair, that he may not be troubled, or be guilty of any crime upon my account. I desire you also to come and see me with the lords of Bohemia, because 'tis necessary that I should talk with

'you, and there's danger in delay. I fear that the master of the pope's palace will carry me off with him by night, for he is still in the monastery.' The bishop of Constance writes to me, and so do the cardinals, that they don't desire to have any controversy with me. If you love the poor Goose (*miserrum anserem*) (alluding to the meaning of his own name,) prevail with the king to give me guards of his court, (*de sua curia*), or to release me out of prison this night.' Sunday in the evening.

Wickliffism being the source of Hussitism, this digression cannot be unseasonable nor irregular. John Wickliff, or Wicleffe, doctor and professor of divinity at Oxford, was born about the year 1324, in the parish of Wicliffe, near Richmond, Yorkshire. He began to make a noise in 1360, by the strenuous opposition he made to the encroachments of the monks, who, under pretence of their exemptions, broke the rules and statutes of the university of Oxford. In 1365, Simon of Isleb, archbishop of Canterbury, appointed Wickliff warden of Canterbury-hall in Oxford, in the room of a friar whom he expelled, because of his turbulent humour. Some time after this, Simon Langham, a monk, succeeding Simon Isleb, by papal provision, in the bishopric of Canterbury, thought fit to expel Wickliff from his hall, and to restore the same friar that had been turned out by his predecessor. Wickliff appealed to pope Urban V. but he lost his cause. The pope put none but monks in the college, and expelled the seculars. In 1366, the same pope, who had his seat at Avignon, having offered to cite Edward III. because he had not performed homage to him for the kingdoms of England and Ireland, nor paid the tribute which John Lackland was engaged for; Wickliff, backed by the parliament, strenuously defended the king's rights against the monk, who as warmly pleaded for those of the pope. In 1374, Wickliff was appointed the second of the seven ambassadors and commissioners that were sent to Bruges, to confer with the bishops of Pampeluna and Sinigaglia, and Giles Sancho, provost of Valencia, who were the pope's commissioners in the affair of the reservation of benefices. It was agreed by this treaty, which lasted two years, that the pope should renounce the reservations in England; but history says that he did not keep his word. As Wickliff, during his stay at Bruges, had several occasions to be better informed of the artifices and tyranny of the pope and the court of Rome, he raved against them more than ever upon his return. We find in the English MSS. of Wickliff, that he called the pope the insolent priest of Rome, Antichrist, robber, &c.

Besides Wickliff's great talents, by the confession even of his enemies, it may be concluded, that the freedom with which he spoke of the tyranny of the popes, the irregularities of the clergy, and the usurpations of the mendicant friars, equally interested him in the favour of the kings Edward III. Richard II. the duke of Lancaster, the greatest part of the laity, and those of the clergy, not to mention the university, which was almost entirely devoted to him. 'Tis not impossible, but the sentence of Urban V. obliged Wickliff to talk more sharply than he had yet done against the pope, who had turned him out of his benefice, and against the monks who had seized it. But it would be rash to assert this positively, as Polydore Virgil, Cocklaus, and many others, have done, because for many years past Wickliff had begun to preach the same doctrine with great strength and applause. This would be attempting to write a history of the dictates of the heart, and not a history of facts. For if other historians should say, that 'twas Wickliff's sermons which induced

the monks to turn him out of his college, they might do it with the same foundation.

Be this as it will, the monks, despairing of being able to oppress Wickliff, carried their complaints to the court of Rome, to Gregory XI. who succeeded Urban V. in 1376, or 1377: this pope sent briefs to Edward III. to Simon Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury, to William Courteney, bishop of London, and to the university of Oxford, to draw up the necessary informations against Wickliff, and also to commit him to prison with his adherents. But as he was supported by the duke of Lancaster, who was at that time very powerful in England, and my lord Piercy, the earl marshal, he escaped condemnation this bout, notwithstanding two synods assembled for that purpose in 1377, and continued to defend his doctrine publicly by word of mouth and writing. Edward III. dying towards the close of this year, before the arrival of the pope's bulls, and Richard II. being as yet a minor, the parliament assembled to consider if the king had not a right to hinder the money of the kingdom from being carried to the court of Rome, though the pope demanded it on pain of the ecclesiastical censures. Wickliff being consulted on this head, maintained the affirmative. There were several assemblies against Wickliff the year following, but without effect, because he was so well supported. In 1380 he undertook the translation of the Bible into English, admitting none of the books to be canonical but those that were acknowledged to be such by the Protestants. In 1381 he began to attack the doctrine of transubstantiation, undertaking to prove in public, that the consecrated host is neither Jesus Christ, nor any part of him. Though the monks prevented this public disputation, yet Wickliff declared his opinion wherever he came. He said, among other things, "That the Church had been in an error many years concerning the sacrament of the eucharist, and that he was resolved to reduce it from idolatry to the worship of the true God. Nevertheless, he met with adversaries, not only in the university, but among the great men of the kingdom, who did not approve of his doctrine of the eucharist, so well as that touching the pope and court of Rome; and it was actually condemned by twelve doctors, heads of the university, of whom four were seculars, and eight monks, with William de Barton, chancellor of the university, at their head.

Wickliff not caring to appeal from this sentence, neither to the pope, nor to any bishop, nor to any ecclesiastical ordinary, appealed to Richard, in hopes of being supported by the secular arm. But the duke of Lancaster not approving of his conduct, exhorted him to submit to his natural judges; so that Wickliff, despairing of any protection for the future, resolved to retract, which he did in a public manner, in 1382, in presence of the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Lincoln, Norwich, Worcester, Salisbury, London, Hereford, and a great concourse of the people. Nevertheless, it appears by the act of his recantation, that it was very ambiguous, and that his judges would not have been content with it, if they had not apprehended that this affair would have made too much noise. Consequently Wickliff soon recovered himself, preaching his old doctrine again; which drew another sentence upon him and his followers, but to no purpose, because his doctrine gained ground every day. He had a great number of adherents of great distinction. Among others, Nicholas of Hereford, master of arts, signalized himself in favour of Wickliff, who, as it is said, set a great value on his friendship. In the number of his principal adherents, we must also reckon Philip Repingdon, a canon of Leicester, and D. D. who was afterwards bishop of Lincoln, who in his first sermon expatiated very much in praise of Wickliff, and upon his ortho-



doxy. Being to preach upon Corpus Christi day, Wickliff's adversaries, fearing that Repingdon would preach up Wickliff's doctrine, desired the archbishop of Canterbury to cause Wickliff's articles, that were already under condemnation, to be published at Oxford, upon the eve of that festival. This engaged the archbishop to order Peter Stokes, who he knew was very much incensed against the Lollards or Wickliffites, to read the sentence upon the very day that Repingdon was to preach. And this prelate wrote at the same time to the chancellor, to be present at the performance; but the chancellor stiffly refused it, saying, that no bishop had authority to condemn heresies in the university. Afterwards assembling the proctors and secular masters, as well the heads as others of the university, he declared to Stokes, that instead of supporting him in this affair, he would oppose him with all his power, and even with force of arms. Accordingly, when the day came, the chancellor, prætor, and proctors, went to the sermon with a good number of men armed. The preacher declaimed very much against the state of the church, supported Wickliff in every thing, and even asserted, that whoever did not pray for the temporal lords before the bishops, or pope himself, infringed the holy scriptures. When the sermon was ended, the chancellor, accompanied with 100 men that had arms under their clothes, attended the preacher to the church door, and gave him great applause; while Stokes, that durst not open his mouth, was hissed by every body. The latter being summoned by the archbishop to give an account why he had not executed his orders, told him, that he had not done it, because it would have been as much as his life was worth, and their's that were with him. However, some time after, they were all obliged to retract. This probably was the reason why William Courteney, now archbishop of Canterbury, did not cite either Wickliff or his adherents to the synod which he called at London in 1382, wherein he condemned ten propositions of Wickliff, as heretical, and thirteen as barely erroneous. This is the synod which Wickliff, in his Trialogue, calls the Earthquake Synod, because there was an earthquake while they were assembled to condemn him. The council were very much alarmed by it; but the archbishop encouraged them, and the session continued. Wickliff did not appear there in person, because he had been told that ambushes were laid to surprise him; but he had his proctors there, and the chancellor of the university of Oxford pleaded his cause there with very great courage, but little success.

Wickliff not being able to live peaceably at Oxford any longer, retired this year to Lutterworth, in Leicestershire, where he had obtained a parsonage. In this retirement he continued to write against the pope, and the church of Rome. Among other tracts, he wrote one in English, intitled, The great Sentence of Excommunication explained; wherein he cleared up many of his articles that had been condemned, and in particular attacked the Croisado which Urban V. had published against the adherents of Clement VII. 'They set up (says he) the standard of Jesus Christ, the sovereign teacher of peace, mercy, and charity, in order to murder Christians for the sake of two knavish priests, who are manifestly Antichrist.—When shall we see the proud priest of Rome grant plenary indulgences to engage men to live in peace, charity, and forbearance, as he does to animate Christians to cut one another's throats?' Not long after his retirement to Lutterworth, he had a fit of the palsy, of which he recovered, but his health declined ever after it: this probably was the reason why he was not prosecuted by his enemies, who looked upon him as a man too weakly to cope with; and about two years after, his illness carried him to

the grave, on the 28th of December, being Innocent's day, when he was seized with the palsy in his tongue, while he was at church hearing mass, and during the elevation of the host: which they did not fail to interpret as a judgment of God.

Wickliff's doctrine was not buried with him. John Huss says, in a treatise he wrote in 1411, that Wickliff's books have been read freely for thirty years in the university of Oxford. The same John Huss, at the end of the second tome of his works, has a very advantageous testimony, which was given in 1406 to Wickliff by the university of Oxford; wherein they declare, that 'tis false that Wickliff was convicted of heresy, or that he was dug up to be burnt after his death. Indeed, Anthony Wood, author of the History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford, calls the authority of this testimony in question, because it does not appear in the records of that university. The same author says, that this testimony was presented by John Huss to the council of Constance, but that Robert Halam, bishop of Salisbury, having delivered an act of the university, which was the very reverse of it, the affair was referred to the judgment of the council. I find nothing concerning this particular in the acts of that council. Meantime, I am very much of Anthony Wood's opinion, who thinks that this testimony in favour of Wickliff was forged, and sealed with the seal of the university, by Peter Payne, and the other Wickliffites, who were pretty numerous at Oxford: which was the more easy for them to do, because, according to the author above-mentioned, no care was taken of the university seal, and any one was at liberty to make use of it. This obliged the academy to take measures, in 1426, against the abuse that had been made of their seal in time past. Be that as it will, we find that in 1396 there was a convocation of the clergy, in which eighteen articles were laid before the assembly, extracted from certain books, which the doctors of divinity, masters of arts, and bachelors, who were Wickliffites, had composed, with the title of Trialogue, after the manner of Wickliff. The first of those articles was, "That the bread remaineth bread after the consecration." At that time the proposition was only examined, and not condemned.

It happened otherwise in 1408: for Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, perceiving the progress of Wickliffism, by the sale of Wickliff's books, published a mandate, prohibiting, under great penalties, the sale of any of that doctor's books, but what was approved by the university in a body, or by 24 deputies, whom the archbishop should appoint. In 1410, the university itself condemned Wickliff's 45 articles, with several others, which according to some amounted to 61, and according to others to 80, and even to 200. Afterwards, Wickliff's books containing those articles were publicly burnt, which happened much about the time that those books were burnt at Prague.

But this execution only served to add new lustre to Wickliff's writings. 'Twas this that engaged Thomas Arundel to declare, in 1411, by letters of citation to the chancellor, doctors, masters, and scholars, of the university, that he was coming to make a visitation, to the end that all might be ready to receive him. But he was so coldly received this bout, that he was fain to return *re infecta*, because the university, by virtue of a privilege from the pope, pretended to be independent on the jurisdiction of the bishops. But the archbishop making them a visitation afterwards by authority from the king, the university was obliged to submit, and to nominate two commissioners to examine Wickliff's books, and, in short, they condemned no less than 267 articles, extracted from several of his treatises. This sentence having

been confirmed by the archbishop, he sent mandates to prosecute the Wickliffites with the utmost severity, and he was backed by the royal authority. But this severity only tended to exasperate the Wickliffites against the archbishop, whom they were so bold as to excommunicate. This prelate, finding their party had too much power and influence for him to master them, resolved to have recourse to John XXIII. and to desire him to cause Wickliff's articles to be condemned, and his body to be dug up and thrown upon a dunghill. The first he obtained, but the second was not performed till 1414, when the remains of Wickliff were dug out of his grave, and burnt, and his ashes thrown into Lutterworth river. This brings us to the 8th session of the council of Constance.

As to the ceremonial, every thing passed as in the preceding sessions. The emperor was present at it, the cardinal de Viviers presided in it, and the patriarch of Alexandria celebrated mass. That part of the gospel, "Beware of false prophets," was read, in order to prepare the minds of the assembly for the reading and condemnation of Wickliff's articles. But the principal business of this session was the reading and condemning of Wickliff's doctrine and memory. The archbishop of Genoa, after having read the decree of the Lateran council, *Firmiter Credimus*, which was approved of by the emperor, and by the whole council, read 45 articles of Wickliff's doctrine, which had already been condemned at Rome. These articles follow just as they are exhibited by Dr. Von der Hardt, after comparing them with several German manuscripts.

**Art. I.** The substance of material bread, and the substance of material wine, remains in the sacrament of the altar.—This article is declared to be *false, erroneous, and heretical*; which censure is confirmed by the Lateran council, and by the authority of St. Ambrose.

**Art. II.** The accidents of the bread do not remain without a subject in the sacrament of the altar.—This article is declared to be *false, erroneous, and savouring of heresy*, as it is generally understood. This censure is founded upon a very subtle argument in logic, on some passages of Peter Lombard, and on two decretals, one from pope Lucius in 1181, which excommunicates all heretics that are of a different opinion from the church of Rome concerning the sacrament of the eucharist; the other of Innocent III. in 1215, which establishes transubstantiation.

**Art. III.** Christ is not himself, (*identice*), and really, in his proper corporeal presence, in the sacrament.—This article is declared to be *false, erroneous, and heretical*, for the same reasons.

**Art. IV.** A bishop or a priest who is in mortal sin cannot ordain, nor celebrate, nor consecrate, nor baptize.—This proposition is declared to be rash and heretical, because it has a tendency to render the whole ecclesiastical hierarchy doubtful and uncertain; besides that 'tis contrary to the opinion of the whole church, and in particular to that of St. Austin and St. Bernard.

**Art. V.** It cannot be proved by the gospel, that Jesus Christ ordained the mass.—This article is only termed false and erroneous in the short censure, but it is declared heretical in the larger one. The doctors bring no other reasons for their opinion, but the words of the institution of the eucharist, whereby they pretend to prove that Jesus Christ celebrated mass, and ordered his disciples to do the same.

**Art. VI.** God ought to obey the devil.—This article is not called heretical; 'tis only said to be false, grating, and offensive to pious ears, and may induce the simple to obey the devil. But Wickliff, in the Apology he wrote for himself in English, after the Earthquake Synod, treats this as an article

of infamous heresy, and a calumnious imputation invented by false witnesses.

**Art. VII.** If a man be truly contrite, external confession is unprofitable to him, and superfluous.—This article is called false, erroneous, heretical, abominable, and diabolical. Which censure is grounded upon those words of St. James v. 16. and Matt. viii. 4. and xviii. 8. upon the authority of Lombard, and upon the decretal, *Omnis utriusque*, which orders all persons, of what sex soever, to confess their sins.

**Art. VIII.** If a pope is (*præsumptus*) a reprobate, (*malus*), wicked, and by consequence a member of the devil, he has received no power over believers from any body, except perhaps from the emperor (*a Cesare*).—This proposition is declared to be false and erroneous in the short censure, but in the larger 'tis deemed heretical; in the first place, because Caiaphas, though probably one of the reprobate, nevertheless prospered; and in the second place, because men, for want of knowing the decrees of God, cannot be sure they ever had a true pope.

**Art. IX.** Since Urban VI. there has been no pope that we ought to receive; but we are under a necessity to live every man according to his own laws, after the manner of the Greeks.—This article is declared false, grating to the ear, erroneous, contrary to good manners, and very heretical.

**Art. X.** 'Tis contrary to the holy scriptures for ecclesiastical persons to have any temporal possessions.—This article is censured as erroneous, heretical, and seditious. In the Great Sentence of excommunication explained by Wickliff, and in other tracts, he sums up his opinion on this matter under these heads.

1. That the tithes are not of divine right, because it does not appear from the gospel, that Jesus Christ either paid or ordered them to be paid.

2. In his complaints to the king and parliament, he desired that the tithes and offerings might be given as before to honest able persons, but not to be extorted by force and excommunication.

3. He disapproves that the laity should be so oppressed, to pamper the luxury of a priest, that they are not able to maintain their own families, and to relieve the poor.

4. That as the laity only paid tithes to be instructed in the word of God, so there were many cases wherein, according to the laws of God and man, the people may refuse to pay them; and that the parsons are more accursed of God in refusing to teach by their preaching and example, than the people in refusing them tithes when they don't discharge their duty well.

**Art. XI.** No prelate ought to excommunicate a person, unless he knows that person is excommunicated by God; and he who excommunicates in any other case, becomes thereby a heretic, or excommunicates himself.—In the short censure 'tis declared, that this article is rash and scandalous, that it tends to disturb the peace of the church, and to disannul ecclesiastical penalties: but in the larger censure 'tis branded with heresy.

**Art. XII.** He that excommunicates a clergyman, because he has appealed to the king or his council, is guilty of high treason against the king.—The doctors think this article false, perverse, and scandalous. The reason they assign for it is, that God has given the spiritual authority to the bishops, and that in this respect they are not subject to kings nor princes, nor to any secular power, because, according to St. Paul, whom Hugh de St. Victor and Alexander Hales quote upon this head, "He that is spiritual judgeth all things, yet he himself is judged of no man."

**Art. XIII.** Such as cease to preach or hear God's word,

because they are excommunicated by men, are excommunicated in effect, and will be looked upon as traitors against Jesus Christ in the day of judgment. This article is judged to be false, rash, contrary to good manners, injurious, and scandalous; because there are occasions wherein a prelate has a right to forbid a priest from preaching, or a layman from hearing the preacher, on pain of excommunication, especially when the dispute is concerning some erroneous doctrine of which he is accused.

Art. XIV. All the friars mendicant are heretics, and they who give them alms are excommunicate.—This article does not appear in the larger censure, but in the short one it is declared heretical and scandalous, because it would follow from thence that the apostles and Jesus Christ himself would have been heretics, because they begged.

Art. XV. During all the time that a temporal lord, or a prelate, or a bishop, is in mortal sin, he is neither lord, nor bishop, nor prelate.—This proposition is declared to be false, erroneous, rash, heretical, and so proved from Romans xiii. 1 Pet. v. and from the examples of Saul and Solomon, who were kings, of Caiaphas, of the scribes and pharisees, who were prelates, and of Judas, who was a bishop, as the doctors of the council say. Wickliff, in his English treatise of Servants and Lords, complains that his words were wrested to render him odious to the temporal lords, and declares that it is not his opinion.

Art. XVI. 'Tis lawful for the temporal lords to deprive the clergy, who live in the habit of any sin, of their possessions and estates.—In the short censure this proposition is said to favour heresy and the avarice of Julian the apostate, who, that he might have a pretence to strip the Christians, quoted those words of their Master to them. "If any man doth not renounce all that he hath, he cannot be my disciple." But the larger censure plainly treats this article as downright heresy and sacrilege, because the church-livings are those of God himself, who having been pleased to erect upon the earth a kingdom of which he is sovereign Monarch, has consecrated certain temporal estates for the administration thereof.

Art. XVII. The people may of their own accord correct their sovereigns when they are guilty of any error.—This proposition is declared to be false, scandalous, heretical, and seditious, and is proved to be such by several scripture authorities known to every body, and by David's conduct towards Saul.—As to these two articles, Wickliff complained that his adversaries had construed in an absolute sense what he had only expressed in a limited one, by distinguishing what is done tyrannically and unjustly, from what is done according to the laws; and he accuses them of having changed the English word he made use of, signifying a "judgment of the court," (*judicium forense*,) into a Latin word which signifies, "of their own accord, or fancy."

Art. XVIII. The tithes are mere alms, and 'tis lawful for the parishioners to retrench them on account of the sins of the prelates.—This proposition is branded with all the characters of reprobation, and several passages are quoted from the Old and New Testament, as well as the authority of the decretals and the canonists, to prove, that the tithes being of divine right, 'tis a sacrilege to take them away from the clergy, let them commit any faults whatsoever against God or man.

Art. XIX. Take one with another, the particular prayers which the prelates or friars make for a certain person, are of no more service to him than the general prayers.—This article is deemed false and erroneous, and is confuted by several passages of scripture which enjoin particular prayers. But this article is blamed above all, by reason of this inconveni-

cency, viz. That it would follow from hence, that the prayer of St. Gregory for the soul of Gratian, would have been of no more service to this emperor than to others, though he was nevertheless delivered out of hell by the merits of that prayer! (Reader! can you swallow this camel?)

Art. XX. He who gives alms to the begging friars is actually excommunicate.—This article is declared false and extravagant.

Art. XXI. Whoever enters into the monastic state, either among the endowed monks, or among the friars mendicant, renders himself not so fit for keeping God's commandments.—This proposition is reckoned false, erroneous, contrary to good manners, and heretical.

Art. XXII. The holy men by whom such orders were instituted, sinned in so doing.—This proposition is declared to be false, erroneous, heretical, and scandalous, for the same reason as above, as well as the XXIII. which says, "That all who are of religious orders do not belong to the Christian religion."

Art. XXIV. The monks ought to earn their livelihood by the labour of their hands, and not by begging.—This proposition is said to be false, rash, and erroneous.

Art. XXV. All those are guilty of simony, that engage to pray for others, when they are assisted by them in temporalities.—This is judged false, rash, contrary to good manners, and heretical. 1. Because 'tis contrary to charity and gratitude. 2. Because the labourer is worthy of his hire, and because Jesus Christ has promised to reward him richly, that shall give him so much as a cup of cold water. 3. Because there is nothing simoniacal in those engagements, provided St. Austin's maxim be observed, "That a man must eat in order to be able to preach, but not preach with a view to his eating."

Art. XXVI. The prayer of the reprobate person availeth nought.—This article is called false and erroneous by the short censure; but the larger censure declares it heretical, if it be understood in the general sense, and without exception.

Art. XXVII. All things happen from absolute necessity.—This proposition is declared false and rash.

Art. XXVIII. The confirmation of youth, the ordination of clergymen, the consecration of holy places, have been reserved by the popes and bishops to themselves, merely out of avarice and ambition.—This article is declared to be injurious and erroneous; injurious, because 'tis reviling the prelates, contrary to the commandment of God, Exod. xxi. 28; erroneous, because it appears from Acts viii. 14 to 17, that the apostles, whom the bishops succeeded, had this special privilege of the laying on of hands, and of conferring the Holy Ghost upon those who were baptized, which the council takes to be confirmation.

Art. XXIX. The universities and colleges, with the degrees therein taken, were introduced by a Pagan vanity, and are of no more service to the church than they are to the devil.—This article is declared false, injurious, contrary to good manners, suspected of unsoundness in faith, and even heretical, according to the larger censure.

Art. XXX. The excommunication of the pope, or any other prelate, is not to be regarded, because 'tis the censure of Antichrist.—This article, as to the former part, is deemed false, erroneous, contrary to the decision of the church, and turning to a damnable contempt of the keys, of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and of the spiritual sword; and as to the second part of it, 'tis termed false, injurious, and scandalous, because it insinuates that the pope is Antichrist. But in the larger censure, the entire article is declared to be heretical and blasphemous.

Art. XXXI. They who found cloisters are sinners, and they who enter them are persons diabolical.—This article is declared false, erroneous, savouring of heresy, and even heretical, according to the larger censure.

Art. XXXII. 'Tis contrary to the institution of Jesus Christ to enrich the clergy.—This proposition is declared false, erroneous, and heretical.

Art. XXXIII. Pope Sylvester, and the emperor Constantine, erred by endowing the church.—This article is deemed rash, scandalous, savouring of infidelity, and contrary to good manners, for the same reasons that are urged upon the tenth, and they are supported by the instance of the Virgin Mary, who by miracles rewarded the gift which St. Patrick made of his estate to the poor to her honour, and by the bull of Nicholas II. which ascribes the empire of the earth and that of heaven to St. Peter.

Art. XXXIV. 'Tis lawful for a deacon and a priest to preach God's word, without the authority of the apostolical see or bishop.—This article is declared to be false, erroneous, rash, and contrary to the determination of the church.

Art. XXXV. has been already condemned in the 21st and 23d.

Art. XXXVI. is very near the same with the 32d and 33d.

Art. XXXVII. The church of Rome is the synagogue of Satan, and the pope is not the next and immediate viceroy of Jesus Christ and his apostles.—This proposition is judged false, scandalous, erroneous, and heretical, in all its parts; first, because there's no salvation out of the church of Rome, as is proved by the decree of the Lateran council, *Firmiter*, already quoted, and by a decretal of pope Calixtus I. which establishes, that the church of Rome is the mistress of all churches.

Art. XXXVIII. The decretals are apocryphal, they corrupt the faith in Jesus Christ, and the clergy who study them are fools.—This whole article is deemed heretical by the larger censure, in which, however, some examination of the decretals is admitted; but supposing them to be the decretals of the popes whose names they bear, the same authority is given to them as to the epistles of the apostles.

Art. XXXIX. is very near the same with the articles 10, 32, and 33.

Art. XL. The election of the pope by the cardinals is an invention of the devil.—In the short censure, this article is only judged erroneous, and contrary to the Lateran council, in which the election of the pope by the cardinals was agreed on.

Art. XLI. 'Tis not necessary to salvation to believe the sovereignty of the church of Rome over the other churches.—This article is said to be false, rash, erroneous, and heretical; and they prove it from many decretals.

Art. XLII. 'Tis a folly to believe in indulgences.—This article is declared to be erroneous, and contrary to good manners. 1. From this passage, "Whatsoever thou shalt loose," &c. 2. For this reason, because the consequence would be, that the pope, who is the bridegroom of the Catholic church, and the bishops, who are the bridegrooms of the particular churches, established to raise a lineage to Jesus Christ their brother, could not distribute the estates he has left for the use of his spouse, viz. the merit of his passion, nor the treasures of the bride and her children, which consist in the supererogatory works of the martyrs, confessors, and virgins: which is judged to be contrary to the laws divine and human. But in the larger censure this article is deemed to be heretical, extravagant, and diabolical.

Art. XLIII. Austin, Bernard, and Benedict, are damned, unless they have repented, for having instituted orders, and

enjoyed estates; and for the same reason, all are heretics, from the pope to the meanest friar.—This article is judged to be blasphemous, heretical, and senseless, for reasons that have been already mentioned.

Art. XLIV. The 44th article is wanting in the MS. of the short censure, but 'tis mentioned in the larger censure, and in Bzovius, in these terms: "Oaths which are taken to confirm or secure human contracts and civil commerce, are unlawful." 'Tis judged scandalous and heretical.

Art. XLV. All religious orders without distinction were introduced by the devil.—This article is declared false, rash, senseless, scandalous, erroneous, and heretical; because one or other of these two impieties would be the consequence of it: either that the Christian religion itself was introduced by the devil; or that if Jesus Christ did not institute the religious orders, the devil is more holy than Jesus Christ.

After the reading of these 45 articles, the archbishop or Genoa began to read 260 others, pretended to be extracted from Wickliff's books, which contained much the same doctrine in other terms; but the cardinal de St. Mark interrupted him, to put it off to another time.

The great men of Bohemia, who had not patience to see John Huss languish so long without obtaining the hearing which he desired, and which was put off from time to time under various pretences, had delivered in a very pressing memorial, to prevail for his liberty. But they could not obtain satisfaction, and therefore in this assembly they renewed their instances by a fresh memorial of the following tenor:

In the first place, they entreat the assembly to let them know their resolution upon the memorial, which they had presented on the 18th of May, against the false reports of the enemies of John Huss, with respect to his safe-conduct, and concerning other articles. Then, to shew the malice of his accusers in its utmost extent, they produced a protestation to the assembly, which they affirm was made by John Huss, in the hearing of all Bohemia, in all his public acts, as well at church as in the university; but particularly in his sermons. The protestation follows: "Whereas I desire above all things the glory of God, and the profit of holy church, as well as to be a faithful member of Jesus Christ, who is her head and husband, and hath redeemed her; I now again make this protestation, which I have already made several times, viz. That I never obstinately maintained, nor will ever hereafter maintain, any article contrary to the truth of faith. That I have held, do hold, and with the help of God always will hold, all the truths of faith, being prepared to suffer the most cruel death rather than defend any error contrary to those truths. That I am ready to lay down my life for the law of Jesus Christ, of which I believe every part was given by the counsel of the most holy Trinity, and published by the saints of God for the salvation of mankind. I believe, moreover, all the articles of this law, in the sense in which the holy Trinity has commanded them to be believed. Therefore, as in my public acts and sermons I ever made profession of submitting and conforming myself to this holy law, I am still, and always shall be, submissive to the same, being ready to retract as soon as ever I am convinced that I have advanced any thing contrary to the truth." Upon this head said the Bohemians, "You see by this protestation, and the many others he has made of the like nature, how far John Huss is from any inclination to maintain any thing obstinately against the church of Rome, and against the Catholic faith. Yet his enemies, to satisfy their malice against him, have

caused him to be imprisoned, notwithstanding the emperor's safe-conduct, in order that they may be able to oppress him with impunity, by their false imputations, inventing erroneous articles to lay to his charge, castrating or corrupting his writings, without any regard to his answers and solutions, which they will very seldom vouchsafe to hear." After this reflection, the Bohemians entreat the fathers to interpose their authority for the enlargement of John Huss, to the end that he may have all the necessary freedom to make his defence, and to convince his accusers of their imposture and slander, not only against him, but the kingdom of Bohemia, in the justification whereof Sigismund, say they, is so much concerned as presumptive heir of the crown. But in order to set the innocency and orthodoxy of John Huss in a clear light, they quote an indisputable testimony, which is the certificate that was given him by the inquisitor of the faith at Prague in the month of August, 1411, in these words:—"We, Nicholas —, bishop of Nazareth, inquisitor of heresy in the city and diocese of Prague, certify, that after having had conferences for a long time past with honest master John Huss, bachelor of divinity, upon the holy scriptures, and other matters, we always found him a sound Catholic in his discourses, behaviour, and public acts, and could never yet find any thing therein that was evil, sinister, or erroneous, in any manner whatsoever. We declare, moreover, that the said John Huss has caused a writing in Latin and Bohemian to be fixed up at the gates of all the churches, colleges, and public structures, of Prague, and at the gates of the palaces of the king and the archbishop, whereby he gives notice that he is ready to appear before the archbishop and all the clergy of Bohemia at this time assembled, that he may there have an opportunity to give an account of his faith and hope, and to hear all that shall pretend to convince him of heresy: desiring, that if they prove to be slanderers, they may be treated according to the *lex talionis*. He gives notice at the same time, that he is going to the council of Constance with the same view. Meantime, since that writing has been affixed up as aforesaid, nobody has appeared to accuse him of error or heresy. In witness whereof we have writ and sealed these presents, at Prague, Aug. 30."

The lords of Bohemia concluded with desiring the release of John Huss, to the end that he may recover his strength and health, that he may be in a condition to answer his examiners; and they offer good securities that he shall not depart out of the hands of his judges, till this affair is determined.

The patriarch of Antioch immediately returned them an answer in the name of the assembly, "That as to the protestation of orthodoxy, which they had made in the name of John Huss, the truth of it would appear in the course of his examination: that as to the false extracts which they pretend had been made of his works, the same would appear likewise in the process of the affair; to the discharge of John Huss, if he be found innocent, and to the confusion of his slanderers. But as to the sureties they had offered, the patriarch made answer, that though there were a thousand of them, the deputies of the council could not accept them with a safe conscience, for a man who was not to be trusted by any means. That, however, they would cause John Huss to be brought to Constance on the 5th of June, when he should have all the freedom of speech, and should be heard with good temper and charity."

It is certain that the council did all in their power to avoid the noise of a public trial. On the one hand, most of the doctors were of opinion, that a public hearing ought not to be allowed to an heretic; and on the other hand, it was ap-

prehended that some uproar might happen at a hearing of that nature. Therefore the council thought fit to send deputies to Gottleben, to induce him either to make recantation or declaration, which might excuse them from hearing him in a public manner. It appeared by the letters of John Huss, that those private examinations, which were very frequent, alarmed his friends and party, and that they wished he had refused any answer at them. These interrogatories were likewise accompanied with an air of violence and insult, enough to have shocked the constancy of a man already weakened by a tedious and severe imprisonment. The examination he underwent on the first of June was no doubt of this character. "Michael de Causis (says John Huss in one of his letters) was there, holding a paper in his hand, and stirring up the patriarch of Constantinople, to oblige me to answer to every article. He is brewing some mischief or other every day. God has for my sins permitted him and Paletz to rise up against me. Michael examines all my letters and words with the air of an inquisitor, and Paletz has set down all the conversation we have had together for many years. The patriarch says aloud, that I have a great deal of money. An archbishop said to me in the hearing of all, that I had 70,000 florins: Ah! ha! said Paletz to me, what's become of that robe so lined with florins? I have this day suffered great vexation."

Some days after this private hearing, John Huss was carried from Gottleben to Constance, and put into the monastery of the Franciscans, where he was laden with chains to the day of his condemnation. Upon the day of his arrival, the cardinals, prelates, and almost all the clergy at Constance, being assembled in the convent, thought fit to examine the articles said to be extracted from his books, and the testimonies with which they were supported, before they sent for him into the assembly. But Peter Maldonewitz, a Hussite, who was there without doubt in quality of notary public, perceiving that they were going to condemn John Huss without hearing him, posted to give an account of what passed to Wenceslaus de Duba and John de Chlum, who went instantly to advertise the emperor of it. Sigismund no sooner had advice of it, than he sent the elector palatine and the burgrave of Nuremberg to the assembly of the prelates, to forbid them in his name to try John Huss, without giving him a fair hearing, and to order them at the same time to send those articles, which they deemed erroneous, to his imperial majesty, because he was willing to have them examined by men of learning and probity. The princes having discharged their commission, the prelates put off their examination of the articles till John Huss was present. Before they sent for John Huss, the two lords of Bohemia, just now mentioned, delivered to the elector palatine and the burgrave of Nuremberg some of his books, from which the articles of his doctrine had been extracted, desiring them to produce those books to the assembly, and afterwards to cause them to be read, that in case of need they might be able to convince John Huss's accusers of forgery. As soon as the princes had delivered those books to the assembly, John Huss was carried thither, and they withdrew. As soon as he came in, they put his works into his hands; which he owned, and offered to retract if any error was found in them. After this they began with the reading of the articles. But they had scarce made an end of the first, with the evidence supporting it, when so terrible a noise arose, that the fathers could not hear one another, much less the answers of John Huss. When the clamour was a little over, John Huss, offering to defend himself by the authority of the scriptures and the fathers, was interrupted, as if he had spoken



nothing to the purpose, and they set upon him with reproach and banter. If he chose to hold his peace, his silence was looked upon as an approbation, though he declared he was forced to be silent because they would not hear him. In short, every thing passed with so much confusion, that, for the council's honour, the most judicious of the members advised the putting off of the affair to another day.

This was Friday the 7th of June, a day remarkable for a great eclipse of the sun, which was totally eclipsed at Prague about seven o'clock in the morning, and was almost quite darkened at Constance. About an hour after the eclipse, the prelates being again assembled in the presence of the emperor, whom the lords of Bohemia desired to be there, to prevent the disorder which happened in the preceding assembly; John Huss appeared the second time, encompassed with a great number of soldiers. Wenceslaus de Duba, John de Chlum, and Peter Maldonewitz, the notary above-mentioned, came in the emperor's retinue, to take notes of what passed at this hearing. When all had taken their places, Michael de Causis read a paper containing these words, 'John Huss has taught in the chapel of Bethlehem, and other places in Prague, a great number of errors, taken partly from the books of Wickliff, and partly of his own invention, and has always maintained them very obstinately, as he doth still. The first is, "That the material bread remaineth in the sacrament of the holy supper, after the consecration and pronounciation of the words." This, Michael de Causis proved by the evidence of several clergymen of Prague, among whom was Andrew Broada, canon of Prague, famous for his dispute with Jacobel. John Huss answered this article by calling God to witness, that he never advanced this proposition, and never so much as believed it. He only acknowledged, that when the archbishop of Prague forbade him to make use of the term *bread*, he could not consent to it, because in the 6th chapter of the Gospel according to St. John, Jesus Christ is several times called "the bread of angels, which came down from heaven to give life unto the whole world," but that he had never spoke of material bread.

Several other articles were afterwards brought against him; but he defended himself with great calmness and address: after which he was remanded to prison.

But before they carried him away, the cardinal of Cambray reproached him, in the emperor's presence, for having said, that "If he had not been inclined to come to the council, neither the king of Bohemia, nor the emperor himself, could have compelled him to it."—He answered, that all he said was, "That there were so many nobles in Bohemia, who honoured him with their protection, that if he had not been inclined to come to the council of his own accord, they could have put him into a place so secure, that neither the emperor nor the king of Bohemia would ever have had the power to send him to it." The cardinal of Cambray exclaiming against the man's impudence, there was a great murmuring in the assembly against John Huss. But John de Chlum courageously supported him on this as well as upon all other occasions. "John Huss (says he) has asserted nothing but what is true; for though I am one of the meanest lords in Bohemia, I would undertake to defend him for a twelvemonth against all the forces of the emperor and the king; and much more could the other nobles, who are more potent, and have stronger places than I have." "Be that as it will, (said the cardinal of Cambray to John Huss,) I advise you, for your own safety and honour, to submit yourself to the sentence of the council, as you promised when you was in the prison." Then the emperor, who was present while the cardinal of Cambray was talking to him, spoke himself to John Huss in these terms:

'Though there are people who say that you did not receive my safe-conduct till a fortnight after your imprisonment, by means of your friends and patrons, yet we can prove, by the testimony of several princes and other persons of distinction, that you received this safe-conduct before your departure from Prague, by Wenceslaus de Duba and John de Chlum, under whose protection we placed you, to the end that no injury might be done to you, and that you might speak with freedom, and give an account of your faith in full council. In which thing you perceive that the cardinals, the bishops, &c. have so well answered our intentions, that we cannot enough thank them, though there are those who affirm that we could not answer to take into our protection a heretic, or one suspected of heresy. We, therefore, as well as the cardinal, advise you to maintain nothing obstinately, and to submit yourself with all obedience to the authority of the council, in all the articles which have been exhibited and solidly proved against you. Which if ye do, we will take care, that for the sake of the king and kingdom of Bohemia, you shall retire with the good-will of the council, after you have made tolerable penance and satisfaction; but if not, the council well know how to deal with you. For our part, we shall be so far from supporting you in your errors and obstinacy, that we will with our own hands kindle the fire to burn you, rather than tolerate you longer. You will do well, therefore, to stand to the judgment of the council.'

John Huss was called again next day, the third time, to the same place, and before the same persons. At first they read to him 26 articles, which were pretended to have been extracted from his book of the Church. They were very near the same that had been read to him in prison, and to which he had made answer, *viva voce*, and by writing.

At this public hearing, John Huss behaved as he had done in prison. He owned the articles that were his, cleared up others, and disowned those that were laid to his charge by his enemies, but especially by Stephen Paletz.

This will appear from the exact report which I am going to make of those articles, and of the answers which he had already made and written in prison, as well of those which he made thereunto by word of mouth, when he was at liberty so to do.

After this examination, the council wanted John Huss to retract, and the cardinal of Cambray was the man that addressed him first, in these terms: "You see how many heinous crimes you have been accused of. You are now to consider well what you have to do. The council has but two things to propose to you, of which you will act wisely to embrace the first, which is, to submit yourself humbly to their sentence and decree, and to undergo without repining whatever they shall please to inflict on you; in which case you will be treated with all the gentleness and humanity possible, in respect to the emperor, who is here present, and the king of Bohemia his brother, as well as for your own sake. If, on the contrary, you choose the other way, which is to defend any of those articles laid to your charge, and to demand another hearing for that purpose, you shall not indeed be refused a hearing; but consider well that here are a great many persons of weight and knowledge, who have produced such strong arguments against your articles, that I much fear, while you persist in your defence, your obstinacy will expose you to some fatal consequence. This I say, not as your judge, but as your monitor." The other prelates added their exhortations and entreaties to those of the cardinal. But John Huss, with a lowly countenance, humbly made answer, 'Reverend fathers, I have already said, more

'than once, that I came hither of my own free will, not to maintain any thing with obstinacy, but to receive instruction, if it should appear that I had been mistaken. I entreat you, therefore, that I may be allowed to explain my sentiments more at large, and if I do not support them by certain and solid arguments, then I will readily conform to your instructions, as you desire.' Upon this one cried out, "See the man's craft; he talks indeed of the instruction of the council, but not of their censure and determination." "With all my heart," (said Huss,) call it instruction, censure, or determination, which you please, for I take God to witness that I speak as I think. Upon this the cardinal of Cambray said to him, "That since he was willing to submit to the council, he ought to know, that it had been resolved by about sixty doctors, of whom some were already withdrawn, and afterwards unanimously approved by the whole council,

"1. That he should confess to have erred in holding those articles which had been alleged against him, and ask pardon. 2. That he should promise upon oath never to teach or hold them any more. 3. That he should retract them all in public."

The cardinal had no sooner pronounced this kind of sentence, but there arose a great noise in the assembly; after which John Huss made this answer: 'I say it once again, I am ready to receive the instruction of the council; but I entreat and conjure you, in the name of God, who is our common Father, not to force me to do any thing against my conscience, and to the hazard of my eternal salvation, which I should risk by abjuring all the articles that have been proposed to me. To abjure, is to renounce an error that hath been held. But as there are many of those articles in which errors are laid to my charge, that never once entered into my head, how can I renounce them by oath? As to those which I own to be my articles, if any one will teach me anything better than what I have therein advanced, I am ready with all my heart to do what you require of me.' "But (said the emperor) where's the danger and difficulty of your renouncing even those articles which, as you say, were falsely alleged against you? For my own part (continued he) I am ready this very minute to abjure all errors of any kind. Does it follow from thence that I held them before?" Then John Huss represented to the emperor, with respect, that the word was equivocal, and that there was a great difference between abjuring all manner of errors in general, and the renouncing of errors in particular, charged upon a man, which he never held. The cardinal of Florence, in hopes to stagger John Huss, gave him hopes he should have a form of abjuration so equitable and gentle, as perhaps he would like. The emperor and several fathers of the council made the same proposal to him, and the same entreaties. But as he still persisted to say, that he would neither approve nor abjure any thing contrary to his conscience, and to desire to be heard once more, "especially (said he) as to ecclesiastical offices and dignities;" the emperor spoke to him at last in these terms: "You are of age, and after what I have now repeated to you, 'tis at your option to choose the alternative. We cannot but give credit to those witnesses, so worthy of it, that have been heard. For if in the mouth of two or three witnesses every truth shall be established; how much more ought we to rely upon the testimony of so many persons of worth? Therefore if you are wise, you will submit with a contrite heart to the penance that shall be imposed on you by the council; you will renounce your errors, because they are manifest, and you will cease to teach and hold them no longer, but, on the contrary, oppose them as long as you live; otherwise there are laws, according to which the council will judge you."

After this long examination, John Huss was again put into the hands of the archbishop of Riga, to be carried to prison, whither John de Chlum followed him, to comfort him; for it appears by the relation, and by the letters of John Huss, that so tedious and painful a hearing had extremely weakened him both in body and mind. Oh! what a comfort was it to me (says he) to see that the lord John de Chlum did not disdain to stretch out his arms to a miserable heretic in irons, whom all the world had in a manner forsaken! In this same letter he conjures his friend to pray to God for him, because, says he, "the spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak."

When John Huss was withdrawn, the emperor delivered his opinion to the council in these terms: "You have heard the articles laid to the charge of John Huss. They are grievous, numerous, and proved not only by credible witnesses, but by his own confession. In my opinion, there's not a single one among them which does not call for the punishment of fire. If therefore he do not retract all, I am for having him burnt. And even though he should obey the council, I am of opinion that he should be forbid to preach and teach, or ever to set foot again in the kingdom of Bohemia. For if he be suffered to preach, and especially in Bohemia, where he has a strong party, he will not fail to return to his natural bent, and even to sow new errors worse than the former. Moreover, I am of opinion, that the condemnation of his errors in Bohemia, ought to be sent to my brother the king of Bohemia, to Poland, and other countries where this doctrine prevails, with orders to cause all those who should continue to believe and teach it, to be punished by the ecclesiastical authority and by the secular arm jointly. There is no remedy for this evil, but by thus cutting off the branches as well as pulling up the root. Moreover, 'tis absolutely necessary that the bishops and other prelates, who have laboured here for the extirpation of this heresy, be recommended by the suffrages of the whole council to their sovereigns. Lastly, (says the emperor,) if there are any of John Huss's friends here at Constance, they ought to be restrained with all due severity, but especially his disciple Jerome." Whereupon some said, that Jerome of Prague might be brought to reason by the punishment of his master.

Next day John Huss had a form brought to him of the Recantation, which the cardinal of Florence had spoken of the day before. It ran as follows:—"I, John Huss, &c. Besides the protestations which I have already made, and to which I adhere, I do again protest, that though a great many things are laid to my charge which I never thought of, I humbly submit myself to the merciful ordinance, determination, and correction, of the sacred council, concerning all matters which are to me imputed or objected, and which are taken out of my books, or, in a word, proved by the deposition of witnesses, in order to abjure, revoke, and retract them, and to undergo the merciful penance of the council, and to do in general whatever they shall think necessary in their goodness for my salvation, recommending myself to their mercy with an entire submission (*devotissime*).

John Huss having read this form, thanked the father by a letter for "his paternal favour and goodness;" but he declared at the same time, "That he did not dare to submit to the council on the foot of this form; first, because he would then be under a necessity of condemning several propositions that are termed scandalous, which he holds nevertheless for so many truths; secondly, because he could not abjure without being guilty of lying and perjury, because this would amount to a confession that he has taught errors, which he could not make without giving offence to the people of God, who have heard him teach the contrary in his sermons. If

therefore (continues he) Eleazar, who was a man under the old law, refused to say falsely that he had eaten of the flesh forbidden by the law, for fear of offending God, and leaving a bad example to posterity, should I who, though unworthy, am a priest of the new law, presume for fear of transitory punishment to transgress the law of God, by so great a sin as it would be to lie, to perjure myself, and to give offence to my neighbours? Verily I had rather suffer death than to fall into the hands of God, and perhaps afterwards into everlasting fire and disgrace, by avoiding a punishment which is only temporary. As I have appealed to Jesus Christ, the almighty and all-righteous Judge, I shall abide by his sentence; being very sure that he will not judge, neither according to false witness, nor according to fallible councils, but according to the truth, and to the desert of every mortal."

And to this resolution John Huss persisted, adding, that he had rather be cast into the sea with a mill-stone about his neck, than give his neighbour offence; and that as he had preached up patience and constancy to others, he was willing to shew an example thereof, and hoped by the grace of God to be able. It appears from several of his letters, that he was most earnestly solicited to retract by several persons of different characters, but that he would never consent so much as to the least equivocation.

As resolute as John Huss was not to retract, his constancy had nothing in it that was stiff or stoical. We find him sometimes attacked with the fear of death: but he immediately recovered himself, with the hopes of the assistance of God, which he implored, as well as the prayers of his friends. This appears from those words of his 29th letter, "I am far from saying rashly with St. Peter, 'Though all men shall be offended because of thee, yet will I never be offended.' The strength and zeal of that apostle was incomparably greater than mine is. Jesus Christ has not given me his talents; besides, I have more violent conflicts, and a greater number of shocks to sustain. I say, therefore, that, placing all my confidence in Jesus Christ, I am resolved, when I hear my sentence, to continue steadfast in the truth, even to death, as the saints and you shall help me." This humble, modest language, does very great honour to John Huss, and raises the value of his constancy and resolution.

Though the affair of John Huss was on the point of being determined, it made the emperor very uneasy.—Notwithstanding all the arguments of the doctors, he had still some scruples of mind concerning his safe-conduct. He would fain have engaged John Huss to retract, rather than that things should run to the last extremity, which without some such recantation was unavoidable, according to the jurisprudence of the council. For this end, John Huss was sifted several times in the emperor's absence, and after his return, that is to say, after the 28th of June. Every body tried in his own way to shake his constancy, but all to as little purpose as before. The council sent several deputations to him, which he always answered with the same modesty and resolution, being as far from an obstinate attachment to any known error, as from a cowardly recantation of what he thought to be the truth.

On the 21st of June he made answer, that it was his final intention neither to own the extracts faithfully made from his books to be erroneous, nor to abjure those which had been laid to his charge by false witnesses; because in such case abjuration includes a sort of confession. He was also tempted the same day to an abjuration by the deputies, among whom were Michael de Causis and Stephen Paletz. This appears from a letter of his to one of his friends: "You are to know (says he) that Paletz would fain persuade me

that I ought to make no scruple of abjuring, considering the great advantage that would redound to me from it. But I told him, that there was less scandal in being condemned and burnt, than in abjuring. I'll leave it to your own conscience, said I to him, if it was proposed to you to abjure errors which you did not think such, would you do it? He told me, 'twas a hard case, and the tears stood in his eyes." As to Causis, John Huss says this of him: "That poor man, Michael de Causis, has been often with the deputies, before the prison. When I was in their presence, I heard him say to the guards, If it please God, we shall shortly burn this heretic, who hath cost me so many florins."

On the 24th of June, it was resolved to condemn his books to the fire; with a view, no doubt, to intimidate him by those forebodings of his fate, in hopes that a sort of fatherly tenderness for his works would make him to relent. But it appears by the two letters he wrote thereupon to his friends, that this sentence did not at all discourage him. In one he told them, that they need not be alarmed at the condemnation of his books to the fire; that those of Jeremiah had the same fate, but that nevertheless the Jews suffered the calamities which the prophet had therein foretold to them; and that in the time of the Maccabees the books of the law were burnt, and those who had them in their custody were put to death. In this letter there are some smart turns, which are very remarkable. "I entreat you, dear brother, (says he,) not to be discouraged. I trust in God, that this school of Antichrist shall one day be afraid of you, and suffer you to be in quiet, and that the council of Constance will not extend to Bohemia. For I doubt not but many of those who are there will be dead, before they can get my books out of your hands. When all the members of the council shall be scattered in the world like storks, they will know, when winter cometh, what they did in summer. Consider, I pray you, that they have judged their head the pope worthy of death, by reason of his horrible crimes. Answer to this, you teachers, who preach that the pope is a god upon earth; that he may sell and waste, in what manner he pleaseth, the holy things, as the lawyers say; that he is the head of the entire holy church, and governeth it well; that he is the heart of the church, and quickeneth it spiritually; that he is the well-spring from whence floweth all virtue and goodness; that he is the son of the church, and a very safe refuge, to which every Christian ought to fly. Yet behold now that head cut off, (*gladio amputatum*,) this god upon earth is bound, his sins are declared openly, this well-spring is dried up, this heart is plucked out. Among other crimes, the council have condemned him for selling indulgences, bishoprics, and other such like. But with respect to this, they have condemned him for a crime of which they are themselves accomplices, because many buy those things of the pope, in order to sell them again to others. The bishop of Litomissel, who is at the council, went twice to buy the archbishopric of Prague, but others outbid him. But why should a curse be pronounced upon the seller, and the buyers escape unpunished? They follow this traffic even at Constance, where one sells and another buys a benefice. I would that God had said in this council, 'He that is without sin amongst you, let him pass sentence against the pope.' I doubt not but they would all have gone out one after another."

On the 5th of July, the emperor, having a desire to make one trial more upon John Huss, sent four bishops to him, viz. Wenceslaus de Duba and John de Chlum, to demand of him, "Whether he would abjure the articles which he owned for his; and as to those which he did not own, though they were proved, whether he would swear that he did not hold them."

and that he had no other sentiments than those of the church." But he answered, that he would stand to the declaration which he had made upon the first of July. The old historian of his life says, That upon that day, as they were taking him out of prison to carry him before his commissioners, John de Chlum spoke to him, (and it was, according to the best of my conjecture, the last time he ever opened his lips to him,) in these terms: "My dear master John Huss, I am but a man of no learning, and consequently not able to give advice to so learned a man as you are; nevertheless, if you think yourself guilty of any of the errors of which you have been publicly accused, I beg you not to be ashamed to retract them: but if, on the other hand, you are satisfied of your innocence, so far am I from advising you to say any thing against your conscience, that, on the contrary, I exhort you to endure all manner of punishment, rather than to renounce any one truth which you know to be so."—John Huss answered with tears, "That he called God to witness, that as he had always been, he was still ready to retract with all his heart, and upon oath, as soon as he should be convinced of an error by the evidence of the holy scripture." One of the prelates having hereupon said to him, that for his part he would not be so presumptuous to prefer his own private opinion to that of the whole council: "So far from it, (replied John Huss,) that if the meanest member of the council can convince me of an error, I am wholly disposed to do whatsoever they shall order me." Upon which said some of the bishops, "See how obstinate he is in his errors!" After this he was remanded to prison till the next day, which was the day of his condemnation, and the last of his life.

Though John Huss had expected death ever since the time that he set out from Prague, as he signifies in many of his letters, yet till this day he did not fully despair of escaping it. This appears from his 29th letter, where he answers Peter, the notary, who had exhorted him to constancy. His expression is this, 'If I should happen to return to Prague, I will do myself the pleasure to communicate what I have to you like a brother; and thanks to the Lord, I don't see that my return is impossible, though I only desire it as far as it shall please God.' In this letter he makes a sort of settlement of his estate, and leaves his friend the choice of those books of Wickliff that he likes best. Nor in his 32d letter does he seem to have lost all expectation of returning to Prague. He founded these hopes upon advice that he had received of the approaching arrival of Nicholas, lord de Husinetz, a zealous Hussite, of whom more hereafter. But in his greatest conflicts, he always discovered an heroic courage, and a resignation entirely Christian. And so far was he from fearing death, that sometimes he seemed to expect it with impatience, and only comforted himself for the delay of it, by having recourse to religion and devotion. 'God (says he) in his wisdom has reasons to prolong my life, and that of my dearest brother, master Jerome, who, as I hope, will die religiously, and without rendering himself guilty before God. For I know that at present he struggles with more courage than me, a miserable sinner. God is willing to give us time to bewail our sins, and to comfort us in this long trial with the hopes of their being forgiven. He grants us this respite, to the end that by our meditating on the sufferings of Jesus Christ, we may be the better enabled to bear our own; and to convince us, that the joys of the next life are not tasted immediately after the joys of this life, but that the saints enter into the kingdom of heaven through many tribulations.' He concludes this letter with expressing his gladness that his enemies had been forced to read his books, because there they find their wickedness painted to the

life. "I know (says he) that they have read them more critically than the Gospel, in order to spy faults in them."

These were his sentiments, when the archbishop of Riga came to the prison to carry him before the council. The cardinal de Viviers presided as usual at this session; the emperor was present, with all the princes of the empire, and an incredible concourse of people came to be spectators of this melancholy scene. As they were celebrating mass just as John arrived, they made him stay at the church door till it was finished, lest the mysteries should be profaned by the presence of a man whom they reckoned a heretic, and even a leader of heretics. A high table was erected in the middle of the church, upon which were the priests' habits, in order to put them upon John Huss, and then to strip him. They placed him on a high stool before the table, that all the people might see him. As soon as he was upon it, he made a long prayer, undoubtedly with a low voice, because the bishop of Lodi began his sermon at the same time, from those words of St. Paul, "That the body of sin might be destroyed."

In this sermon the prelate treats the schism as the source of the heresies, murders, sacrileges, robberies, and wars, which had for so long a time ravaged the church; and he makes such a horrible picture of the schism, that one would think at first he was exhorting the emperor to burn the anti-popes, and not John Huss. Yet his discourse was only designed to declare the punishment of John Huss; and therewith the bishop concludes in these terms, addressed to Sigismund: "Destroy heresies and errors, but chiefly (pointing to John Huss) that obstinate heretic." After the sermon, four bishops, deputies of the nation, and an auditor of the rota, brought John Huss out in public, to be condemned.

But before his process and sentence were read, the bishop of Concordia read a decree of the council, enjoining all manner of persons, of what dignity soever, emperors, kings, cardinals, bishops, &c. to keep silence during this act, on pain of excommunication and two months' imprisonment. All persons were forbid to contradict, dispute, interrupt, clap hands, make a noise with the feet, in a word, to do any thing which might tend to the disturbance of the session, or so much as to speak without the express order of the council.

After this decree was read, upon a motion of Henry de Piro, or Poiriers, proctor of the council, they began with the reading of a certain number of Wickliff's articles, different from the 15 that had already been condemned; which new list consisted of about 60 articles, that had been selected out of 260, which were pretended to have been extracted from Wickliff's books, and of which I have already spoken elsewhere.

When these articles were read, the bishop of Concordia read the sentence passed upon them, which was almost in these terms: 'The sacred council of Constance, &c. having carefully heard and examined the books and opinions of John Wickliff, of damnable memory, by the doctors and masters of arts of the university of Oxford, who have out of them collected 260 articles fit to be condemned, and by cardinals, bishops, abbots, masters of arts, doctors of the civil and canon law, and by a great many other eminent persons of divers universities; and after such examination, the council finding that among those articles there are some which are notoriously heretical, and were condemned long ago by the holy fathers, others which are offensive to pious ears, and others which are rash and seditious; for these causes, the council, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, reproves and condemns all and every one of those articles by this perpetual decree, forbidding all Catholics, on pain

of the anathema, to teach, preach, and hold, any of those articles, and commanding all the ordinaries of places, and the inquisitors of the crime of heresy, to keep a watchful eye, and to punish the contraveners according to the canons.'

From these they proceeded to the articles of John Huss himself, but only 30 of them were read, the council deeming the others to have been read, as indeed they had already been more than once in public.

The first article that was read was the article of the church. John Huss maintained it in the same manner as he did at his first hearing; but as he was going to answer every article separately, the cardinal of Cambrai imposed silence on him, and told him that he might answer all at the same time. John Huss remonstrated, that it would be impossible for him to remember so great a heap of accusations; and as he was preparing to answer them in particular, the cardinal of Florence bid him be silent, and ordered the officers of the council to hinder him from speaking. Then John Huss, lifting up his hands to heaven, begged the prelates in God's name to let him have the freedom of speech, to the end that he might justify himself before all the people that surrounded him; "after which (said he) you may dispose of me as you shall think fit." But the prelates persisting in their refusal, he fell on his knees, and lifting up his eyes and hands again towards heaven, he recommended his cause to the sovereign Judge of the whole earth, by a prayer which he pronounced with a loud voice. He was again upbraided with his appeal to Jesus Christ, but he maintained it, and renewed it, as a very just and lawful appeal, founded upon the example of Jesus Christ himself, who had referred his cause to the judgment of God. 'See, (said he, with his hands lifted up to heaven,) O my sweet Jesus, how thy council condemns as an error what thou hast prescribed and practised! when being oppressed by thine enemies thou referredst thy cause to God thy Father, the most righteous Judge; leaving us this example, to the end that we also may have recourse to the judgment of God when we are oppressed. Yes, (continued he, turning towards the assembly,) I have maintained, and do still maintain, that there can be no surer appeal made than to Jesus Christ, because he can neither be corrupted by presents, nor deceived by false witnesses, nor over-reached by any artifice.' And when he was accused of having slighted the pope's excommunication, and of having preached and said mass after such excommunication: 'I have not (says he) despised it; but I have appealed against it in my sermons; and as I did not think it lawful, I continued the functions of my priesthood. Not being able to appear before the pope, for reasons which I have mentioned elsewhere, I sent my proctors to Rome; where they were committed to prison, turned out of the city, and in several respects abused. 'Twas this that induced me to come of my own accord to the council, under the public faith of the emperor here present.' When he pronounced these words, he looked earnestly at Sigismund, who could not help blushing, according to the report of the old author of the life of John Huss. They tell a very good jest of Charles V. upon occasion of the blush which appeared on Sigismund's face, viz. That when Charles V. was solicited by Eccius and others, at the diet of Worms, to cause Luther to be arrested, (notwithstanding the safe-conduct he had granted him,) the emperor answered, "I don't care to blush with my predecessor Sigismund."

When all this proceeding was over, the bishop of Concordia, at the request of the proctor, read two sentences, of which the one condemned all the books of John Huss to the fire, and the other, John Huss himself to be degraded.

While they were reading this sentence, which he received upon his knees, he took notice of the falsehood of several articles from time to time, though they did what they could to hinder him from speaking.—For instance, when they accused him of obstinacy, he flatly denied it. 'This (says he) I absolutely deny, I always did, and do desire, to be better informed from the scriptures, (*firmiter scriptura*;) and I declare, that I am so zealous for the truth, that if with only one word I could subvert the errors of all the heretics, there's no danger which I would not encounter with that view.'

As to the condemnation of his books, he declared it was unjust, for two reasons: In the first place, because he had always shewn a readiness to correct any errors that should be discovered to him; but that as hitherto they had not found any, they could not answer to condemn them. In the second place, because most of his books being written in the Bohemian, or translated into some other foreign language, the council could neither read nor understand them.

After this sentence was read, he took God to witness of his innocence, and prayed him to forgive his judges and accusers. But if we may believe the author of his life, this prayer of his only subjected him to the rage and railery of the fathers, who pretended that they had done him justice. As nothing remained but to proceed to his degradation, the bishops, who were appointed for that office, ordered him to put on the priest's garments, and to take the chalice in his hand, as if he was going to celebrate mass. When they put on the *albe*, he said, "They put a white garment on our Lord Jesus Christ to mock him, when Herod delivered him to Pilate." And he made reflections of the same kind upon each of the sacerdotal ornaments. When he was thus apparelled, the prelates exhorted him once more to retract, for his own safety and honour; but turning towards the people, he publicly declared that he was far from any thought of scandalizing and seducing the faithful, by an abjuration so hypocritical and impious; and he publicly protested his innocence. Then the bishops causing him to come down from the stool upon which he stood, first took the chalice from him, and pronounced these words: 'O cursed Judas, who having forsaken the counsel of peace, art entered into that of the Jews; we take this chalice from thee, in which is the blood of Jesus Christ, &c. Whereupon John Huss said aloud, that he trusted in the mercy of God, that he should drink thereof on that very day in his kingdom. Then they stripped him of his vestments one after another, with some curse at the taking off of every one, as is usual in the like case. But when they came to take off the marks of the tonsure, there was a great dispute among the prelates, whether they should make use of a razor or scissors. Whereupon John Huss, turning towards the emperor, 'See, (said he,) they cannot agree among themselves how to insult me!—Reichenthal says, that they washed him, in order to take off the marks of his tonsure, but that he laughed at all these ceremonies. At last, the majority having carried it for the scissors, they cut his hair cross-wise, that there might appear no mark of the crown. We learn from the canon law, that such degradation sets the priest in the rank of the laity, and that though it does not take away the character from him, which is indelible, yet it renders him for ever incapable of exercising the functions of the priesthood. After having thus degraded him, they put a paper coronet or mitre upon his head, in form of a pyramid, and the height of a cubit, on which they had painted three devils of a horrible shape, with this inscription, *Heresiarcha*; i. e. Arch-heretic. And in this condition the prelates commended his soul to all the devils: (*Ad inferos tuam devovimus diabolis infernis*.) Meantime, the monks, who



had confessed him a few days before, gave him absolution, as he says in one of his letters. Be this as it will, John Huss, not moved at the imprecation, recommended his soul to God, and said aloud, that he was glad to wear this crown of ignominy, for the love of him who had one of thorns. From that moment the church shook him off, he was declared a layman, and as such delivered over to the secular arm, in order to be carried to execution, by this sentence of the council, 'The sacred synod of Constance declares, that John Huss ought to be delivered over to the secular arm, and does actually deliver him over to it, considering that the church of God has nothing more to do with him.'

After John Huss was degraded, the emperor having his person committed to his possession, as advocate and protector of the church, commanded the elector palatine, vicar of the empire, to officiate for him as advocate of the church or council, and in that quality to deliver John Huss into the hands of justice. This prince thereof surrendered him to the magistrates of Constance, who forthwith delivered him to the city serjeants, and the executioner of justice, who was ordered to burn him with his clothes, and every thing in general that that he had about him, even his girdle, knife, and purse, and every penny of money in it. A certain historian of credit reports, that when the elector palatine, Otho Henry, surnamed the Magnanimous, (who was the last of the electors palatine of that branch, and the first promoter of the Reformation in the palatinate,) found himself with one foot in the grave, and no issue to survive him, he used to say, that God punished the crime of his great-great-grandfather in conducting John Huss to execution, and so zealously performing the order he received from the emperor, to the fourth generation. Another historian says, that in 1521, Lewis, elector palatine, declared at the diet of Worms, that as an honest German he desired they would give entire credit to his promises and letters under his seal, because they who had not kept their words with John Huss never prospered afterwards.

John Huss walked to the place of execution between two of the elector palatine's officers, without being chained, having two of the city serjeants before him and two behind. The princes followed with a retinue of 800 men armed, not to mention the vast multitude of people, insomuch that they were fain to make a stand till John Huss and his guard had passed a certain bridge one by one, for fear it should break under them.—When John Huss came to the episcopal palace, whither he was carried on purpose to see the burning of his books, he could not forbear smiling at the execution, because he thought it equally unjust and irregular, as he had several times declared. As he walked along, he declared to the people that he had not been guilty of any heresy, that his enemies had unjustly condemned him, and that they had not been able to convict him of any error, though he had so often and so earnestly defied them. When he came near the place of punishment, he fell on his knees, and rehearsed some of the penitential psalms, often repeating these words, "Lord Jesus, have mercy on me: into thy hands, O God, I commend my spirit." The old historian of his life informs us, that some of the people, when they heard him pray with such zeal, said aloud, "What this man hath done before, we know not, but now we hear him put up excellent prayers to God." Reichenenthal says, that they then asked him whether he would have a confessor, in hopes, no doubt, to engage him to a recantation, rather than undergo the last punishment. The old historian of his life says, that there was a priest on horseback in a green jacket lined with red, who said that he ought not to have a confessor, because he was a heretic. John Huss said that he had a mind to be confessed, Reichenenthal,

as he tells us himself, called one Ulric Schorand, a priest of reputation for learning and probity, and very well esteemed by the bishop and council. When this priest came, he said to John Huss, that if he was inclined to renounce the errors for which he had been condemned to suffer the punishment that he saw prepared for him, he was ready to confess him; but that if he refused to make such abjuration, he knew himself, that, according to the canon law, a heretic can neither administer nor receive the sacraments. When John Huss heard this condition, he answered, that he had no need to be confessed, because he did not know that he had been guilty of any deadly sin. And when he was going to take that opportunity to speak to the people in the German tongue, the elector palatine hindered him, and at the same time ordered him to be burnt. Then John Huss prayed aloud in these terms, 'Lord Jesus, I humbly suffer this cruel death for thy sake; and I pray thee to forgive all my enemies.' While his eyes were lifted up towards heaven, his crown or mitre of paper fell off his head, at which he smiled, but the soldiers put it on again, saying, that it must be burnt with the devils whom he had served. John Huss having obtained leave to speak to his guards, he thanked them, in the German tongue, for the favourable treatment he had received at their hands, and declared that he hoped to reign with Jesus Christ, because he suffered for his gospel.

Then they bound him to a stake or post set up for the purpose; but his face happening to be turned towards the east, some thought it wrong, because he was a heretic; and therefore they turned him towards the west. The old author of his life observes, that his neck was fastened to the stake with a black nasty chain, which had served for a pot-hanger. John Huss smiled again, and upon this occasion made some pious reflections on the ignominious sufferings of Jesus Christ. Being thus fastened, they piled the wood about him to burn him; but before it was set on fire, the elector palatine, accompanied by the count d'Oppenheim, marshal of the empire, advanced, to exhort him once more to retract, in order to save his life, as some writers say, and, as another says, to save his soul. But John Huss declared, that as what he had writ and taught was only to rescue souls from the power of the devil, and to deliver them from the tyranny of sin, he was glad to seal it with his blood. Then the elector withdrawing, the wood was kindled, and John Huss was soon suffocated, after having called on God's mercy to the last. The executioners cut and hacked what remained of his body into a thousand pieces, that it might be the sooner consumed, and when they found his heart, they beat it, fastened it on a sharp stick, and roasted it at a fire apart. They secured his clothes, contrary to order; but the elector made them cast them into the fire, and promised to indemnify them for the loss. His ashes were carefully gathered up, and thrown into the Rhine, for fear that his disciples or followers should carry them into Bohemia for relics; but, if we may believe Æneas Sylvius, this precaution was to no purpose, for the Hussites scraped up the very earth of the place where John Huss was burnt, and carried it as a very choice cargo to Prague, where he says, that John Huss and Jerome of Prague were held in as great veneration as St. Peter and St. Paul. 'Tis worth while to hear what this historian says concerning the constancy with which John Huss and Jerome of Prague suffered death. 'They went (says he) to the stake as to a banquet. Not a word fell from them which discovered the least faint-heartedness. In the midst of the flames they sung hymns to the last gasp without ceasing. Never did any philosopher suffer death with so much constancy as they endured the fire.'

'Tis hardly to be doubted indeed; that if John Huss had

lived longer, and had not been so harassed, his principles would have carried him much farther than he could go through so many obstructions. This the emperor foresaw very clearly, when he was of opinion, that in case he retracted he should not be allowed the liberty of returning to Bohemia, or even of preaching any where, because he guessed from his temper and character that he would not stop half way. The good father confessor who so tenderly exhorted him to retract, thought he could not make use of a sharper incentive, than to tell him that "he must expect to wrestle yet more for the truth." John Huss himself makes it very plainly understood in some of his letters, that he was not yet content with the progress he pretended to have already made in the knowledge of the pure truth of the gospel. In the second, of which mention has been made more than once, he hopes that if he return to Prague, God will do him the favour to increase and improve his knowledge of the gospel truths, in order to extirpate the doctrine of Antichrist. In his eleventh letter he also says, that God will preserve Bethlehem chapel, and that his words will bring forth more truths there by the ministry of others, than it has done by his. He seems by his letters to have been very full of these hopes. In the twelfth he says, 'That they who have condemned his doctrine shall fly about like butterflies, and that their decrees shall last no longer than spiders' webs.' 'The council of Constance will not extend as far as Bohemia, (says he in his 13th letter.) I reckon that several of this council will be dead before they can take my works from you. And when they are all dispersed like storks, they will perceive at the entrance of winter what they have done in summer.' As these notions perpetually ran in his head, no wonder that they appeared to his imagination in dreams, which though he did not think divine, as he expressly declares, yet he gave great heed to them. He dreamed one night that he had painted Jesus Christ upon the walls of Bethlehem chapel, and that at the same time his workmanship was defaced, but that next day, several painters more able than he having made figures of Jesus Christ much better than his, those painters bid public defiance, with the applause of the people, to all the bishops and priests, ever to deface those figures. The friends of John Huss did not fail to explain this dream in a manner favourable to his hopes. The picture of Jesus Christ was his gospel, which John Huss had preached at Bethlehem, and which, after a little interruption, should be preached with more splendour and purity than ever. When he was obliged to retire from Prague, by reason of his interdict, he had written something very like it to his friends, though under other images. Alluding to his name, which signifies a goose, he says, That the goose is a domestic animal, which does not wander far from home, nor fly very high, but that other birds would come, whose wings should mount them above the snares of the enemy. This great and good man fell a victim to Popish cruelty, July 6, 1415.

#### THE LIFE, TRIAL, AND MARTYRDOM, OF JEROME OF PRAGUE, WHO WAS BURNT AT THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE, MAY 30, 1416.

JEROME OF PRAGUE, the Hussite, was a bachelor and master of arts, which academic degree he received in 1399. All authors give a very good character of his talents, and 'tis even said that he exceeded John Huss by far, both in learning and subtle reasoning, though he was the younger man. He had

studied in most of the famous academies of Europe.—When he returned from those travels, he adhered to John Huss, who was not sorry to find so good a second in his design to reform the abuses that were in the church and the university.

'Tis unaccountable that Jerome of Prague did not come to Constance at the same time as John Huss. There are authors who actually say that he was summoned to it, but the contrary is evident from the whole history.

When John Huss was on the point of setting out from Prague, Jerome exhorted him to be steadfast in maintaining what he had advanced, both by word of mouth and writing, especially against the pride, avarice, and other irregularities, of the clergy; and promised him to go himself to Constance to support him, if he should hear that he was oppressed there. This obliged John Huss to desire his friends, in one of the letters which he wrote to them from his prison, to exhort Jerome of Prague not to come to Constance, for fear he should meet with the same treatment. However, Jerome was resolved to keep his word at all events, and there were some people at Prague that found fault with him for tarrying so long before he went to the assistance of his friend and countryman. He arrived at Constance the 24th of April, 1415, with one of his scholars. They entered the city privately, without being observed, because of the vast concourse of people that was then in the city. But his stay there was not long; for being told that John Huss was denied a hearing, and that there was some contrivance on foot against himself, he retired with his scholar to Überlingen the very same day, according to Reichenhal; but, as others say, two days after. Jerome being safer at Überlingen, wrote to the emperor and the lords of Bohemia, that were at the council, to desire a safe-conduct. But the emperor flatly refused it, undoubtedly because it was not well taken that he had given one to John Huss. The council being afterwards prayed to grant him one, they offered indeed to give him a safe-conduct to come to Constance, but not for his return to Bohemia. Jerome no sooner received this answer, but he composed a paper in the Latin, German, and Bohemian languages, which he addressed to the emperor and council, and sent to be fixed up at all the churches and monasteries in Constance, as well as the cardinal's doors, in these terms:

'To the most illustrious and most invincible prince and lord, chosen, by the grace of God, Roman emperor and king of Hungary, and to the Sacred General Synod, I Jerome of Prague, master of arts in the famous universities of Paris, Cologne, Heidelberg, and Prague, make known to all by this public writing, that I am come to Constance of my own accord, and without being forced to it, to answer my adversaries and my calumniators, who defame the most illustrious and most celebrated kingdom of Bohemia, and to defend our doctrine, which is pure and orthodox, as well as to prove my innocence, not in secret, but in the presence of the whole council. If there be any persons, therefore, of what order or nation soever, who have a mind to calumniate or accuse me of any crime or heresy whatsoever, I am ready to justify my innocence and the purity of my doctrine, and to undergo any punishment, if I am convicted of heresy. In order to execute a design so honest and necessary, I beseech your imperial majesty, in the name of God, to grant me a safe-conduct to come to Constance, and to return from thence with safety.—And if, by appearing voluntarily as I do, I am put in prison, and violence is used against me, before I am convicted, the council will manifest their injustice to the whole world by such a proceeding; which I cannot expect from an assembly so sacred, and composed of personages of such wisdom and learning.'

This writing having no better effect than his letters, he resolved to return to his own country, after having furnished himself with a good testimonial, which the Bohemian lords gave him, to certify what diligence he had used to give an account of his faith and conduct.

On that very day, April 25, Jerome of Prague was arrested as he was returning to Bohemia, because the council had been pleased only to give him a passport or safe-conduct to come to Constance, but not to return. 'Tis true, that as he was absent on the 17th of April, the first time that he was summoned, a safe-conduct was despatched to him, which promised him all manner of security; but it was with a *salvo to justice*, and without prejudice to the interests of the faith. Two relations written at that time by the disciples of Jerome of Prague, say, that he was arrested at Hirsaw by the officers of the duke of Sultzbach; that being carried from thence to Sultzbach, he was detained there till orders came from the council, who had advice of Jerome's being in custody from one of the sons of John count palatine of the Rhine, duke of Bavaria, and prince of Sultzbach, and that this nobleman receiving orders to send him to Constance, he was carried thither in chains.

This prince having sent him back to the council according to their order, he was carried in bonds to the elector palatine, who led him as it were in triumph to the refectory of the minor friars, where a general congregation was assembled to examine him. As soon as he was arrived, the letter was read which the prince de Sultzbach had writ to the council, to acquaint them that Jerome of Prague had been apprehended in his territories as a heretic and a fugitive: as was also the act of his citation, which had been published several times since his departure. After the reading of those pieces, a bishop asking him why he fled, and why he did not appear? he answered, that he was obliged to retire, because he had been refused the safe-conduct which he had desired for his security, as might be seen by the certificate which the Bohemian lords had given him at his departure, and which they had in their hands. (The prince of Sultzbach having taken away this certificate from Jerome, had sent it to the council.) As to the citation, he protested, that if he had known any thing of it, he would not have failed to return instantly, even though he had been actually in Bohemia. Upon this answer of his there was such a noise in the assembly, that they could not hear one another speak. When the tumult was somewhat appeased, Gerson, who had formerly known Jerome of Prague at Paris, reproached him with a very insulting air, for having given offence to that university, by several erroneous propositions, especially concerning *universals* and *ideals*. Jerome answered modestly, that after having been admitted master of arts in the university of Paris, he had only used the liberty allowed to philosophers, of affirming and denying, and that then he was not charged with any error; that he was still ready to maintain what he had advanced at that time, if they would be pleased to give him leave; as well as to retract, if they could convince him that he was mistaken. Then a doctor of the university of Cologne accused him of having vented several erroneous opinions in that university. But Jerome of Prague defied him to give one instance of it; upon which the doctor stopped short, and pleaded that his memory failed him. A third, viz. a doctor of Heidelberg, accused him of having advanced several errors in that place, and especially concerning the Trinity; which he had painted on a shield, under the likeness of water, snow and ice. He returned the same answer, that he still persisted in what he had written, and in the comparisons he made use of upon that subject; adding, nevertheless, that he was very ready to retract with joy and humility, when

he should be convinced of an error.—Meantime, as some cried out, "To the fire! to the fire!" he said aloud, that if his death was so agreeable to them, he was resigned to the will of God. "No, Jerome," said the archbishop of Saltzburg to him, "God hath no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that he turn from his way and live."

After this tumultuous examination, Jerome was delivered over to the officers of the city to be carried to prison, and every one departed home. Probably that was the time when some of his friends called to him from a window, to stand up for the truth, even to death; and that he answered courageously, that he was not afraid to die, and that he would stand to every thing that he had promised when he was at liberty. Some hours after, towards the evening, John de Wollenrod, archbishop of Riga, caused him to be carried privately to a tower of St. Paul's church, where they bound him to a post, and chained his hands to his neck in such a manner that they weighed his head downwards. In this cruel posture he remained ten days, having no sustenance but bread and water, those of Bohemia not knowing what was become of him, till at last one of his friends had notice of it from one of his keepers, and procured him better nourishment. But notwithstanding this relief, he fell so dangerously ill, that he was obliged to desire a confessor, by whose means he obtained some small ease in his bonds. He lay in prison till his death, which happened, as we shall find, a twelvemonth hence.

On the 23d of May, Jerome of Prague was brought back to Constance. That was the first examination he underwent, which, though a very rigorous one, he sustained with a great deal of intrepidity. We left him in a noisome prison, where he fell dangerously ill. He was again examined the 10th of July, in hopes that the execution of John Huss would have rendered him more tractable than he had appeared in the first audience. As to his second interrogatory, we know nothing particular, only that in a MS. at Leipzig it appears, that Jerome of Prague being examined as to the articles laid to his charge, answered, with respect to that of the eucharist, "That in the sacrament of the altar the singular substance of the piece of bread, which is there, is transubstantiated into the body of Christ, but that the universal substance of bread remains."—He believed, as well as John Huss, *universality a parte rei*.

In September of this year, 1415, a letter came from the great men of Bohemia, to the council of Constance, wherein they protested against the execution of John Huss, which had the same effect in Bohemia as oil has when thrown into a quick fire. As soon as the news of it came to Prague, it inflamed the zeal of his disciples more than ever.—They met in Bethlehem chapel to defend the honours of martyrdom to John Huss, and also to Jerome of Prague, who they supposed had by this time undergone the same fate as his colleague. They talked loudly of the fathers of the council, as persecutors and real hangmen. The king himself, and the great men of the kingdom, looked upon the sentence as an affront offered by the council to the kingdom of Bohemia. The letter was signed by about sixty great men, barons, gentlemen of Bohemia and Moravia, and was worded as follows:

'As by the laws of God and nature every one should do to others as he would that they should do to him, and as we ought not to do that to others which we would not they should do unto us: after reflection upon that divine maxim of love to our neighbour, we have thought fit to write these letters to you, touching the reverend master John Huss, regular bachelor of divinity, and preacher of the gospel.—Meantime, we know not from what motive you first condemned him in the council of Constance, and then put him

to a cruel death, as an obstinate heretic, without his having made any confession, or being convicted of any error or heresy, upon the false and sinister accusations of his capital enemies, and those of our kingdom, and of the marquise of Moravia, and by the instigation and importunity of certain traitors, to the eternal scandal of our most Christian kingdom of Bohemia, the illustrious marquise of Moravia, and all of us. This we have already justified in writing, to the most serene prince and lord Sigismund, king of the Romans and Hungary, and successor of our king to the kingdom of Bohemia. And this writing ought to have been communicated to your congregations; but we have been told you burnt it, to our great dishonour. We protest, therefore, by these presents, with the heart as well as the lips, that master John Huss was a man very honest, just, and catholic; that for many years he conversed among us with a godliness void of offence. That during all the time he explained to us, and our subjects, the gospel, and the books of the Old and New Testament, according to the exposition of the holy doctors approved by the church; and that he has left writings behind him, wherein he constantly abhors all error, and all heresy, as he taught us to detest them; exhorting us at the same time, without ceasing, to peace and charity, and persuading us to it both by his discourses and example. So that we cannot find, after all the inquiry we have made, that the said master John Huss ever taught or preached any error or heresy, whatsoever, or that he offended any of us, or our subjects, in word or deed. On the contrary, he has lived with piety and good-nature, exhorting all mankind to the observation of the gospel, and of the maxims of the holy fathers, for the edification of holy mother church, and of our neighbours. You are not content with disgracing us, our kingdom of Bohemia, and the marquise of Moravia, by these undertakings, but you have unmercifully imprisoned, and perhaps already put to death, master Jerome of Prague, who certainly was a torrent of eloquence, *eloquentiæ lacteo fonte manantem*. He was a master of the seven liberal sciences, a very able philosopher; you have condemned him without having seen, without having convicted him, upon the false informations of his and our perfidious accusers. Besides this, we have heard, to our very great sorrow, and have collected it from your own writings, that certain slanderers, hateful to God and men, treacherous enemies to the kingdom of Bohemia, and the marquise of Moravia, have wickedly and falsely reported to you and your council, that in the said kingdom and marquise several errors were propagated, which had infected both us and many others of the faithful. So that if a speedy remedy be not applied, the believers have irreparable loss to apprehend. Though these bitter accusations are entirely false, is it possible for us to hear, and not refute them?—Verily, by God's grace, the most Christian kingdom of Bohemia, and the illustrious marquise of Moravia, have, ever since the establishment of the Christian faith among them, always constantly adhered, without reproach and variation, to the holy Roman church, like a perfect tetragon, while other kingdoms have wavered by fomenting the schism, and favouring the anti-popes. All the world knows how much labour it has cost us, as well as expense, to keep up that respect and veneration among both princes and people, which they owe to holy mother church, and the pastors; and you yourselves, if you will declare the truth, have been witnesses of it. To the end therefore that, according to the precept of St. Paul, we may behave well towards both God and man, and for fear lest, by our negligence to support the reputation of the above-mentioned kingdom and marquise,

we may be thought cruel to our neighbours, we make known to you fathers by these presents, and also to all Christian people, with a firm confidence in Jesus Christ, attended with a pure and sincere conscience, and an orthodox faith, that whosoever, of any rank, pre-eminence, dignity, condition, degree, or religion whatsoever he be, has said and affirmed, or doth say and affirm, that errors and heresies are propagated in the kingdom of Bohemia, and the marquise of Moravia, which have infected us, and such of our subjects as are believers, has told a capital lie, *recte mentitur per caput suum*, as a villain, a traitor, the only dangerous heretic, and a child of the devil, who is a liar and a murderer. We except, however, the person of our most serene prince and lord, Sigismund, king of the Romans, because we believe him innocent of the calumnies with which we are aspersed. Meantime, we leave it to God, to whom vengeance belongs, to punish the offenders, reserving it to ourselves to prosecute them more at large before him whom God shall set over his church for the only undoubted pastor, being fully resolved, by the help of God, to pay him honour and obedience in all things that shall be lawful, honest, and reasonable. But in the mean time we desire that, according to the law of Jesus Christ, and the canons of the holy fathers, effectual remedies may be applied to the calamities of the kingdom of Bohemia, and the marquise of Moravia: for notwithstanding all that hath passed, we are resolved to sacrifice our lives for the defence of the law of Jesus Christ, and of his faithful preachers, who declare it with zeal, humility, and constancy, without being shocked by all human constitutions that shall oppose this resolution.

This letter was dated the 2d of September, and unanimously approved in an assembly of the great men of Bohemia, which was held at Prague on the 5th of the same month, when they agreed upon the following articles: 1. To send deputies with this letter to Constance, who should at the same time make their apology. 2. To provide all the churches within the extent of their dominions with good pastors, to preach the word of God without any molestation. 3. That if a priest was accused of any error, he should be summoned before his bishop, in order to be punished, and expelled, if he was convicted of having taught any doctrine contrary to the word of God. And if it happened that any bishop should condemn and punish any priest clandestinely, and of his own accord, and in hatred to the truth of the gospel, without having convicted him of any error, it should no longer be lawful for any priest to be cited before such bishop, but that the affair should be referred to the judgment of the university, who should examine it according to the holy scripture. 4. That they should order the priests in their dependency to receive no excommunications but from their bishops, and to obey them when legal; but, on the contrary, to resist such excommunications when they are unjust or rash, and fulminated out of hatred to the word of God, or for any other cause not fairly proved: and they declare, that they are heartily disposed to obey such citations and excommunications of their bishops as are legal. This act concludes with their prayers, that it may please God speedily to grant a good pope to the church, to the end that they may make their just complaints to him; and they declare, that they will obey him in all things that he shall command agreeable to the word of God.—This is a proof that it was not their intention to make a rupture.

The letter, and the resolution of the great men of Bohemia, engaged the council to try all their efforts to induce Jerome of Prague to retract, that they might not carry things



to that extremity against him, as they had done against John Huss. We have already seen with what tumult his first examination was attended, upon the 23d of May. On the 19th of July, the deputies of the nations held an assembly in St. Paul's church, to which he was brought from his prison for another examination. On the 11th of September he appeared again in a public congregation, where he was so teased with promises and menaces, that at last he signed a writing, whereby he submitted himself to the council, and approved of the condemnation of the errors of Wickliff and John Huss, adding for his excuse, that he did not think at first that the articles of which John Huss was accused were really his. This was but a lame excuse, in my opinion, for nothing had been extracted out of the books of John Huss, which Jerome of Prague had not heard him say to himself more than once; and the book of the Church, from which the principal articles were extracted, had been publicly read at Prague. But there were, moreover, in this paper of Jerome's, certain restrictions which could not be relished by the council: indeed he thereby subscribed to the condemnation of Wickliff's 15 articles, and of the 30 articles of John Huss; but he declares, that by so doing he does not intend to prejudice the sacred truths which these two men have taught and preached. And then when he comes to explain himself touching John Huss in particular, he again repeats it, that 'tis not his intention to prejudice his person, nor his good manners, nor the many truths he has heard from his lips. He owns, that he had been an intimate friend of John Huss, and disposed to vindicate him before and against all the world, by reason of the meekness of his conversation, and the sacred truths which he heard him explain to the people; but that now he is better informed by the reading of his works, he is not willing to be an advocate for his errors, though he was for his person. *Esto quod sint amici et Plato et Socrates, sed magis amica veritas mihi est et esse debet*; i. e. Grant that both Plato and Socrates are my friends, yet the truth is and ought to be much dearer to me. He says also something more, for he declares, that by condemning the errors of John Huss, he does not pretend to make any recantation, because though he has often heard and read the condemned propositions, he never looked upon them as articles of faith, and that he never preferred his own sense to the authority of the church. The fathers of the council, not being satisfied with the loose and ambiguous terms of this writing, employed all the time, from this day to the general session, to persuade Jerome to a plainer and more circumstantial retraction. And it must be observed, that this session, which was to have been on the 20th, was not held till the 23d, perhaps because all that time was wanted to oblige Jerome to make that recantation.

Meantime, the minds of the people were prepared for the reformation of the church by the sermons which were preached on that subject from time to time, upon Sundays and holidays. On the 15th of September, I find one upon those words of St. Paul, 'I beseech you, that you walk worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called.' The preacher insists very much on the necessity of learning and knowledge in the prelates. 'When a prelate is consecrated, (says he,) they ask him if he knows the Old and New Testament? If he is judged by most of them, whether they can affirm it with a safe-conscience.' He urges the necessity of the reformation of manners with the same vehemence; and after having levelled at the clergy of his time a great many very sharp arrows, which St. Bernard, in his Commentary upon the Song of Songs, had let fly at the clergy of his time, he concludes his moral reflections by saying, that as God

anciently reserved to himself seven thousand men that had not bent the knee to Baal, he hopes there will be found, in so general a corruption, some good clergymen who will seriously exert themselves for the reformation of the church. But, at the same time, this preacher throws an unhappy obstacle in the way, by granting, as he does, an unlimited power to the pope, and by maintaining that he is the universal head of the whole church, the bishop of bishops, has the immediate cure of every believer's soul, and is the ordinary of ordinaries.

Jerome of Prague's recantation took up great part of this session, because the articles of Wickliff and John Huss were again read over in it, to the end that Jerome of Prague might anathematize them in a public manner. The cardinal of Cambray, one of the commissioners, read the Act of Recantation, written in Jerome's own hand, and drawn up in these terms.

'I, Jerome of Prague, master of arts, acknowledging the true Catholic and Apostolical Faith, do anathematize all heresies, and especially that wherewith I have been hitherto infected, and which John Wickliff and John Huss taught in their sermons and books, and for which the sacred council has condemned them as heretics, as well as their doctrines and works, but especially certain articles expressed in the sentence of the said council. I declare with my lips, and from my heart, that I accord in all things with the holy Roman church, and the apostolic see, and that I believe every thing in general, and in particular, that the said church and the said council doth believe, especially touching the keys, the sacraments, orders, and offices, and ecclesiastical censures, ceremonies, and all things appertaining to the Christian religion, acknowledging that many of the above articles are notoriously heretical, and long ago condemned by the holy fathers, some blasphemous, others erroneous, others scandalous and offensive to pious ears; and others, in short, rash, and seditious, and as such, condemned by the sacred council, which has forbid all Catholics to hold and teach the said articles, on pain of being accursed.'—(Alas! what is man!)

In fine, he promised and swore, by the holy Trinity, and by the holy Gospels, to persist always in the truth of the Catholic faith, and anathematized those who believed the contrary; adding, that if ever any doctrine should slip from him contrary to his recantation, he would submit to the severity of the canons, and to everlasting punishment. After this he was remanded to prison, where he had somewhat more liberty than before.

Though Jerome of Prague had made a very formal recantation, yet he was remanded to prison, and had only a little more liberty allowed him than before, as was just now said. Besides, at the solicitation of Michael de Causis and Stephen Paletz, new accusations were come to Constance against him, which were exhibited at Prague by the Carmelites, who strenuously solicited that he might be heard over again. His judges, who were the cardinals of Cambray, Ursins, Aquileja, and Florence, represented in vain, that it was doing him a piece of injustice to detain him a prisoner, and that it was absolutely necessary to set him at liberty, because he had obeyed the council. This equity only served to render those cardinals suspected by the enemies of Jerome of Prague; and it is even said, that there was one Naso, who took the liberty to speak to the cardinals in these terms: 'We are very much surprised, most reverend fathers, that you should offer to intercede for this wicked heretic, who has done us so much mischief in Bohemia, and by whom you yourselves may be sufferers. I fear that you have received presents from these



heretics, or from the king of Bohemia."—These contradictions obliged the cardinals to desire their discharge, and other commissioners were appointed, at the head of whom was the patriarch of Constantinople, who had been one of the most zealous solicitors for the punishment of John Huss.

After his recantation came to be suspected, new commissioners were appointed to examine him, as well upon the articles formerly exhibited against him, as those which were lately brought from Bohemia. The articles upon which Jerome had been heard, and the answers he made to his commissioners, were read by John de Rocha, D.D. of the order of friars minors. The old author of his life says, that he did not care to own those new commissioners, and that he desired to give in his answer at a public hearing. Meantime, as it appears by the acts that he answered before them, to be sure he resolved upon it without prejudice to the public hearing which he demanded. The first article of accusation related to Wickliff. Jerome was accused of having spoke of him, not only as a very catholic doctor, but as a saint and a martyr; of having maintained his errors upon various occasions, and in several places.

The second accusation was his having trampled the authority of the church under foot, because that after he had been excommunicated in Austria, and several other countries, as well as in Bohemia, he had presumed to receive the sacrament at Prague, from the hands of the parish priest of St. Michael.

In the third place, he was accused of having published defamatory libels against the pope, several princes, the dukes of Austria and Bavaria, and especially against his archbishop.

The fourth accusation consists of the acts of violence and sacrilege laid to his charge; particularly, that in 1412 he caused the relics in a church of the Carmelites to be thrown upon the ground, and trampled under foot; that he had reviled and beat the monks who had the custody of them, and begged alms for the building of the church; that some days after this he entered the said monastery by violence, and there wounded some of the friars, particularly one who preached against Wickliff; that he gave a Dominican friar a box o'th' ear in the open street, and also took a knife out of his pocket, with which he would have wounded, if not killed, the said friar, if persons had not been there to hinder him; and, in fine, of having by main strength unfrocked a young friar, and compelled him to put on a lay-habit, which he gave him with his own hands; after which, 'tis added, that the young friar drowned himself for grief. As to the pretended profanation of the relics, Jerome absolutely denied it. As to the violences offered to the friars in a monastery, he made answer, That finding those monks quarrelling with two burghers, whose footman they had clapped in prison, he endeavoured to reconcile them; but that some people falling upon him with drawn swords, he disarmed one of them of his sword, and with it defended himself as well as he could. As to his boxing the Dominican in the street, he owned, that the said Dominican having given him the first provocation, because he had censured him for affronting the gentlemen, he gave him a blow with the back of his hand. As to any knife, there's no mention of it in the report of the commissioners. But in his hearing upon the 23d of May, he owned, that when he found that monk had hired persons to fall upon him, he borrowed a knife of a peasant to defend himself, and that indeed he did thresh the monk heartily; but that on this occasion, his life, and not any point of religion, was the thing at stake. Finally, as to the monk who was unfrocked by violence, and afterwards found drowned, he answered, that this young friar put off the frock of his own accord, and that he had afterwards the misfortune to be drowned, as he was washing himself.

The fifth accusation was, that he had for many years supported and favoured one Peter de Valence, excommunicated by Shinko, because he would not deliver up Wickliff's books to him.

The sixth was, that while he was in Russia and Lithuania, he had endeavoured to pervert the Catholics who were new converts to Christianity.

The seventh was, that he had been one of the most flaming abettors of John Huss, and was so still; and that by his dissembling hypocritical behaviour, and by his seditious discourse, he had hindered the execution of the king's declaration against Wickliff and the Wickliffites.

The eighth was, for refusing to appear at Rome, where he was cited thither for having visited profane temples and parishes, namely, such as were excommunicated.

The ninth was, his having counterfeited the seal of the university of Oxford, and forged letters from the said university in favour of Wickliff, and reading the same publicly in the pulpit.

The tenth was, that he had induced the nobility to despise the tonsure, relics, and indulgences, and to rob the clergy.

The eleventh, that at Paris, Cologne, and Heidelberg, he had publicly and obstinately maintained heretical opinions.

To these the proctor of the council added others of his own head, upon which he demanded that Jerome of Prague might be interrogated, and which he insinuated were publicly notorious. There were several which related to Wickliff and John Huss, and which came so near to the articles upon which Jerome had been already examined, that they need not be repeated here. For I observe, that the commissioners for the trials of John Huss and Jerome of Prague acted much like the common disputants, who aim at the multiplying of heresies, by making several different articles of what in equity ought only to be considered as one and the same.

He was also accused of having said, that neither the pope nor the bishops have the power of granting indulgences; and also of having made a forcible entry one morning into a church where they were to be published, and of having turned out the collectors, saying, 'Depart from hence, ye liars, with your lies, for your pope is a liar, a heretic, and an usurer, who has no power to grant indulgences.'

In fine, the proctor of the council gave a very long account of Jerome's whole conduct since he came to Constance; of his clandestine retreat, of his return, of his feigned recantation, of his relapse into his errors; and laid as much stress upon every circumstance, as if it was a fresh article of accusation. To this he added one which related to his morals; for he asserted, that Jerome was such an Epicurean in his prison, that he spent his whole time in drunkenness and gluttony.—From whence he inferred, that he ought not only to be obliged to fast, but to answer Yes or No, to all the articles, and to suffer the torture, because he is no clergyman; and that, in fine, he ought to be delivered up to the secular arm as an obstinate heretic, if he persevered in his errors.

As Jerome of Prague had all along demanded a public hearing, and refused to take the oath before the last commissioners, a general congregation was summoned on the 23d of May, to swear him. But in this assembly he also refused to take the oath, unless they would promise him beforehand that he should have entire freedom of speech. But the council not thinking it fit to grant him such permission, the articles were read to him which he had not yet answered.

They met again for the same affair on the 20th of May. Jerome no sooner made his appearance, but the patriarch of Constantinople asked him, if he was willing to take the oath before he gave in his answer to the rest of the articles against

which they were to hear him? He refused, as before, to be sworn, because they would not grant him the liberty of speech; nevertheless they read all the articles to him that remained. At length, after he had answered all the charges, owning some, denying others, and clearing up the rest, the patriarch of Constantinople said to him, that though he had been fully convicted of heresy by proofs that were unanswerable, and by witnesses that were unexceptionable, yet they gave him the liberty of speaking, either to defend himself, or to retract; but that if he persisted in his errors, he must expect judgment would be pronounced according to the laws.

Jerome did not slip the opportunity; after having put up a prayer himself, he desired the prayers of the assembly, that might please God and the Virgin so to enlighten his understanding, that no word might drop from him which should be prejudicial to the salvation of his soul. He afterwards said, that it was an extraordinary thing to see innocent persons oppressed by false witnesses, and he instance in the believers of the Old and New Testament, as also in the Christian and Pagan philosophers; such as Elias, Daniel, the other prophets, Susanna, St. Stephen, St. Jerome, Boetius, Socrates, Plato, Cato, Seneca, &c.; that therefore he should not be surprised if he met with the same fate; but that he hoped one day to see his accusers, and to call them to judgment before the tribunal of the sovereign Judge of the world. He accused the council of an act of high injustice, in appointing new commissioners to try him after the first had owned his innocence; and he declared, that he never acknowledged the last set of commissioners, and still refused to own them, but looked upon them as no better than judges sitting in the chair of pestilence. Then he takes notice of the pretences which his enemies had made use of to persecute him, gives a long account of the disputes betwixt the Bohemians and Germans in the university of Prague, and affirmed, that he had only incurred the hatred of the latter because he had defended the privileges of his country in concert with John Huss, whom he spoke of as a holy man.

Then he told how he came to Constance to defend John Huss, because it was he that had advised him to go thither, and that he had made him a promise to come to his assistance, in case they should go about to oppress him. "When I arrived (said he) at Constance, and found John Huss a close prisoner, I gave ear to the advice given me by several persons of credit, to get out of the way, and retired some distance from Constance, from whence I made a complaint to the emperor of the injustice that had been done to John Huss, and demanded a safe-conduct from the council for myself; which being refused me in the form I desired for my security, I returned towards Bohemia, when I was arrested upon the road, and brought back to Constance, bound hand and foot. I am not ashamed here to make public confession of my cowardice. Yea, I confess, and tremble to think of it, that nothing but the fear of punishment by fire made me consent basely, and against my conscience, to the condemnation of the doctrines of Wickliff and John Huss."

After having uttered these words with great fortitude of mind, he declared, that he disowned his recantation, as the greatest crime that he had ever been guilty of; and that he was resolved to adhere, to his last breath, to the doctrine of Wickliff and of John Huss, as to a doctrine which was as sound and pure, as their lives were holy and unblameable.

Jerome concluded his speech with an invective against the pride, covetousness, lewdness, and all the other irregularities of the pope, the cardinals, and the whole body of the clergy. After which he was carried back to prison, where he remained till the next session.

On the 30th of May, Jerome of Prague being brought to the council by the archbishop of Riga to hear his sentence, the bishop of Lodi opened the act by a sermon which he preached upon these words, "He upbraided them with their unbelief and hardness of heart." The bishop speaks to Jerome at first very mildly, and seems even to insinuate to him, that he might still hope for favour from the council, if he would but repent. Then he makes a distinction betwixt error in the understanding only, and an error of the will which is maintained with obstinacy; and said that the latter constituted a heretic, which he declared to Jerome was his very case. But it seems he was for soothing him, by his telling him that the greatest wits were the most liable to fall into an error. After this the prelate by degrees sharpens his language, and tells Jerome, that he had no design to spare him, because he would fain reclaim him, and that he was going to smite him on one cheek, in hopes that, according to the command in the gospel, he would turn the other to him also; and he exhorted him not to shew himself inexcusable, as he had done hitherto. Here the learned prelate made use of the following words: *Primo projicio stercus non alienum, super faciem tuam, sed tuum proprium; i. e. "I cast thy own, not another's, dung upon thy face."* After this expression, the prelate addressing himself to the whole assembly, gave them a long and pathetic description of the troubles and ravages which the opinions of John Huss and Jerome of Prague had occasioned in the kingdom of Bohemia. Then turning about again towards Jerome himself, "I must shew you now (said he) the lenity with which you have been treated by the council. You know how heretics are used. They are first of all committed to a close prison. All manner of articles are admitted against them, and all sorts of witnesses too, even the most infamous, such as pawn-brokers, whoremongers, and common strumpets. They are obliged, upon oath, to tell the truth, which if they refuse they are put to the torture, and obliged to undergo all manner of torments. No person must be suffered to come near them, unless it be for some great necessity. They ought not to be admitted to a public hearing. If they repent, they may be pardoned; but if they persevere obstinately, they are delivered over to the secular arm. He afterwards represents to Jerome, "That he had not been treated with such severity, though he was more infamous than any heretic, than Arius, Sabellius, Faustus, than Nestorius; and that he had propagated his errors, not only in Bohemia, but in England, France, Hungary, Poland, Lithuania, Russia, Italy, and all Germany. That as to his being committed to prison, there was a necessity for it, and that if he had not fled, he might have been as easy and as free at Constance as he pleased. That all the witnesses admitted against him were men of known probity, and such as he himself had made no objection to. That he had not been put to the torture, but that the omission of it had been a very great wrong to him, because such punishment might have opened his eyes. The bishop concluded his speech with Jerome of Prague's condemnation.

Then Jerome exalted himself on a bench, and confuted him from the beginning to the end with great strength and courage. He declared that he had done nothing in his whole life which he ever repented of so bitterly as his recantation; that he revoked it from his very soul, as also the letter he had been induced to write on that subject in Bohemia; that he had lied like a miscreant by making that recantation; and that he esteemed John Huss a holy man. But he protested, at the same time, that he had always been religiously attached to the sentiments of the holy Catholic church; that he did not know himself to be guilty of any crime, unless

they gave that name to the reproaches he had cast upon the clergy for their irregularities. That if, after this declaration, credit should still be given to the false witness borne against him, he could no longer consider the fathers of the council than as unjust judges, unworthy of all belief.

Poggius, the Florentine, says, that every body was touched to the quick at this speech, and wished he might come off: which, no doubt, was the reason that it was proposed to him once more to retract. But he was now as inflexible as he was timorous before. One of the ancient authors of his life says, that when he was threatened with punishment, if he did not give marks of his repentance, he made this prophetic answer: "You have resolved to condemn me maliciously and unjustly, without having convicted me of any crime; but after my death I shall leave a sting in your consciences, and a worm that will never die. I make my appeal from hence to the sovereign Judge of all the earth, in whose presence you shall appear to answer me a HUNDRED YEARS HENCE." But the fathers only laughed at this prediction.

The council perceiving the constancy of Jerome of Prague, the patriarch of Constantinople, upon the proctor's motion, publicly read his sentence, which ran as follows:

'Our Lord Jesus Christ being the true Vine, whose Father is the Husbandman, told his disciples that he would cut off all the branches that did not bear fruit in him. Therefore the sacred synod of Constance, in obedience to the order of the sovereign Teacher, being informed, not only by public fame, but by an exact inquiry into the fact, that Jerome of Prague, master of arts, a layman, has affirmed certain erroneous and heretical articles maintained by John Wickliff and John Huss, and condemned not only by the holy fathers, but by this sacred synod; and that after having publicly recanted the said heresies, condemned the memories of both Wickliff and Huss, and sworn to persevere in the Catholic doctrine, he returned in a few days like a dog to his vomit; and that in order to propagate the pernicious venom which he concealed in his heart, he demanded a public hearing; and that when he had obtained it, he declared in full council, that he was guilty of great iniquity and a very wicked lie, in consenting to the condemnation of Wickliff and John Huss, and that he for ever revoked the said recantation, though he had declared that he held the faith of the Catholic church as to the sacrament of the altar and transubstantiation. For these causes the sacred synod has resolved and commanded, that the said Jerome be cast out, as a rotten withered branch, and declares him a heretic, relapsed, excommunicated, accursed, and as such condemns him.'

After this sentence had been unanimously approved by the council, Jerome was delivered over to the secular power, and at the same time the prelates recommended it to the judges and executioners of justice not to insult him, but to treat him with humanity!—What consummate hypocrites! Some authors have reported, that Gaspard Schlick, chancellor of the empire, protested in full council, in the name of Sigismund, against the condemnation and punishment of Jerome of Prague; and that not being able to get any satisfaction, he withdrew from the assembly in very great indignation.

The historians of that time agree, that a paper crown or mitre was given to Jerome, as well as to John Huss, which had the figures of devils on it, and that, after having thrown his hat among the priests that surrounded him, he put the said mitre, with his own hands, upon his head, saying, that he was glad to wear it for the sake of him who was crowned with one of thorns. After this, the sergeants laid hold of

him to carry him to execution; and as he went along, he sang the Apostles' Creed, and the hymns of the church, with a loud voice and a very cheerful countenance. When he came to the place where John Huss had been executed, he kneeled at the stake to which he was to be bound, and, with a low voice, made a very long prayer. Then the executioners stripped him of his garments, and cast a dirty linen cloth over his shoulders; after which, having bound him, they heaped wood and straw up to his neck.—Meantime Jerome raising his voice, sang the paschal hymn:

*Salve festa dies toto venerabilis aro,  
Qua Deus infernum vicit et astra tenens.*

i. e.

Hail happy day! and ever be ador'd,  
When hell was conquer'd by great heaven's Lord.

When he had ended singing, he made a confession of the Catholic faith in verse, and addressing himself to the multitude about him, said, 'Dear friends, know that even as I have now sung, so do I believe, and not otherwise: therefore I am condemned to die, for no other reason but because I would not consent to the council (or the counsel) of the priests who condemned John Huss. For, not to mention the integrity of his life, and his amiable behaviour from the cradle, he was a true preacher of the law, and of the gospel of Jesus Christ.' Then the executioners putting fire to the wood, threw his clothes upon it, while he sang aloud in Latin, "Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit." Though he was almost smothered with the flame, nevertheless he cried out, in the Bohemian tongue, O Lord God Almighty, have mercy on me, and pardon my transgressions; for thou knowest that I have sincerely loved thy truth. And with these words he yielded his last breath. This was on Saturday, May 30, 1416. During this, his bedding was brought from the prison, together with what furniture he had there, (as his straw-bed, boots, and hood,) and thrown into the fire, and his ashes were cast into the Rhine. The author who gives this account, and who protests that he saw and heard every thing with his own eyes and ears, declares, that his suffering lasted a full quarter of an hour, while a man might have gone leisurely from St. Clement's church at Constance to the church of St. Mary. And the relation given by this Hussite author is rather to be credited, because it is confirmed by such writers, his contemporaries, who were staunch Catholics, and zealous sticklers against the Hussites. Of these, Aeneas Sylvius ought to be mentioned in the first place, who speaks of John Huss and Jerome of Prague in these terms: "John Huss was burnt first, and after him Jerome of Prague. They suffered death with very great constancy, and went to the fire as cheerfully as if it had been to a feast, without making any complaint.—While the fire was kindling about them, they sang a hymn, which neither the flame, nor the crackling of the burning faggots, interrupted. We don't find that any of the philosophers ever suffered death with so much courage as they endured the fire." Theodorice de Niem, who was at Constance, expresses himself thus: "As they carried him to execution, he sung the Creed with a loud voice. He continued to speak, though very slow, even to death, or as long as he could open his lips." The monk, Theodorice Vrie, who also flourished at that time, gives the same testimony more at large: "Holding the crown (says he) that was given him in his hand, a crown of dishonour, abomination, and turpitude, he uttered these words, 'The Lord Jesus Christ, my God, was crowned for my sake with a crown of thorns, and I will gladly wear this crown for his glory.' After having pronounced this expression, he kneeled

down for a few minutes, and then rising up, he sung the Creed from the beginning to the end. Thus did the wretched man excite the compassion of all that saw him go along in that miserable condition, without taking any compassion of himself. Then being led to the stake, he was stripped of his clothes, and bound to it: there, being all naked, in the midst of the scorching flames, he sung these words, 'O Lord, into thy hand I resign my spirit;' and just as he was saying, 'Thou hast redeemed us,' he was suffocated by the flame and the smoke."

By this 'tis plain, that all the authors of that time are unanimous in their testimonies of that heroic constancy with which Jerome of Prague suffered death. But there is not one that has done it more at large, and with more spirit and elegance, than Poggins the Florentine, in the following notable letter, which he wrote upon this head to Leonard Aretin, and not to Nicholas Nicol, as was supposed by Æneas Sylvius. The suffrage of so illustrious a person as Poggins, who was himself a Catholic, cannot but be of very great weight. He was present at this act, and nobody could have room to suspect him. Æneas Sylvius speaks in commendation of this letter in his history of Bohemia; and all the fault he finds with it is, that Poggins, after his usual manner, raves a little too much against the behaviour of the clergy.—We will insert it here at length, though it has been printed several times, either in Latin or in bad French.—

"Not many days after my return to Constance, they began to examine the affair of Jerome, who they proclaim to be a heretic. I have a mind to give you a relation of this matter, as well for the sake of the importance of it, as for this man's doctrine and eloquence. I confess that I never heard any person, in the defence of a criminal cause, who came nearer to that eloquence of the ancients which we admire every day. Nothing was more surprising than the delicacy of his discourse, the force of his arguments, the greatness of his courage, and the boldness and intrepidity of his mien and countenance, when he answered his adversaries. 'Twere pity that so fine a genius should deviate from the faith, supposing, however, what is said of him to be true.—For 'tis none of my business to judge of an affair of such high consequence; and I submit it to those who are reputed to know more of it than I do.

"When several articles were exhibited against him by which it was proposed to convict him of heresy, and when he was in effect judged as a heretic, it was resolved to cite him, that they might hear his answers. When he appeared, he was ordered to answer to the articles laid to his charge. This he refused a long time, saying, that he would plead his own cause, before he answered the calumnies of his enemies. But as they would not give him leave, he spoke in the midst of the assembly as follows:

"How unjust is this! You have confined me for three hundred and forty days in several prisons, where I have been cramped with irons, almost poisoned with nastiness and stench, and pinched with the want of all necessaries. During this, you always gave my enemies a hearing, but refused to hear me for so much as one hour. I don't wonder that, after you indulged them with so long and so favourable a hearing, they had an opportunity to persuade you that I am a heretic, an enemy to the faith, a persecutor of the clergy, and a villain. With this prejudice you have judged me, without hearing me, and you refuse to hear me: nevertheless, ye are not gods, but men; such ye are fallible, ye may deceive yourselves, and suffer others to impose on you. They say, that all wisdom is collected in this council. You

ought therefore to take great heed that you do nothing rashly, for fear of committing injustice. I am very sensible that the design is to inflict sentence of death on me; but when all is done, I am but a man of very little importance, who must die sooner or later: therefore what I say is more for your sakes than my own. It would be very unbecoming the wisdom of so many great men to pass any unjust decree against me, and thereby to give a precedent for a consequence much more pernicious than my death can be."

"While he talked with so much force and grace, the people made so great a noise that he could not be heard any farther. It was therefore resolved, that he should answer to the articles exhibited against him, and then that he should have entire liberty of speech. All the articles were read to him, one after another; and being interrogated upon each of them, 'tis incredible with what dexterity and cunning he gave his answers; and how many arguments he brought to support his opinions. He never asserted the least thing unworthy of an honest man; so that if his sentiments, in matters of faith, had been agreeable to his words, there had not been the least colour for accusing him, much less for subjecting him to the sentence of death. He openly averred, that all that had been alleged against him was false, and invented by his enemies. When they told him, 'That he reviled the apostolic see by his calumnies, that he had fallen upon the pope himself, that he was an enemy to the cardinals, a persecutor of the prelates,' an adversary of 'the whole order of the Christian clergy,' he stood up, and, with a sorrowful tone and extended hands, cried out, 'Which way shall I turn, my fathers? whom shall I call upon for help, or to bear witness to my innocence? Shall I make my address to you? But my persecutors have entirely alienated your minds from me, by saying, that I am myself a persecutor of my judges. They verily conclude that if their other accusations were not of force enough to condemn me, they should not fail of oppressing me, and of setting you against me, by misrepresenting me to be an enemy to you all. If therefore you give them credit, I have nothing to hope for.'

"He often stung them by his cutting railery, and sometimes too he gave such a pleasant turn to their objections, as forced them to smile on so sad an occasion. When they asked him what was his opinion of the sacrament? Naturally (said he) 'tis bread; but during and after the consecration 'tis the true body of Christ.' He answered to the other articles after the same orthodox manner. Some having reproached him with having said, that after the consecration the bread remained bread. 'Yea, (said he,) that which remaineth at the baker's.' He said to a Dominican who raved against him, 'Hold thy peace, hypocrite;' and to another, who affirmed what he said of him upon oath, 'That (said he) is the best way to deceive.' There was one of his principal antagonists whom he never called by any other names than dog and ass. But it being impossible to bring the affair to an issue that day, because of the number and importance of the accusations, it was adjourned to another day. Upon that day, after the reading of the articles, and proving them by witness, Jerome prayed the assembly to grant him a hearing: which having obtained, though not without opposition, he began with invoking the grace of God so to govern his heart and his lips, that he might advance nothing but what should conduce to the salvation of his soul; and then spoke as follows: 'I am not ignorant, ye learned tribe, that many excellent men have been borne down by false witnesses, and treated after a manner unworthy of their virtues, and condemned by very unjust

'decrees.' He began with the instance of Socrates, who, after being unjustly condemned by his fellow-citizens, preferred death to a disingenuous recantation, though it was solely in his own power to have saved his life by this method. Then he instanced in the captivity of Plato, the sufferings of Anaxagoras and Zeno, the banishment of Rutilius, the execution of Boetius, and some others.

"From thence, proceeding to the Hebrews, he represented, that Moses had been often scandalized by the people, as if he had been an impostor; that Joseph's brethren, out of envy, sold him, and that he was afterwards put in prison upon false reports. That Isaiah, Daniel, and almost all the prophets, were persecuted unjustly. He did not forget the story of Susanna. After these instances taken from the Old Testament, he passed to those of the New. He put them in mind of the unjust execution of John the Baptist, Jesus Christ, and most of the apostles, put to death as ungodly seditious persons. 'Tis a shameful thing (said he) for one priest to be condemned unjustly by another; but the height of iniquity is when this is done by a council, and a college of priests.'

"As the whole affair turned upon the witnesses, he asserted that no credit ought to be given to their deposition, because they had advanced nothing but what was false, and that only through hatred and envy. He gave so probable an account of the reasons of that spite, that he had almost convinced them; and if this had not been an affair of religion, they were so touched with compassion, that he would have been sent away innocent. To raise the more pity, he added, that he came of his own accord to the council to justify himself, which a man, who was conscious of his guilt, would not have done. Moreover, it was very plain, from the account he gave of his life and studies, that he had spent his time in the exercise of virtue, and in works of use and piety. As to his sentiments, he shewed, that the most learned men, of all times, had different opinions concerning religion; that they disputed about it, not to combat the truth, but to clear it up; and that St. Austin and St. Jerome were not always of the same opinion, and yet were not therefore accused of heresy.

"It being expected that he should either justify himself, or retract, he declared that he would do neither the one nor the other: not the first, because he did not think himself guilty of any error; not the second, because it was not his business to retract the false accusations of his enemies. He launched out into the praise of John Huss, who had been already burnt, calling him a just and holy man, unworthy of such a death, and declared that he was ready to suffer all kinds of torture with constancy. That he had rather yield to the violence of his enemies, and to the impudence of his accusers, than to lie as they did, being moreover assured that they must one day give an account of it to Him who cannot be mocked. The whole assembly was heartily grieved, and earnestly desired to save so excellent a man, if he had been but rightly disposed. But he was fixed in his resolution, and seemed to desire nothing so much as death. He again expatiated in praise of John Huss, who, as he expressed it, had not acted against the Church of God, by finding fault with the abuses of the clergy, and the insolence, pride, and pomp, of the prelates. 'As the revenues of the church are principally designed for the maintenance of the poor, for works of hospitality, for the building and repair of churches, this pious man (said he) could not bear to see them spent in debauchery with women, in feasts, hounds, horses, furniture, and gaudy apparel, and other expenses, unworthy of the office of a priest.'

"He had such a presence of mind, and was a man of such constancy, that though he was interrupted by a thousand clamours, and incessantly harassed, yet he was never at a loss for a reply, and put his aggressors either to silence or to shame. He had an admirable memory, which never betrayed him, though he had been three hundred and forty days at the bottom of a dungeon, without being able to read, or so much as to see the light; not to mention the uneasiness and disturbances of mind, which would have destroyed the memory of any other person. Nevertheless, he quoted so many authorities from the doctors of the church, to support his opinions, that 'tis scarce to be imagined how he could muster them up in so short a space of time, supposing he had been perfectly at ease. He had a manly voice, which was agreeable, distinct, and sonorous. His behaviour naturally raised compassion, though he did not desire it. In a word, to see his intrepidity, you would have taken him for another Cato. O glorious man, truly worthy of immortal memory! If he entertained sentiments contrary to those of the church, I don't commend him for that, but I admire his prodigious knowledge and his eloquence. I fear that nature only made him those presents for his ruin.

"As he had two days' time allowed him for repentance, several persons, among others the cardinal of Florence, went to see him, in hopes of reclaiming him. But he persevered in his errors, and therefore the council condemned him to the flames. He walked to execution with a gay countenance, and with more intrepidity than ever was shewed by any Stoic. When he came to the place of death, he put his own clothes off, and, falling on his knees, kissed the stake to which he was to be bound. He was not only chained, but bound to it naked with moistened ropes, after which great sticks of wood were piled round him mixed with straw. As soon as the fire caught it, he fell to singing a hymn, which he did not leave off, notwithstanding all the flame and smoke. The executioner approaching to the pile behind his back, for fear he should see him, Come forward, (said he, with all the courage that could be,) and put fire to it before my face; for had I been afraid, I should not have come hither, when I might have so easily avoided it. Thus died this man, whose merit cannot be sufficiently admired. I was a witness of his end, and have considered all the acts.—Whether he was guilty of insincerity or obstinacy, I know nothing of the matter; but never was there a death more philosophical.

"Thus have I given you a long narrative. I thought I could not employ my leisure time to better purpose, than to relate a history so much like to those of antiquity. Mutius Scævola did not express more constancy when he saw but his arm burnt, than Jerome did at the sight of his whole body in the flames; nor did Socrates take off the poisonous draught with more alacrity. But this is sufficient. Pardon my being so tedious. Such a subject as this deserved to be treated still more at large."

#### CONTINUATION OF ENGLISH MARTYRS:

##### *The Martyrdom of JOHN CLAYDON, Currier.*

AFTER the history of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, the order of time calls me back to matters which passed in the mean time with us in England.

After the death of Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, succeeded Henry Chichesley, in the year of our Lord 1414, and sat twenty-five years. In whose time



good people in England suffered much trouble and great affliction; of whom many were compelled to abjure, some were burnt, and divers were driven into exile.

The 17th of August, 1415, did personally appear *John Claydon*, carrier, of London, (arrested by the mayor of the said city, on suspicion of heresy,) before Henry, archbishop of Canterbury, in St. Paul's church; which John did openly confess, and denied not, but that he had been for the space of twenty years suspected both about the city of London and also in the province of Canterbury, and especially by the common sort, for Lollardy and heresy, and to be contrary to the faith of the church of Rome.

Inasmuch, that in the time of Robert Braybrook, bishop of London, deceased, he was for the space of two years committed to the prison of Conway, for the aforesaid defamation and suspicion, and for the same cause also he was in prison in the Fleet for three years. Out of which prison he, in the reign of Henry IV. was brought before the lord John Searle, then chancellor to the king, and there did abjure all heresy and error. And the said John Claydon being asked by the said archbishop, whether he did abjure the heresy of which he was suspected before any other? did confess, that in a convocation at London in St. Paul's church, before Thomas Arundel, late archbishop, deceased, he did abjure all such doctrine, which they called heresy and error, contrary to the Catholic faith and determination of the church, and that he had not only left such articles and opinions, wherein he was defamed, but also did abstain from all company that were suspected of such opinions, so that he should neither give aid, help, counsel, nor favour, unto them.

And moreover, the said John was asked by the said archbishop, whether ever he had in his house, since his abjuration, in his keeping, any books written in English? Whereunto he confessed, that he had in his house, and in his keeping, many English books; for he was arrested by the mayor of the city of London for such books as he had, which books, as he thought, were in the mayor's keeping. Upon which the mayor did openly confess, that he had such books in his keeping, which in his judgment were the worst, and the most perverse, that ever he did read or see, and one book that was well bound in red leather, or parchement, written in a good English hand; and among the other books found with the said John Claydon, the mayor gave up the said book before the archbishop. Whereupon the said John Claydon, being asked by the archbishop if he knew that book? did openly confess, that he knew it very well, because he caused it to be written at his own costs and charges, for he spent much money thereupon since his abjuration. Then was he asked who wrote it? He did answer, one called John Grime.

And further, being required what the said John Grime was? he answered, he could not tell. Again, being demanded whether he did ever read the same book? he did confess, that he could not read, but he had heard the fourth part thereof read by one John Fuller. And being asked, whether he thought the contents of that book to be Catholic, profitable, good, and true? he answered, that many things which he had heard in the same book, were both profitable, good, and healthful to his soul; and, as he said, he had great affection to the said book, for a sermon preached at Horsall-downe, that was written in the said book. And being further asked, whether, since the time of his said abjuration, he did commune with one Richard Baker, of the city aforesaid? he did answer, Yea; for the said Richard Baker did come often to his house to have communion with him. And being asked whether he knew the said Richard to be suspected

and defamed of heresy? he did answer again, that he knew well that the said Richard was suspected and defamed by many men and women in the city of London, as one whom they thought to be an heretic.

Which confession being made, he did cause the said books to be delivered to master Robert Gilbert, doctor of divinity, to William Lindewood, doctor of both laws, and other clerks, to be examined; and in the mean time, David Beard, Alexander Philip, and Balthazar Mero, were taken for witnesses against him, and were committed to be examined to master John Escourt, general examiner of Canterbury. This done, the archbishop continued his session till Monday next at the same place. Which Monday being come, being the 20th of the said month, the said master Escourt openly and publicly exhibited the witnesses, being openly heard before the archbishop, and other bishops, which being read, then after that were read divers tracts found in the house of the said John Claydon; out of which being examined, divers points were gathered and noted for heresies and errors, especially out of the book aforesaid, which book the said John Claydon confessed at his own costs to be written and bound; which book was entitled, *The Lanthorn of Light*. In which, and in the other examined, were these articles:

First, upon the text of the gospel how the enemy did sow the tares, there is said thus: That wicked Antichrist the pope hath sowed among the laws of Christ his popish and corrupt decrees, which are of no authority, strength, nor value.

2. That the archbishops and bishops, speaking indifferently, are the seats of the beast Antichrist, when he sitteth in them, and reigneth above other people in the dark caves of errors and heresies.

3. That the bishop's license for a man to preach the word of God, is the true character of the beast, i. e. Antichrist; and therefore simple and faithful priests may preach when they will against the prohibition of that Antichrist, and without license.

4. That the court of Rome is the chief head of Antichrist, and the bishops are the body; and the new sects, that is, the monks, canons, and friars, all brought in, not by Christ but by the pope, are the venomous and pestiferous tail of Antichrist.

5. That the church is no other thing but the congregation of faithful souls, which do and will keep their faith constantly, as well in deed as in word.

6. That Christ did never plant private religions in the church; but whilst he lived in this world, he did root them out. By which it appeareth, that private religions are unprofitable branches in the church, and to be rooted out.

7. That the material churches should not be decked with gold, silver, and precious stones, sumptuously; but the followers of the humility of Jesus Christ ought to worship their Lord God humbly in mean and simple houses, and not in great buildings, as the churches are nowadays.

8. That there are two chief causes of the persecution of the Christians: one is, the priests' unlawful keeping of temporal and superfluous goods; the other is, the unsatiable begging of the friars, with their high buildings.

9. That alms is not given virtuously nor lawfully, except it be given, first, to the honour of God; secondly, of goods justly gotten; thirdly, to such persons as the giver thereof knoweth to be in Christian charity; and 4thly, to such as have need, and do not dissemble.

10. That the often singing in the church is not founded in the scripture, and therefore it is not lawful for priests to

occupy themselves with singing in the church, but with the study of the law of Christ, and preaching his word.

11. That Judas did receive the body of Christ in bread, and his blood in wine. In which it doth plainly appear, that after consecration of bread and wine made, the same bread and wine that was before do truly remain on the altar.

12. That all ecclesiastical suffrages do profit all virtuous and godly persons indifferently.

13. That the pope's and the bishops' indulgences are unprofitable.

14. That the laity are not bound to obey the prelates, whatsoever they command, unless the prelates do watch to give God a just account of their souls.

15. That images are not to be sought to by pilgrimages, neither is it lawful for Christians to bow their knees to them, neither to kiss them, nor to give them any manner of reverence.

For which articles, the archbishop, with other bishops, and divers learned, communing together, first condemned the books as heretical, and burned them; and then, because they thought the said John Claydon to be forsworn and fallen into heresy, the archbishop did proceed to his definitive sentence against the said John, personally appearing before him in judgment, (his confessions being read and deposed against him,) after this manner:

"In the name of God, Amen.—We, Henry, by the grace of God, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, in a certain cause of heretical pravity, and of relapse into the same, whereupon John Claydon, layman, of the province of Canterbury, was detected, accused, and denounced, and in the said our province of Canterbury publicly defamed; We do proceed to the pronouncing of the sentence definitive in form as followeth. The name of Christ being invoked and only set before our eyes, forasmuch as by the acts and things enacted, produced, exhibited, and confessed before us, also by divers signs and evidences, we have found the said John Claydon to have been, and to be, publicly and notoriously relapsed again into his former heresy, heretofore by him abjured; according to the merits and deserts of the said cause, being by us diligently searched, weighed, and pondered before, to the intent that the said John Claydon shall not infect others with his scab, by the consent and assent of our reverend brethren, Richard, bishop of London, John, bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, and Stephen, bishop of St. David's, and of other doctors as well of divinity as of both laws, and also of other discreet and learned men assisting us in this behalf, we do judge, pronounce, and declare the said John Claydon to be relapsed again into his heresy, which before he did abjure, finally and definitively appointing him to be left unto the secular judgment, and so do leave him by these presents."

Thus John Claydon, receiving his judgment and condemnation of the archbishop, was committed to the secular power, and by them unjustly and unlawfully was committed to the fire, for that the temporal magistrates had no such law sufficient for them to burn any man for religion condemned by the prelates, as is above sufficiently proved and declared. But, to be short, John Claydon, notwithstanding, by the temporal magistrates not long after was had to Smithfield, where he was made a burnt-offering unto the Lord, anno 1416.

Robert Fabian, and other chronologers who follow him, add also, that *Richard Turning*, baker, of whom mention is made before in the examination of John Claydon, was likewise at the same time burned with him in Smithfield.

### *Martyrdom of WILLIAM TAYLOR.*

In the first year of the reign of king Henry VI. was burned the faithful witness-bearer of Christ's doctrine, *William Taylor*, a priest, under Henry Chichesley, archbishop of Canterbury. Of this William Taylor I read, that in the days of Thomas Arundel he was first apprehended, and abjured. Afterwards, in the days of Henry Chichesley, about the year of our Lord 1421, which was a year before his burning, the said William Taylor appeared again in the convocation before the archbishop, being brought by the bishop of Worcester, and was accused of having taught at Bristol the following articles:

First, That whosoever hangeth any scripture about his neck, taketh away the honour due only to God. and giveth it to the devil.

Secondly, That no human person is to be worshipped, but only God is to be adored.

Thirdly, That the saints are not to be worshipped nor invoked.

Upon these articles the said William Taylor being examined, denied that he did preach or hold them in way of defending them, but only did commune and talk upon the same, especially upon the second and third articles, only in way of reasoning, and for argument sake. And to justify his opinion to be true in that which he did hold, he brought out of his bosom a paper or label written, wherein were contained certain articles, which the testimonies of the doctors alleged, and exhibited the same unto the archbishop. Who then being bid to stand aside, the archbishop consulting together with the bishops and other prelates what was to be done in the matter, delivered the writing unto Mr. John Castle, and John Rikinhale, the two vice-chancellors of Oxford and Cambridge, and to John Langdon, monk, of Canterbury. Who advising with themselves, and with other divines, about the articles and allegations, on Monday following presented the said articles of William Taylor to the archbishops and prelates, as erroneous and heretical. Whereupon William Taylor being called before them, in conclusion was contented to revoke the same, and for his penance was by them condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

Notwithstanding, through special favour, they were contented that he should be released from his confinement, in case he would put in sufficient surety in the king's chancery, and swear that he shall never hold nor favour any such opinions hereafter. And thus the said William Taylor, appointed to appear the next Wednesday at Lambeth before the archbishop, to take his absolution from his long excommunication during the time from Thomas Arundel, appeared again before him: where he, laying aside his cloak and cap, and stripped unto his doublet, kneeled at the feet of the archbishop. Who then standing up, and having a rod in his hand, began the psalm, *Miserere*, &c. his chaplains answering the second verse. After that was said the collect, *Deus cui proprium*, &c. with certain other prayers. And so taking an oath of him, the archbishop committed him to the custody of the bishop of Worcester, to whom power and authority was permitted to release him, upon the conditions aforesaid. And thus was William Taylor for that time absolved, being enjoined notwithstanding to appear at the next convocation whensoever it should be, before the said archbishop, or his successor that should follow him.

In the mean time, while William Taylor was thus in the custody of the bishop of Worcester, there passed certain writings between him and one Thomas Smith, priest at Bristol, in which writings William Taylor replied against the

said Thomas, concerning the question of worshipping of saints. Upon the occasion of which reply being brought to the hands of the bishop of Worcester, William Taylor began anew to be troubled, and was brought again before the public convocation of the clergy by the said bishop of Worcester, to answer unto his writings. This was anno 1422, the 11th of February. Unto which convocation the said William being presented, his writings were read to him; which he would not, nor could not, deny to be of his own hand-writing.

The tenor of whose writing only tended to prove, that every petition and prayer for any supernatural gift ought to be directed to God alone, and to no creature. But in this writing he did not utterly deny that it was lawful in any respect to pray to saints, (and bringeth for the same Thomas Aquinas,) but only in respect of that worship which is due to God alone.

This writing being delivered by the archbishop to the four orders of friars of London, to be examined, was found erroneous and heretical in these points:

1. That every prayer which is a petition for some supernatural gift, or free gift, is to be directed only to God.
2. Item, That prayer is to be directed to God alone.
3. Item, To pray to any creature is to commit idolatry.
4. Also, another opinion, there was much like to the other, to make up the fourth.—So that although all these opinions agreed in one, yet, to make up a number, every order of the four sorts of friars thought to find out some matter to offer up to the archbishop against him, lest one order should seem more cunning in finding out more than could another; or else lest any of them should seem to favour the party, in bringing nothing against him, as the rest had done, and so make their orthodoxy to be doubted.

When the Saturday was come, which was the 20th day of February, upon which day the four orders were appointed to declare their censure upon the articles in the chapter-house of Paul's; first appeareth friar Tille, for the black friars, then friar Winchesley, then friar Low, after friar Ashwell; each friar for his order severally bringing his heresy, as is above specified.

Thus the verdict of these four orders being given up to the archbishop, and severally each order coming in with his heresy, there came down a writ from the king, directed to the lord mayor and sheriffs of London, *de hæretico comburendo*, dated the first day of March, the first year of his reign; the copy whereof remaineth in the records of the Tower, beginning thus: *Rex Majori et Vice comitibus*.—Whereupon the said William Taylor, condemned as a relapse, first was degraded, and after to be burned, and so was committed to the secular power; who then being had to Smithfield, the first day of March, with Christian constancy, after trouble and long imprisonment, there did consummate his martyrdom, 1422.

The manner of his degrading was all one with the degrading of John Huss before; for the papists use but one form for all men.—First, Degrading them from priesthood, by taking from them the chalice and patin. From deaconship, by taking from them the Gospels and tunicle. From subdeaconship, by taking from them the epistles and tunicle. From acolutheship, by taking from them the cruets and candlestick. From an exorcist, by taking away the book of exorcism or gradual. From the sextonship, by taking away the church-door key and surplice. And likewise from benet by taking away the surplice and first tonsure, &c. All which they orderly accomplished upon this godly martyr, before they committed him to the flames.

### *Persecution of JOHN FLORENCE, a Turner.*

John Florence, a turner, dwelling in Shelton, in the diocese of Norwich, was accused for holding and teaching these heresies, as they called them, contrary to the determination of the church of Rome:

Imprimis, That the pope and cardinals have no power to make or constitute any laws.

Item, That there is no day to be kept holy but only the Sunday, which God hath allowed.

Item, That men ought to fast no other time but on the *Quatuor temporum*.

Item, That images are not to be worshipped, neither ought the people to set up any lights before them in the churches, neither to go on pilgrimage, neither to offer for the dead, or with women that are purified.

Item, That curates should not take the tithes of their parishioners, but that such tithes should be divided amongst the poor parishioners.

Item, That all such as swear by their life or power shall be damned, except they repent.

Upon Wednesday, being the 2d day of August, in the year of our Lord 1424, the said John Florence personally appeared before William Bernham, chancellor to William bishop of Norwich, where he proceeding against him, objected the first article, touching the power of the pope and cardinals. To which article the said John Florence answered in this manner: If the pope live uprightly as Peter lived, he hath power to make laws; otherwise I believe he hath no power. But being afterward threatened by the judge, he acknowledged that he had erred, and submitted himself to the correction of the church, and was abjured, taking an oath that from that time forward he should not hold, teach, preach, or willingly defend, any error or heresy contrary to the determination of the church of Rome; neither maintain, help, or aid, any that shall teach or hold any such errors or heresies, either privately or publicly; and for his offence in this behalf done, he was enjoined this penance following:

That three Sundays, in a solemn procession in the cathedral church of Norwich, he should be whipped before all the people. The like also should be done about his parish church of Shelton, three other several Sundays, he being bare-headed, bare-footed, and bare-necked, after the manner of a public penitentiary, his body being covered with a canvass shirt and canvass breeches, carrying in his hand a taper of a pound weight; and that done, he was dismissed.

### *Martyrdom of WILLIAM WHITE, Priest.*

This William White, being a follower of John Wickliffe, and a priest, not after the common sort of priests, but rather to be reputed amongst the number of them of whom the wise man speaketh, "He was as the morning star in the midst of a cloud," &c. This man was well learned, upright, and eloquent. He gave over his priesthood and benefice, and took unto him a godly young woman to his wife, named Joan; notwithstanding, he did not therefore cease from his former office and duty, but continually laboured to the glory and praise of the spouse of Christ, by reading, writing, and preaching. The principal points of his doctrine were these, which he was forced to recant at Canterbury:

That men should seek for the forgiveness of their sins only at the hands of God.

That the wicked living of the pope and his holiness, is nothing else but a devilish estate and heavy yoke of Antichrist, and therefore he is an enemy unto Christ's truth.

That men ought not to worship images, or other idolatrous paintings.

That men ought not to worship the holy men who are dead.

That the Romish church is the fig-tree which the Lord Christ hath accursed, because it hath brought forth no fruit of the true belief.

That such as wear cowls, or are anointed, or shorn, are the lance-knights and soldiers of Lucifer; and that they all, because their lamps are not burning, shall be shut out when as the Lord shall come.

Upon which articles he being attacked at Canterbury under the archbishop, Henry Chichesley, in the year of our Lord 1424, there for a certain space stoutly and manly witnessed the truth which he had preached: but, like as there he lost his courage and strength, so afterwards he became again much more stout and stronger in Jesus Christ, and confessed his own error and offence. For after this, he going into Norfolk with his said wife Joan, and there occupying himself busily in teaching and converting the people unto the true doctrine of Christ, at the last, by the means of the king's letter sent down for that intent and purpose, he was apprehended, and brought before William, bishop of Norwich; by whom he was convicted and condemned for thirty articles, and there was burned in Norwich, in the month of September, anno 1442.

This William White and his wife had their abode mostly with one Thomas Moon, of Ludney. This man was of so devout and holy life, that all the people had him in great reverence, and desired him to pray for them; insomuch, that one Margaret Wright confessed, That if any saints were to be prayed to, she would rather pray to him than to any other. When he was come unto the stake, thinking to open his mouth to speak unto the people, to exhort and confirm them in the truth, one of the bishop's servants struck him on the mouth, thereby to force him to keep silence. And thus this good man, receiving the crown of martyrdom, ended this mortal life, to the great grief of all the good men of Norfolk. Whose said wife Joan, following her husband's footsteps according to her power, teaching and sowing abroad the same doctrine, confirmed many men in God's truth; wherefore she suffered much trouble and punishment the same year at the hands of the said bishop.

#### **Persecution of JOHN BEVERLEY & JOHN SKILLEY.**

*John Beverley*, alias *Battild*, a labourer, was accused by the vicar of Southereke, the parish-priest of Waterden, and a lawyer, and so delivered unto master William Bernham, the bishop's commissary, who sent him to the castle of Norwich, there to be kept in irons: where afterward he being brought before the commissary, and having nothing proved against him, he took an oath, that every year afterwards he should confess his sins once a year to his curate, and receive the sacrament at Easter, as other Christians did: and for his offence was enjoined, that the Friday and Saturday next after he should fast on bread and water, and upon the Saturday to be whipped from the palace of Norwich, going round about by Tonelands, and by St. Michael's church, by Cottlrew, and about the market, having in his hand a two-penny wax candle, to offer to the image of the Trinity after he had done his penance. And forasmuch as he confessed that he had eaten flesh upon Easter-day, and was not shriven in Lent, nor received upon Easter-day, the judge enjoined him that he should fast Tuesday, Wednesday, and Friday, in Whitsun-week, having but one meal a day, of fish and other white

meats; and after penance so done, he should depart out of the diocese, and never come there any more.

*John Skilley*, of Flixton, miller, being apprehended and brought before the bishop of Norwich, the 11th day of March, 1428, for holding and maintaining the articles above-written, was thereupon convicted, and forced to abjure; and after his abjuration solemnly made, he had a severe sentence of penance pronounced against him: That forasmuch as the said Skilley was convicted by his own confession, for holding and maintaining the articles before-written, and for receiving certain good and godly men into his house, as Sir William White, priest, and John Wadden, whom they called famous, notorious, and damnable heretics, and had now abjured the same, being first absolved from the sentence of excommunication which he had incurred by means of his opinions, he was enjoined for penance seven years' imprisonment in the monastery of Langley, in the diocese of Norwich. And forasmuch as in times past he used upon the Fridays to eat flesh, he was enjoined to fast on bread and water every Friday by the space of that seven years to come; and that by the space of two years next immediately after the seven years expired, every Wednesday in the beginning of Lent, and every Maunday-Thursaday, he should appear before the bishop, or his successor, or commissary for the time being, in the cathedral church of Norwich, together with the other penitentiaries, to do open penance for his offences.

Besides these there were divers other of the same company, who the same year were forced to like abjuration and penance. And so to proceed to the next year following, which was 1429, there were several who were examined, and did penance in like sort, to the number of sixteen or seventeen. In the number of whom was *John Baker*, otherwise called *Usher Tonsal*, who for having a book with the Pater-noster, the Ave, and Creed, in English, and for certain other articles of fasting, confession, and invocation, contrary to the determination of the Romish church, after much vexation for the same, was caused to abjure, and sustain such penance as the others before him had done.

*The following Account of MARGERY BACKSTER, contains so much good sense and sound reasoning, though delivered in homely phrase, that we judge the insertion of it will be highly pleasing to all who fear God, and detest as they should the abominations of Popery, &c. &c.*

*Margery Backster* was the same year accused; against whom one Joan, wife of William Cliffland, was brought in by the bishop, and compelled to depose, and was made to bring in, in form following:

First, That the said Margery Backster did inform this deponent, that she should in no case swear, saying to her in English, Dame, beware of the bee, for every bee will sting, and therefore take heed you swear not, neither by God, neither by our Lady, neither by any other saint: and if ye do contrary, the bee will sting your tongue and venom your soul.

Item, This deponent being demanded by the said Margery, what she did every day at church? she answered, that she kneeled down and said five Pater-nosters, in worship of the Crucifix, and as many Ave-Marias, in worship of our Lady. Whom Margery rebuked, saying, You do evil to kneel or pray to such images in the churches, for God dwelleth not in such churches, neither shall come down out of heaven, and will give you no more reward for such prayer, than a candle lighted and set under the cover of the font will give light by night to those who are in the church. Saying moreover, in English,



Senseless joiners of stocks hew and form such crosses and images, and after that lewd painters glee them with colours. And if you desire so much to see the true cross of Christ, I will shew it you at home in your own house. Which this deponent being desirous to see, the said Margery, stretching out her arms abroad, said to this deponent, This is the true cross of Christ, and this cross thou oughtest and mayest every day behold and worship in thine own house, and therefore it is but vain to run to the church to worship dead crosses and images.

Item, This deponent, being demanded by the said Margery, how she believed touching the sacrament of the altar? said, That she believed the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, to be the very body of Christ in form of bread. To whom Margery said, Your belief is naught: for if every such sacrament were God, and the very body of Christ, there should be an infinite number of Gods, because that a thousand priests and more do every day make a thousand such gods, and afterwards eat them, and void them out again by their hinder parts, filthily stinking under the hedges, where you may find a great many such gods if you will seek for them. And therefore know for certainty, that by the grace of God it shall never be my god, because it is falsely and deceitfully ordained by the priests in the church, to induce the simple people to idolatry; for it is only material bread.

Moreover, the said Margery said to this deponent, that Thomas of Canterbury, whom the people called St. Thomas, was a false traitor, and damned in hell, because he injuriously endowed the churches with possessions, and raised up many heresies in the church, which seduce the simple people; and therefore if God be blessed, the said Thomas is accursed: and those false priests that say that he suffered death patiently before the altar, do lie; for, as a cowardly traitor, he was slain in the church door, as he was flying away.

Moreover, this deponent saith, that the said Margery told her, that the cursed pope, cardinals, archbishops, and bishops, and especially the bishop of Norwich, and others that support and maintain heresies and idolatry, reigning and ruling over the people, shall shortly have the very same or worse mischief fall upon them than that cursed man, Thomas of Canterbury, had. For they falsely and cursedly deceive the people with their false mammetries and laws, to extort money from the simple folk to maintain their pride, riot, and idleness. And know assuredly, that the vengeance of God will speedily come upon them, which have most cruelly slain the children of God, father Abraham, W. White, a true preacher of the law of God, and John Wadden, with many other godly men; which vengeance had come upon the said Caiaphas (the bishop of Norwich) and his ministers, which are members of the devil, before this time, if the pope had not sent over these false pardons unto those parties, which the said Caiaphas had falsely obtained, to induce the people to make procession for the state of them and of the church; which pardons brought the simple people to cursed idolatry.

Item, The said Margery said to this deponent, that every faithful man and woman is not bound to fast in Lent, or other days appointed for fasting by the church, and that every man may lawfully eat flesh and all other meats upon the said days and times; and that it were better to eat the fragments left upon the Thursday at night on the fasting days, than to go to the market to bring themselves in debt to buy fish; and that pope Silvester made the Lent.

Item, That the said Margery said to this deponent, that William White was falsely condemned for an heretic, and that he was a good and holy man, and that he willed her to take him to the place of execution; where she saw that

when he would have opened his mouth to speak unto the people to instruct them, a devil, one of bishop Caiaphas' servants, struck him on the lips, and stopped his mouth, that he could in no case declare the will of God.

Item, This deponent saith, that the said Margery taught her that she should not go on pilgrimage, neither to our Lady of Walsingham, nor to any other saint or place.

Also, this deponent saith, that the said Margery desired her that she and Joan, her maid, would come secretly in the night to her chamber, and there she should hear her husband read the law of Christ unto them; which law was written in a book that her husband was wont to read to her by night, and that her husband is well learned in the Christian verity.

Also, that the same Margery had talked with a woman named Joan West, and that the said woman is in a good way of salvation.

Also, that the said Margery said to this deponent, Joan, It appeareth by your countenance, that you intend to disclose this that I have said unto you; and this deponent swore that she would never disclose it, without the said Margery gave her occasion.—Then said Margery unto this deponent, If thou do accuse me unto the bishop, I will do unto thee as I did once unto a certain friar, a Carmelite, of Yarmouth, which was the best learned friar in all the country. Then this deponent desired to know what she had done unto the friar: unto whom Margery answered, that she had talked with the said friar, rebuking him because he did beg, saying, that it was no alms to give him any good thing, except he would leave his habit, and go to the plough, and so he should please God more than by following the life of some of those friars. Then the friar required of the said Margery, whether she could teach him or tell him any thing else? Then the said Margery, as she affirmed to this deponent, declared to this friar the gospel in English, and then the friar departed from her. After this the said friar accused the said Margery of heresy; and she understanding that the friar had accused her, accused the friar again, that he would have known her carnally: and because she would not consent unto him, the friar had accused her of heresy. And moreover, she said that her husband would have killed the friar therefore: and so the friar for fear held his peace, and went his way for shame.

This Margery also said, that she had oftentimes been feignedly confessed to the dean of the Fields, because he should think her to be a woman of good life; and therefore he gave the said Margery oftentimes money. Then this deponent asked her, whether she had confessed her sins to a priest or not? And she answered, that she had never offended any priest, and therefore she would never confess herself to any priest, neither obey him, because they have no power to absolve any man from their sins, for that they offend daily more grievously than other men; and therefore that men ought to confess themselves only unto God, and to no priest.

Item, That the said Margery said to this deponent, that the people did worship devils which fell from heaven with Lucifer, which devils in their fall to the earth entered into the images which stand in the churches, and have long lurked and dwelled in them; so that the people, worshipping those images, commit idolatry.

Item, She said also to this deponent, that holy bread and holy water were but trifles of no effect or force; and that the bells are to be cast out of the church, and that they are excommunicate which first ordained them.

Moreover, that she should not be burned, although she were convicted of Lollardy, for that she had a charter of salvation in her body.

Also, the said deponent saith, that Agnes Burdett, her



servant, being sent to the house of the said Margery the Saturday after Ash-Wednesday, the said Margery not being within, found a brass pot standing over the fire, with a piece of bacon and oatmeal seething in it, as the said Agnes reported to this deponent.

There were also, besides this deponent, divers others sworn and examined upon the said Margery, as John Grimly and Agnes Barthem, servant to William Cliffland, which altogether confirmed the former depositions.

Thus much we have thought good to note as concerning Margery Backster, which we have gathered out of the old monuments and registers. But what became of her after this her accusation, we are not able to declare. Probably she was privately despatched by that murderous party; for it could not consist with the interests of the profligate priests, to permit a person of so much penetration and sound judgment to go unmolested.

The same year also were the like depositions made by one William Wright against divers good men:

First, This deponent saith, that *William Taylor* told John Piry, of Ludney, that all the good men of Martham, who were favourers and helpers to that good man, William White, are evil troubled nowadays, and that the said William White was a good and holy doctor.

Item, That *Nicholas Behnard*, son of John Belward, dwelling in the parish of Southelam, is one of the same sect, and hath a New Testament, which he bought at London for four marks and forty pence, (about £2: 16: 8. equal to eight guineas in the present day,) and taught the said William Wright, and Margery his wife, and wrought with them continually by the space of one year, and studied diligently upon the said New Testament.

Item, *William Bate*, tailor, of Sething, and his wife and his son, who can read English very well, are of the same sect.

Item, *John Pert*, late servant of Thomas Moon, is of the same sect, and can read well, and did read in the presence of William White, and was the first that brought Sir Hugh Pie unto the company of the Lollards, which assembled oftentimes together at the house of the said Thomas Moon, and there conferred upon their doctrine.

Item, Sir Hugh Pie bequeathed to Alice, servant to William White, a New Testament, which they then called the book of the new law, and was in the custody of Oswald Godfrey of Colchester.

Item, The said William Wright deposeth, that it is read in the prophecies among the Lollards, that the sect of the Lollards shall be in a manner destroyed: notwithstanding, at length the Lollards shall prevail, and have the victory over all their enemies.

*John Burrel*, servant to Thomas Moon, of Ludney, in the diocese of Norwich, was apprehended and arrested for heresy the 6th day of September, in this year of our Lord 1430, and examined by Mr. William Bernham, the bishop's commissary, upon the articles before mentioned, and divers others hereafter following, objected against him:

Imprimis, That the Catholic Church is the soul of every good Christian man.

Item, That no man is bound to fast the Lent, or other fasting days appointed by the church, for they were not appointed by God, but ordained by the priests; and that every man may eat flesh or fish upon the same days indifferently, according to his own will; and every Friday is a free day to eat both flesh and fish indifferently.

Item, That pilgrimages ought not to be made, but only unto the poor.

Item, That it is not lawful to swear, but in case of life and death.

Item, That masses and prayers for the dead are but vain; for the souls of the dead are either in heaven or hell; and there is none other place of purgatory but this world.

Upon which articles he being convicted, was forced to abjure, and suffered like penance as the others before had done.

*Thomas Moon*, of Ludney, was apprehended and attached for suspicion of heresy, against whom were objected by the bishop the articles before written, but specially this article, That he had familiarity and communication with divers heretics, and had received, comforted, supported, and maintained, divers of them, as sir William White, sir Hugh Pie, Thomas Pet, and William Callis, priests, with many more; upon which articles he being convicted before the bishop, was forced to abjure, and received the like penance, in like manner as before.

In like manner, *Robert Grigges*, of Martham, was brought before the bishop the 17th day of February, in the year aforesaid, for holding and affirming the aforesaid articles, but specially these hereafter following:

That the sacrament of confirmation, ministered by the bishop, did avail nothing to salvation.

That it was no sin to withstand the ordinances of the church of Rome.

That holy bread and holy water were but trifles, and that the bread and water were the worse for the conjurations and characters which the priests made over them.

Upon which articles he being convicted, was forced to abjure, and received penance in manner and form as the other had done before him.

*John Finch*, of Colchester, who, though he was of the diocese of London, being suspected of heresy, was arrested in Ipswich, in the diocese of Norwich, and brought before the bishop there, before whom he being convicted of the like articles, as all the other before him, was enjoined penance, three disciplinings in solemn procession about the cathedral church of Norwich three several Sundays, and three disciplinings about the market-place of Norwich three several market-days, his head, and neck, and feet, being bare, and his body covered only with a short shirt or vesture, having in his hand a taper of wax of a pound weight, which, the next Sunday after his penance, he should offer to the Trinity; and that for the space of three years after, every Ash-Wednesday and Maunday-Thursday, he should appear in the cathedral church of Norwich, before the bishop, or his vicegerent, to do open penance amongst the other penitentiaries, for his offences.

About the same time, 1430, shortly after the solemn coronation of King Henry VI. a certain man named *Richard Hovedon*, a wool-winder, and citizen of London, received also the crown of martyrdom. Which man, when he could by no means be brought to abjure the opinions of Wickliff, was by the rulers of the church condemned for heresy, and, as *Fabian* writes, burned hard by the Tower of London.

*Nicholas Canon, of Eye*.—Now to proceed in our story of Norfolk and Suffolk, in following the order of years, we find that in the year of our Lord 1431, one *Nicholas Canon*

of Eye, was brought before the bishop of Norwich, for suspicion of heresy, with certain witnesses sworn to depose against him touching his manners and conversation, which witnesses appointing one William Christopher to speak in the name of them all, he deposed in manner and form following :

First, That on Easter-day, when all the parishioners went about the church of Eye solemnly in procession, as the manner was, the said Nicholas Canon, as it were mocking and deriding the other parishioners, went about the church the contrary way, and met the procession.—This article he confessed, and affirmed that he thought he did well in so doing.

Item, The said Nicholas asked of master John Colman, of Eye, this question, Master Colman, what think you of the sacrament of the altar ? To whom the said Colman answered, Nicholas, I think that the sacrament of the altar is very God and very man, the very flesh and very blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, under the form of bread and wine. Unto whom Nicholas in derision said, Truly, if the sacrament of the altar be very God and very man, and the very body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, then may very God and very man be put into small room ; as when it is in the priest's mouth that receiveth it at mass. And why may not we simple men eat flesh upon Fridays and all other prohibited days, as the priest to eat the flesh and drink the blood of our Lord every day indifferently ?—Which article the said Nicholas denied that he spake unto master Colman, but unto a monk of Hockesney ; and furthermore, he thought he had spoken well in that behalf.

Item, That on Corpus-Christi day, at the elevation of high mass, when all the parishioners and other strangers kneeled down, holding up their hands, and doing reverence unto the sacrament, the said Nicholas went behind a pillar of the church, and turning his face from the high altar, mocked them that did reverence unto the sacrament.—This article he also acknowledged, affirming that he believed himself to do well in so doing.

Item, When his mother would have the said Nicholas to lift up his right hand, and to cross himself from the crafts and assaults of the devil, forsomuch as he deferred the doing thereof, his mother took up his right hand, and crossed him, saying, *In nomine Patris, Filii, et Spiritus sancti*, Amen. Which so ended, the said Nicholas immediately derided his mother's blessing, took up his right hand of his own accord, and blessed him otherwise, as his adversaries report of him.—This article the said Nicholas acknowledged to be true.

Item, That upon Allhallows-day, in the time of elevation of high mass, when as many of the parishioners of Eye lighted many torches, and carried them up to the high altar, kneeling down there in reverence and honour of the sacrament, the said Nicholas carrying a torch went up hard to the high altar, and standing behind the priest's back saying mass, at the time of the elevation he stood upright upon his feet, turning his back to the priest, and his face towards the people, and would do no reverence unto the sacrament.—This article he acknowledged, affirming that he thought he had done well in that behalf.

All which articles the bishop's commissary caused to be copied out word for word, and to be sent unto master William Worsted, prior of the cathedral church of Norwich, and to other doctors of divinity of the order of begging-friars, that they might deliberate upon them, and shew their minds between that and Thursday next following. Upon which Thursday, being the last of November, the year above-said, the said Nicholas was again examined before master

Bernham and divers others, upon two other articles which he had confessed unto J. Excetor, notary, and Thomas Gerusten, bachelor of divinity, and others. Whereof the first article was this, That the said Nicholas Canon, being of perfect mind and remembrance, confessed, that he doubted whether in the sacrament of the altar were the very body of Christ or no.—This article he confessed before the commissary to be true.

Item, That he being of perfect mind and remembrance, believed that a man ought not to confess his sins to a priest.—This article he also confessed that he doubted upon.

Now remaineth to declare what these doctors aforesaid concluded upon these articles ; whose answer unto the same was this :

First of all, as touching the first article, they said, that the article, in the same terms as it was propounded, is not simply an heresy, but an error.

Item, As touching the second article, the doctors agree as in the first.

Item, As touching the third article, they affirm that it is an heresy.

Unto the fourth article, they answer as unto the first and second.

Item, The doctors affirm the fifth article to be an heresy.

Item, As touching the sixth article, the doctors conclude, that if the said Nicholas, being of perfect mind and remembrance, did doubt whether the sacrament of the altar were the very perfect body of Christ or no, then the article is simply an heresy.

Whereupon the said commissary declared and pronounced the said Nicholas, upon the determination of the said doctors, to be an heretic, and thereupon forced the said Nicholas to abjure all the said articles. That done, he enjoined the said Nicholas penance for his offences, three disciplinings about the cloister of the cathedral church of Norwich, before a solemn procession, bare-headed and bare-foot, carrying a taper of half a pound in his hand, going after the manner aforesaid, like a mere penitentiary : the which his penance the judge commanded should be respited until the coming of the bishop into his diocese, and that in the mean time he should be kept in prison, to the end that he should not infect the flock with his venom and poison of errors and heresies.

*Thomas Bagley, priest.*—And now to proceed as we have begun with our former stories, generally we find in Fabian's Chronicles, that in the same year of our Lord, 1431, Thomas Bagley, a priest, vicar of Monenden, near Malden, being a valiant disciple and adherent of Wickliff, was condemned by the bishops of heresy at London, about the midst of Lent, and was degraded, and burned in Smithfield.

*Paul Craw, a Bohemian.*—The same year also was Paul Craw, a Bohemian, taken at St. Andrew's by the bishop Henry, and delivered over to the secular power to be burnt, for holding contrary opinions unto the church of Rome, touching the sacrament of the Lord's supper, the worshipping of saints, auricular confession, with other of Wickliff's opinions.

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*THOMAS RHEDON, a Frenchman, and a Carmelite Friar, burnt in Italy, for the Profession of Christ.*

THIS cruel storm of persecution, which first began with us in England, after it had long raged here against many good and godly men, brake out in Bohemia ; and within a short time, the fire of this persecution increasing by little and little

invaded Scotland; and from thence with greater force and violence this furious devouring flame entered Italy; and scarcely any part of the world was free from the murder and slaughter of most good and godly men.

It happened about this time, that one *Thomas Rhedon*, a Carmelite friar, came with the Venetian ambassadors into Italy. This man, although he was of that sort and sect which, instead of Christians, are called Carmelites, yet was he of another religion, and understood the word of God, judging that God ought not to be worshipped neither in that mount, nor at Jerusalem, only, but in spirit and truth. This man being a true Christian, and savouring the doctrine of Christ with his whole heart, with earnest study and desire seeking after a christian integrity of life, prepared himself first to go into Italy, trusting that he should find there, or else in no place, some by whose good life and living he might be instructed. For where ought more abundance of virtue and good living to be, than in that place which is counted to be the fountain of all religion? And how could it otherwise be, but that where so great holiness is professed, where St. Peter's seat is, and is thought to be the ruler and governor of all the church, all things should flourish and abound worthy of so great expectation in that place? This holy man having these things before his eyes, and considering the same with himself, forsook his own country and city, and went to Rome, conceiving a firm and sure hope, that by the example of so many notable and worthy men, he should greatly profit in godliness and learning; but the success of the matter did utterly frustrate his hope, for all things were clean contrary. —Whatsoever he saw was nothing else but mere dissimulation and hypocrisy: Instead of heavenly gifts, there reigned amongst them the pomp and pride of the world; in place of godliness, riot; instead of learning and study, slothfulness and superstition. Tyranny and haughtiness of mind had possessed the place of apostolic simplicity; that now there remained no more any place for a man to learn that which he knew not, or to teach that which he perfectly understood. Finally, all things were turned upside down; all things happened unto him contrary to his expectation wheresoever he went. But nothing so much offended this good man's mind, as the intolerable ambition and pompous pride in those, whose example of humility should especially commend and praise to the whole world.

And as he saw here nothing which did accord and agree with the rule of the apostles, he could by no means refrain his tongue from exclaiming against so great abuse and corruption of the church, seeing such ambitious pride in their buildings, apparel, in their places, in their dainty fare, in their great trains of servants, in their horse and armour, and finally, in all things pertaining to them. Which things how much they did vary from the rule of the gospel, so much the more was this good man forced to speak; albeit he did well understand how little he should prevail by speaking; for if admonition could profit any thing at all, the books of Wickliff and divers others were not wanting. The famous testimonies of John Huss, and of Jerome of Prague, and their blood shed for the same, was yet present before their eyes: at whose most effectual exhortations they were so little corrected and amended, that they seemed twice more cruel than they were before.

Yet all this could not terrify this good man, but that in so necessary and wholesome an office he would spend his life, if need should be. So by this means he which came to be a scholar unto others, was now forced to be their teacher. For even as Paul had foreshewed unto such as desired to follow after him in Christ, that they should suffer persecution, such

like reward happened unto this man. He gave unto them the fruit of godliness, which they should follow: they again set upon his head the diadem of martyrdom. He shewed them the way to salvation: and they for the benefit of life rewarded him with death. And whereas no reward had been worthy of his great labours and travails; they with more extreme ignominy persecuted him even unto the fire. For when as by continual preaching he had gotten great envy and hatred, the rulers began to consult together by what means they might circumvent this man's life. Here they had recourse to their accustomed remedies: for it was a peculiar and continual custom among the prelates of the church, that if any man did displease them, or that his talk be not according to their mind, or by any means hurtful, or a hinderance to their lucre and gain, by and by they frame out articles of some heresy, which they charge him withal. And like as every thing hath his peculiar and proper weapon to defend himself from harm, as nature hath armed the boar with his tusks, the hedgehog with his prickles, the lion with his claws, the dog with his teeth, and the bull with his horns, neither doth the ass lack his hoofs to strike withal: even so this is the only armour of the bishops, to strangle a man with heresy, if he once go about to mutter against their will and ambition; which thing may be easily seen in this most holy man, as well as in a great number of others. Who, as he now began to wax grievous unto them, and could no longer be suffered, what did they? straightways fly unto their old policies; and as they had done with Huss and Jerome of Prague, even so went they about to practise against this man. They overwhelm him with suspicion, they seek to entangle him with questions, they examine him in judgment, they compile articles against him, and lay heresy unto his charge; they condemn him as an heretic, and being so condemned, they destroy and kill him. This was their godliness: this was the peaceable order of those Carmelites, whose religion was to wear no sword nor shield, notwithstanding they did bear in their hearts malice, rancour, vengeance, poison, craft, and deceit, sharper than any sword. With how great care and policy is it provided by law, that none of these clergymen should fight with swords in the streets? when as in judgments and accusations there is no murderer who hath more ready vengeance, or that doth more vilely esteem his brother's soul, than they. They shed no blood themselves, they strike not, nor kill, but they deliver them over unto others to be slain!—What difference is there, I pray you, but that they are the authors, and the other are but the ministers of the cruel fact? they kill no man as murderers do: how then? although not after the same sort, yet they do it by another mean.

The articles which they gathered against this man, are affirmed by some to be these:

That the church lacketh reformation, and that it shall be punished and reformed.

That Infidels, Jews, Turks, and Moors, shall be converted unto Christ in the latter days.

That abominations are used at Rome.

That the unjust excommunication of the pope is not to be feared: and those which do not observe the same, do not sin or offend.

But yet there lacked a minister for these articles; but such an one could not be long wanting at Rome, where all things are to be sold, even men's souls. For this office there was no man thought more meet than William of Rouen, cardinal of St. Martin's in the Mount; vice-chancellor of the court of Rome. Eugenius at that time was pope, who had

a little before succeeded pope Martin. Before which Eugenius this godly Frenchman was brought, and from thence sent unto prison. And again, after his imprisonment, and divers and sundry grievous torments, he was brought before the judges. The wolf sat in judgment, the lamb was accused. Why? because he had troubled the spring. But here need not many words: this good Thomas, not being able to resist the malice of these mighty potentates, had offended enough, and was easily convicted, and condemned to be burned; but in such sort as first of all he should be deprived of all such degrees as he had taken of priesthood. For it is counted an unlawful thing, that a priest should be punished with profane punishment, when as notwithstanding it is lawful enough for priests to put any layman to death, he he never so guiltless.

How religiously and earnestly do they foresee that the majesty of the priestly dignity should not in any case be hurt! But how little care have they that their consciences be not hurt with false judgments, and oppressing the guiltless! Wherefore, before that he should come unto punishment, this good man must be degraded. The order and manner of this popish degrading has been already described.

After it had pleased the bishops to degrade this man from the degrees wherewith before they had consecrated him, and thought not that sufficient, by and by they deprived him of his life also, by burning him in Rome, in the year of our Lord 1430. And thus through the cruelty of these most tyrannous prelates, this blessed martyr died.

#### MR. FOX'S ACCOUNT OF THE INVENTION AND BENEFITS OF PRINTING.

In following the course and order of years, we find the year of our Lord 1450, to be famous and memorable for the divine and miraculous invention of Printing. Neuclerius, and Wynselingus following him, refer the invention thereof to the year 1440. In Paralip. Abbatis Ursi, it is recorded, this faculty to be found, anno 1440; Aventinus and Zieglerus do say anno 1450. The first inventor thereof, as most agree, is thought to be a German, dwelling first in Strasburg, afterward citizen of Mentz, named John Faustus, a goldsmith. The occasion of this invention first was by engraving the letters of the alphabet in metal; who then laying black ink upon the metal, gave the form of letters on paper. The man being industrious and active, perceiving that, thought to proceed further, and to prove whether it would frame as well in words, and in whole sentences, as it did in letters. Which when he perceived to come well to pass, he made certain other of his counsel, one J. Guttemberg and P. Schafferd, binding them by their oath to keep silence for a season. After ten years, John Guttemberg, co-partner with Faustus, began then first to broach the matter at Strasburg. The art, being yet but rude, in process of time was set forward by inventive wits, adding more and more to the perfection thereof. In the number of whom, J. Mental, J. Prus, and Adolphus Ruschius, were great helpers. Ulrichus Han, in Latin called Gallus, first brought it to Rome.—Whereof the epigram was made,

*Anser Tarpeii custos, vigilando quod alis  
Constreperes, Gallus decidit, ultor adest  
Ulrichus Gallus, ne quem poscantur in usum,  
Edocuit pennas nil opus esse tuis.*

Notwithstanding, what man soever was the instrument, without all doubt God himself was the ordainer and disposer thereof, no otherwise than he was of the gift of tongues, and that for a singular purpose. And well may this gift of printing be resembled to the gift of tongues, for like as God then spake with many tongues, and yet all that would not turn the Jews; so now, when the Holy Ghost speaketh to the adversaries in innumerable sorts of books, yet they will not be converted, nor turn to the gospel.

Now, to consider to what end and purpose the Lord hath given this gift of printing to the earth, and to what great utility and necessity it serveth, it is not hard to judge, who so wisely willett both the time of the sending and the consequences.

And first, touching the time of this faculty given to the use of man, this is to be marked, that when the bishop of Rome, with all the whole and full consent of the cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, lawyers, doctors, provosts, deans, archdeacons, assembled together in the council of Constance, had condemned poor John Huss and Jerome of Prague to death, for heresy, notwithstanding they were no heretics; and after they had subdued the Bohemians, and all the whole world, under the supreme authority of the Romish see; and had made all Christian people slaves and vassals unto the same, having all the world at their will, so that the matter now was past, not only the power of all men, but the hope also of any man, to be recovered: in this very time, so dangerous and desperate, where man's power could do no more, there the blessed wisdom and omnipotent power of the Lord began to work for his Church, not with sword and target to subdue his exalted adversary, but with printing, writing, and reading, to convict darkness by light, error by truth, ignorance by learning. So that by this means of Printing, the secret operation of God hath heaped upon that proud kingdom a double confusion. For whereas the bishop of Rome had burned John Huss before, and Jerome of Prague, who neither denied his transubstantiation, nor his supremacy, nor yet his popish mass, but said and heard mass themselves, neither spake against his purgatory, nor any other great matter of his popish doctrine, but only exclaimed against his excessive and pompous pole, his unchristian, rather anti-christian, abomination of life; thus, while he could not abide his wickedness only of life to be touched, but made it heresy, or at least matter of death, whatsoever was spoken against his detestable conversation and manners, God of his secret judgment, seeing time to help his church, hath found a way by this faculty of Printing, not only to confound his life and conversation, which before he could not abide to be touched, but also to cast down the foundation of his standing, that is, to examine, confute, and detect, his doctrine, laws, and institutions, most detestable in such sort, that though his life were never so pure, yet his doctrine standing as it doth, no man is so blind but he may see, that either the pope is Antichrist, or else that Antichrist is near cousin to the pope; and all this doth, and will hereafter, more and more appear by Printing.

The reason whereof is this: for that hereby tongues are known, knowledge groweth, judgment increaseth, books are dispersed, the scripture is seen, the doctors are read, histories are opened, times compared, truth discerned, falsehood detected, and with finger pointed, and all, as I said, through the benefits of Printing. Wherefore I suppose, that either the pope must abolish printing, or he must seek a new world to reign over. For else, as the world standeth, printing doubtless will abolish him. But the pope, and all his



lege of cardinals, must understand this, that through the light of printing the world beginneth now to have eyes to see, and heads to judge: he cannot walk so invisible in a net, but he will be spied. And although through might he stopped the mouth of John Huss before, and of Jerome, that they might not preach, thinking to make his kingdom sure; yet, instead of John Huss and others, God hath opened the press to preach, whose voice the pope is never able to stop with all the power of his triple crown. By this printing, as by the gift of tongues, and as by the singular organ of the Holy Ghost, the doctrine of the gospel soundeth to all nations and countries under heaven; and what God revealeth to one man is dispersed to many, and what is known in one nation is opened to all.

What the pope hath lost, since printing and the press began to preach, let him cast his counters. First, when Erasmus wrote, and Frobenius printed, what a blow thereby was given to all friars and monks in the world! And who seeth not that the pen of Luther following after Erasmus, and set forward by printing, hath set the triple crown so awry on the pope's head, that it is like never to be set straight again?

Briefly, if there were no demonstration to lead, yet by this one argument of printing, the bishop of Rome might understand the counsel and purpose of the Lord to work against him; having provided such a way in earth, that almost how many printing-presses there be in the world, so many block-houses there be against the high castle of St. Angelo. So that either the pope must abolish knowledge and printing, or printing at length will root him out. For if a man wisely consider the hold and standing of the pope, thus he may repute with himself, that as nothing made the pope strong in time past, but lack of knowledge, and ignorance of simple Christians; so, contrariwise, now nothing doth debilitate and shake the high spire of his papacy so much as reading, preaching, knowledge, and judgment; that is to say, the fruit of printing: whereof some experience we see already, and more is like, by the Lord's blessing, to follow. For although through outward force and violent cruelty tongues dare not speak, yet the hearts of men daily, no doubt, are instructed through the benefits of printing. And though the pope both now by cruelty, and in time past by ignorance, had all under his possession; yet neither must he think that violence will always continue, neither must he hope for that now which he had then; forso much as in those former days books then were scarce, and also of such excessive price, that few could attain to the buying, fewer to the reading and studying thereof; which books now, by the means of this art, are made easy unto all men. Ye heard before (page 158) how Nicholas Belward bought a New Testament in those days for four marks and forty pence, whereas now the same price will serve forty persons with so many books.

In this then so great rarity and also dearth of good books, when neither they which could have books would well use them, nor they that would could have them to use, what marvel if the greediness of a few prelates did abuse the blindness of those days to the advancement of themselves? Wherefore Almighty God, of his merciful providence, seeing both what lacked in the church, and how also to remedy the same for the advancement of his glory, gave the understanding of this excellent art or science of printing, whereby three singular commodities at one time came to the world. First, The price of all books is diminished. Secondly, The speedy help of reading more furthered. And thirdly, The plenty of all good authors enlarged; according as Aprutinus doth truly report:—

*Imprimit ille die, quantum non scribitur anno.*  
i. e.

The press in one day will do in Printing,  
That none in one year can do in Writing.

By reason whereof, as printing of books ministered matter of reading, so reading brought learning, learning shewed light, by the brightness whereof ignorance was suppressed, error detected, and finally, God's glory, with the truth of his word, advanced. This faculty of printing was after the invention of guns the space of 130 years; which invention was also found in Germany, anno 1380. And thus much for the worthy commendation of printing.

### THE LAMENTABLE LOSING OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

THE taking of Constantinople, which terminated the Greek empire, was an event so calamitous to the cause of Christianity, that we think ourselves justified in departing a little from the account of popish persecutions, to mention the capture of this famous and ancient city by the Turks, and the great slaughter and oppression of Christians which ensued. And we think that none of our readers will blame us for substituting Mr. Gibbon's account of that dreadful catastrophe, in place of that which is found in Mr. Fox. It commences with a picture of the situation of the inhabitants on the night preceding the grand attack.—

"The noblest of the Greeks, and the bravest of the allies, were summoned to the palace, to prepare them, on the evening of the 28th of May, 1453, for the duties and dangers of the general assault. The last speech of Paleologus was the funeral oration of the Roman empire: he promised, he conjured, and he vainly attempted to infuse the hope which was extinguished in his own mind. In this world all was comfortless and gloomy; and neither the gospel nor the church have proposed any conspicuous recompense to the heroes who fall in the service of their country. But the example of their prince, and the confinement of a siege, had armed these warriors with the courage of despair; and the pathetic scene is described by the feelings of the historian Phranza, who was himself present at this mournful assembly. They wept, they embraced; regardless of their families and fortunes, they devoted their lives; and each commander, departing to his station, maintained a vigilant and anxious watch on the rampart. The emperor and some faithful companions entered the dome of St. Sophia, which in a few hours was to be converted into a mosque; and devoutly received, with prayers and tears, the sacrament of the holy communion. He reposed some moments in the palace, which resounded with cries and lamentations; solicited the pardon of all whom he might have injured; and mounted on horseback, to visit the guards, and explore the motions of the enemy. The distress and fall of the last Constantine are more glorious than the long prosperity of the Byzantine Cæsars.

"In the confusion of darkness an assailant may sometimes succeed; but in this great and general attack, the military judgment and astrological knowledge of Mahomet II. advised him to expect the morning, the memorable twenty-ninth of May, in the fourteen hundred and fifty-third of the Christian æra. The preceding night had been strenuously employed by the troops, the cannons, and the fascines, were advanced to the edge of the ditch, which in many parts presented



smooth and level passage to the breach; and his fourscore galleys almost touched, with their prows and the scaling-ladders, the less defensible walls of the harbour. Under pain of death, silence was enjoined: but the physical laws of motion and sound are not obedient to discipline or fear; each individual might suppress his voice and measure his foot-step; but the march and labour of thousands must inevitably produce a strange confusion of dissonant clamours, which reached the ears of the watchmen of the towers. At daybreak, without the customary signal of the morning-gun, the Turks assaulted the city by sea and land; and the similitude of a twined or twisted thread has been applied to the closeness and continuity of their line of attack. The foremost ranks consisted of the refuse of the host, a voluntary crowd, who fought without order or command; of the feebleness of age or childhood, of peasants and vagrants, and of all who had joined the camp in the blind hope of plunder and martyrdom. The common impulse drove them onwards to the wall: the most audacious to climb were instantly precipitated; and not a dart, not a bullet, of the Christians, was idly wasted on the accumulated throng. But their strength and ammunition were exhausted in the laborious defence: the ditch was filled with the bodies of the slain; they supported the footsteps of their companions; and of this devoted vanguard the death was more serviceable than the life. Under their respective bashaws and sanjacks, the troops of Anatolia and Romania were successively led to the charge: their progress was various and doubtful; but after a conflict of two hours, the Greeks still maintained, and improved, their advantage; and the voice of the emperor was heard, encouraging his soldiers to achieve, by a last effort, the deliverance of their country. In that fatal moment, the Janizaries arose, fresh, vigorous, and invincible. The sultan himself on horseback, with an iron mace in his hand, was the spectator and judge of their valour: he was surrounded by ten thousand of his domestic troops, whom he reserved for the decisive occasion; and the tide of battle was directed and impelled by his voice and eye. His numerous ministers of justice were posted behind the line, to urge, to restrain, and to punish; and if danger was in the front, shame and inevitable death were in the rear, of the fugitives. The cries of fear and of pain were drowned in the martial music of drums, trumpets, and atabals; and experience has proved that the mechanical operation of sounds, by quickening the circulation of the blood and spirits, will act on the human machine more forcibly than the eloquence of reason and honour. From the lines, the galleys, and the bridge, the Ottoman artillery thundered on all sides; and the camp and city, the Greeks and the Turks, were involved in a cloud of smoke, which could only be dispelled by the final deliverance or destruction of the Roman empire. The single combats of the heroes of history or fable, amuse our fancy and engage our affections; the skilful evolutions of war may inform the mind, and improve the necessary, though pernicious, science. But in the uniform and odious pictures of a general assault, all is blood, and horror, and confusion; nor shall I strive, at the distance of three centuries and a thousand miles, to delineate a scene, of which there could be no spectators, and of which the actors themselves were incapable of forming any just or adequate idea.

"The immediate loss of Constantinople may be ascribed to the bullet, or arrow, which pierced the gauntlet of John Justiniani. The sight of his blood, and the exquisite pain, called the courage of the chief, whose arms and counsels were the firmest rampart of the city. As he withdrew from the city in quest of a surgeon, his flight was perceived

and stopped by the indefatigable emperor. "Your wound," exclaimed Palæologus, "is slight; the danger is pressing; your presence is necessary; and whither will you retire?" "I will retire," said the trembling Genoese, "by the same road which God has opened to the Turks;" and at these words he hastily passed through one of the breaches of the inner wall. By this pusillanimous act, he stained the honours of a military life; and the few days which he survived in Galata, or the isle of Chios, were imbibed by his own and the public reproach. His example was imitated by the greatest part of the Latin auxiliaries, and the defence began to slacken when the attack was pressed with redoubled vigour. The number of the Ottomans was fifty, perhaps an hundred times, superior to that of the Christians; the double walls were reduced by the cannon to a heap of ruins: in a circuit of several miles, some places must be found more easy of access, or more feebly guarded; and if the besiegers could penetrate in a single point, the whole city was irrecoverably lost. The first who deserved the sultan's reward was Hassan the Janizary, of gigantic stature and strength. With his scymetar in one hand and his buckler in the other, he ascended the outward fortification: of the thirty Janizaries, who were emulous of his valour, eighteen perished in the bold adventure. Hassan and his twelve companions had reached the summit; the giant was precipitated from the rampart; he rose on one knee, and was again oppressed by a shower of darts and stones. But his success had proved that the achievement was possible: the walls and towers were instantly covered with a swarm of Turks; and the Greeks, now driven from the vantage ground, were overwhelmed by increasing multitudes. Amidst these multitudes, the emperor, who accomplished all the duties of a general and a soldier, was long seen, and finally lost. The nobles, who fought round his person, sustained till their last breath the honourable names of Palæologus and Cantacuzene: his mournful exclamation was heard, "Cannot there be found a Christian to cut off my head?" and his last fear was that of falling alive into the hands of the infidels. The prudent despair of Constantine cast away the purple: amidst the tumult he fell by an unknown hand, and his body was buried under a mountain of the slain. After his death, resistance and order were no more: the Greeks fled towards the city; and many were pressed and stifled in the narrow pass of the gate of St. Romanus. The victorious Turks rushed through the breaches of the inner wall; and as they advanced into the streets, they were soon joined by their brethren, who had forced the gate Phénar on the side of the harbour. In the first heat of the pursuit, about two thousand Christians were put to the sword; but avarice soon prevailed over cruelty; and the victors acknowledged, that they should have immediately given quarter, if the valour of the emperor and his chosen bands had not prepared them for a similar opposition in every part of the capital. It was thus, after a siege of fifty-three days, that Constantinople, which had defied the power of Chosroes the Chagan, and the caliphs, was irretrievably subdued by the arms of Mahomet the Second. Her empire only had been subverted by the Latins: her religion was trampled in the dust by the Moslem conquerors."

#### A NOTICE TOUCHING THE MISERABLE PERSECUTION, SLAUGHTER, AND CAPTIVITY, OF THE CHRISTIANS UNDER THE TURKS.

Thus from time to time the church of Christ hath had little or no rest in the earth; what for the heathen emperors

on the one side; what for the proud pope on the other side; on the third side, what for the barbarous Turk: for these are, and have been from the beginning, the three principal and capital enemies of the Church of Christ. The cruelty and malice of these enemies against Christ's people have been such, that to judge which of them did most exceed in cruelty and persecution, it is hard to say; but that it may be thought, that the bloody and beastly tyranny of the Turks, especially above the rest, incomparably surmounteth all the afflictions and cruel slaughters that ever were seen in any age, or read of in any history. Inasmuch that there is neither history so perfect, nor writer so diligent, who writing of the miserable tyranny of the Turks, is able to express or comprehend the horrible examples of the unspeakable cruelty and slaughter, exercised by the Turkish tyrants upon poor Christian men's bodies.—Whereof, although no sufficient relation can be made, nor number expressed; yet to give the reader some general view thereof, let us first consider what dominions and empires, how many countries, kingdoms, provinces, cities, towns, strong holds, and forts, these Turks have surprised and won from the Christians. In all which victories, being so many, this is secondly to be noted, that there is almost no place which the Turks ever came to, and subdued, where they did not either slay all the inhabitants thereof, or led away the most part of them into captivity and slavery, that they continued not long after alive, or else so lived that death almost had been to them more tolerable.

Like as in the days of the first persecutions of the Roman emperors, the saying was, That no man could step with his feet in all Rome, but should tread upon a martyr; so here may be said, That almost there is not a town, city, or village, in all Asia, Greece, also in a great part of Europe and Africa, whose streets have not flowed with the blood of Christians, whom the cruel Turks have murdered. Of whom are to be seen in histories, heaps of soldiers slain, of men and women cut to pieces, of children stuck upon poles and stakes, whom these detestable Turks most spitefully, and that in the sight of their parents, used to gore to death: some they dragged at their horses' tails, and famished to death; some they tore in pieces, tying their arms and legs to four horses; others they made marks to shoot at; upon some they tried their swords, how deep they could cut and slash. The aged and feeble they trod under their horses: women with child they spared not, but ripped their bodies, and cast the infants into the fire, or otherwise destroyed them. Whether the Christians yielded to them, or yielded not, it was all alike. As in their promises there is no truth, so in their victories there is no sense of manhood or mercy, but they make havock of all.

So the citizens of Croja, after they had yielded, and were all promised their lives, were all destroyed, and that horribly. In Mysia, after the king had given himself into the Turk's hand, having promise of life, Mahomet the Turk slew him with his own hand. The princes of Rasia had both their eyes put out with basons red-hot set before them. Theodosia, otherwise called Capha, was also surrendered to the Turk, having the like assurance of life and safety; and yet, contrary to the league, the citizens were put to the sword. At the winning of Lesbos, a number of young men and children were put upon sharp stakes and poles, and so thrust through. At the winning of the city of Buda, great tyranny was exercised against the poor Christians which had yielded themselves, and against the two dukes, Christopher Bisserrer, and Johannes Traubinger, contrary to the promise and handwriting of the Turk.

Bernardus de Breydenback, writing of the taking of Hydruntum, a city in Apulia, testifieth of the miserable slaughter

of the young men there slain, of old men trodden under the horses' feet, of matrons and virgins ravished, of women with child cut and rent in pieces, of the priests in the churches slain, and of the archbishop of that city, who being an aged man, and holding the cross in his hands, was cut asunder with a wooden saw, &c. The same Bernardus, writing of the overthrow of Nigropont, otherwise called Chalcedes, anno 1471, describeth the like terrible slaughter which there was exercised, where the Turk, after his promise given before to the contrary, most cruelly caused all the youth of Italy to be impaled, that is, to have sharpened stakes thrust up their bodies; some to be dashed against the stones, others to be cut in sunder in the midst, and others with divers kinds of torments to be put to death: inasmuch that all the streets and ways of Chalcedes did flow with the blood of them which were there slain. In which history the aforesaid writer recordeth one memorable example of maidenly chastity, worthy of all Christians to be noted and commended. The story is told of the prætor's daughter of that city, who being the only daughter of her father, and noted to be of an exceeding singular beauty, was saved out of the slaughter, and brought to Mahomet the Turk, to be his concubine.—But she refusing to consent, was commanded to be murdered; and so she died a martyr, keeping both her faith and her body undefiled unto Christ her spouse.

The like cruelty also was shewed upon them which kept the castle, who afterwards yielding themselves, upon hope of the Turk's promise, were slain every one. What should I speak of the miserable slaughter of Methone, and the citizens thereof dwelling in Peloponnesus? who seeing no other remedy, but needs to come into the Turk's hands, set the barn on fire where they were gathered together, men, women, and children; some women also with child voluntarily cast themselves into the sea, rather than they would sustain the Turk's captivity.

Miserable it is to behold, long to recite, incredible to believe, all the cruel parts and horrible slaughters wrought by these miscreants against the Christians through all places almost of the world, both in Asia, in Africa, but especially in Europe. Who is able to recite the innumerable societies and companies of the Grecians martyred by the Turk's sword in Achaia, Attica, Thessalia, Macedonia, Epyrus, and through all Peloponnesus; besides the island of Rhodes, and other islands (the Cyclades) adjacent in the sea, numbered to two-and-fifty; and of which also Patmos was one, where St. John being banished, wrote his Revelation. Where did ever the Turks set any foot, but the blood of the Christians there, without pity or measure, was spilt? and what place or province is there almost through the world, where the Turks have not pierced?—In Thracia, and through all the coasts of the Danube, in Bulgaria, Dalmatia, in Servia, Transylvania, Bosnia, in Hungary, also in Austria, what havock hath been made by them of Christian men's bodies! At the siege of Moldavia, at the winning of Buda, of Pesta, of Alba, of Walpo, of Strigonium, Scolosia, Tathe, Wизigradum, Novum Castellum in Dalmatia, Belgradum, Varadinum, Quinque; Ecclesia; also, at the battle of Verna, where Ladislaus, king of Poland, with all his army almost, through the rashness of the pope's cardinals, were slain: at the winning moreover of Xabiacchus, Lyssus, Dynastrum; at the siege of Gunza, and of the faithful town Scorad, where the number of the shot against their walls at the siege thereof, were reckoned to two thousand five hundred and thirty-nine. Likewise at the siege of Vienna, where all the Christian captives were brought before the whole army, and slain, and divers drawn in pieces with horses: but especially at the winning of Constantinople.

mentioned; also at Croja and Methone, what beastly cruelty was shewed is unspeakable. For as in Constantinople, Mahomet never rose from dinner but he caused every day, for his sport, three hundred Christian captives of the nobles of that city to be slain before his face; so in Methone, after that his captain, Omar, had sent unto him at Constantinople five hundred prisoners of the Christians, the cruel tyrant commanded them all to be cut and divided in sunder by the middle, and so being slain, to be thrown out into the fields.

To this cruelty add moreover, that beside these 500 Methonians thus destroyed at Constantinople, in the said city of Methone all the townsmen also were slain by the afore-said captain Omar, and among them their bishop likewise was put to death.

John Faber, in his oration made before king Henry VIII. at the appointment of king Ferdinandus, and declaring therein the miserable cruelty of the Turks towards all Christians, as also toward the bishops and ministers of the church, testifieth, how that in Mitylene, in Constantinople, and Trapezund, what bishops and archbishops, or other ecclesiastical and religious persons, the Turks could find, they brought them out of the city into the fields, there to be slain like oxen and calves. The same Faber also, writing of the battle of Solyman in Hungary, where Ludovicus, the king of Hungary, was overthrown, declareth, that eight bishops in the same field were slain. And, moreover, when the archbishop of Strigon, and Paulus the archbishop of Colossensis, were found dead, Solyman caused them to be taken up, and to be beheaded and chopt in small pieces, anno 1526.

What Christian heart will not lament for the incredible slaughter done by the Turks in Enboia; where the said Faber testifies, that innumerable people were impaled, divers were thrust through with a hot iron, children and infants not yet weaned from the mother were dashed against the stones, and many cut asunder in the midst!

But never did country taste and feel more the bitter and deadly tyranny of the Turks than did Rasia, called Mysia Inferior, and now Servia. Where the prince of the same country being sent for, under fair pretence of words and promises, to come and speak with the Turk, after he was come of his own gentleness, thinking no harm, was apprehended; he was falsely put to death, and his skin flayed off, his brother and sister brought to Constantinople for a triumph, and all the nobles of his country had their eyes put out.

And thus have ye heard the lamentable afflictions of our brethren, under the cruel tyranny and captivity of the Turks, passing all other captivities that ever have been to God's people, either under Pharaoh in Egypt, or under Nebuchadnezzar in Babylon, or under Antiochus in the time of the Maccabees. Under which captivity, if it so please the Lord to have his Spouse the Church to be nurtured, his good will be done and obeyed. But if this misery come by the negligence and discord of our Christian guides and leaders, then have we to pray and cry to our Lord God, either to give better hearts to our guiders and rulers, or else better guides and rulers to his flock.

#### *An Account of the Martyrdom of JOHN GOOSE.*

This story of the Turks thus finished, we enter again where we left, in describing the domestic troubles and persecutions under the bishop of Rome:

A truly and faithful servant of Christ, named John Goose, was lawfully condemned and burnt at the Tower-hill, anno

1473, in the month of August. Thus had England also its John Huss, as well as Bohemia. For John Goose in English is as much as John Huss in the Bohemian. Wherein moreover this is to be noted, that since the time of King Richard the Second, there is no reign of any king to be assigned hitherto, wherein some good man or other hath not suffered the pains of fire for the religion and true testimony of Christ Jesus.

Of this said John Goose, or John Huss, this moreover I find in another English monument recorded, that the said John being delivered to Robert Belisdon, one of the sheriffs, to see him burnt in the afternoon; the sheriff, like a charitable man, had him home to his house, and there exhorted him to deny his errors. But the godly man, after long exhortation, desired the sheriff to be content; for he was satisfied in his conscience. Notwithstanding this, he desired of the sheriff, for God's sake, to give him some meat, saying, "That he was very sore hungered." Then the sheriff commanded him meat; whereof he took and did eat, as if he had been in no manner of danger, and said to such as stood about him, "I eat now a good and competent dinner; for I shall pass a little sharp shower ere I go to supper." And when he had dined, he gave thanks, and required that he might shortly be led to the place where he should yield up his spirit unto God.—Ex Polychron.

#### *Martyrdom of JOAN BOUGHTON.*

In the year of our Lord 1494, and in the ninth year of the reign of Henry VII. the 28th of April, was burned a very old woman named Joan Boughton, widow, and mother to the lady Young, which lady was also suspected to be of that opinion which her mother was. Her mother was of fourscore years of age, or more, and held eight of Wickliff's opinions, (which opinions my author doth not shew,) for which she was burnt in Smithfield the day abovesaid.

My author saith, she was a disciple of Wickliff, whom she accounted for a saint, and held so fast and firmly eight of his ten opinions, that all the doctors of London could not turn her from one of them; and when it was told her that she should be burnt for her obstinacy and false belief, she set nothing by their menacing words, but defied them; for she said, she was so beloved of God, and his holy angels, that she cared not for the fire; and in the midst thereof she cried to God to take her soul into his holy hands. The night following that she was burnt, the most part of her ashes were had away of such as had a love unto the doctrine that she died for.

#### *Martyrdom of SAVANAROLA; and his remarkable Prophecy of the Conquest of Italy by the French.*

In the year of our Lord 1499, fell the martyrdom of Hieronymus Savanarola, a man no less godly in heart than steady in his profession; who being a monk in Italy, and singularly well learned, preached much against the evil life of the clergy, and specially those of his own order, complaining of them as the springs and authors of all mischiefs and wickedness. Whereupon, by the help of certain learned men, he began to seek reformation in his own order. Which thing the pope perceiving, and fearing that the said Jerome, who was now in great reputation amongst all men, should diminish or overthrow his authority, he ordained his vicar or provincial to see reformation of these matters: which vicar with great superstition began to reform things. But Jerome did always withstand him: whereupon he was com-

plained of to the pope; and because that, contrary unto the pope's commandment, he did withstand his vicar, he was accursed. But for all that, Jerome left not off preaching, but threatened Italy with the wrath and indignation of God, and prophesied before unto them, "That the land should be overthrown for the pride and wickedness of the people, and for the untruth, hypocrisy, and falsehood, of the clergy, which God would not leave unrevenge."

Now, forasmuch as the said Jerome would not leave off preaching, he was commanded to appear before the pope, to give account of his new learning, (for so then they called the truth of the gospel;) but by means of the manifold perils, he made his excuse that he could not come. Then was he again forbidden by the pope to preach, and his learning pronounced and condemned as pernicious, false, and seditious.

This Jerome, as a man worldly wise, foreseeing the great perils that might come unto him, for fear left off preaching. But when the people, who sore hungered and longed for God's word, were instant upon him that he would preach again, he began again to preach in the year of our Lord 1493, in the city of Florence; and although many counselled him that he should not so do without the pope's commandment, yet did he not regard it, but went forward freely of his own good will. When the pope and his shavelings heard news of this, they were grievously incensed against him, and now again cursed him, as an obstinate and stiff-necked heretic. But for all that, Jerome proceeded in teaching and instructing the people, saying, that men ought not to regard such curses, which are against the true doctrine and the common profit, whereby the people should be learned and amended, Christ's kingdom enlarged, and the kingdom of the devil utterly overthrown.

After this, in the year of our Lord 1498, he was taken and brought out of St. Mark's cloister, and two other friars with him, named Dominic and Silvester, who favoured his learning, and was carried into prison, where he wrote a godly meditation upon that most comfortable thirty-first Psalm. Wherein he doth excellently describe and set forth the continual strife between the flesh and the spirit.

After this the pope's legates came to Florence, and called forth these three good men, threatening them marvellously; but they still continued steadfast. Then came the chief counsellors of the city, with the pope's commissioners, which had gathered out certain articles against these men, whereupon they were condemned to death; which articles are the following:

1. The first article was touching our free justification through faith in Christ.
2. That the communion ought to be ministered under both kinds.
3. That the indulgences and pardons of the pope were of no effect.
4. That he preached against the filthy and wicked living of the cardinals and spirituality.
5. That he denied the pope's supremacy.
6. That he had affirmed, that the keys were not given unto Peter alone, but unto the universal Church.
7. That the pope did neither follow the life nor doctrine of Christ, but did attribute more to his own pardons and traditions, than to Christ's merits, and therefore he was Antichrist.
8. That the pope's excommunications are not to be feared, and that he which doth fear or flee them is excommunicate of God.
9. Item, That auricular confession is not necessary.
10. Also, that he said, That Italy must be cleansed through

God's scourge, for the manifold wickedness of the princes and clergy.

These and such other like articles were laid unto them, and read before them. Then they demanded of the said Jerome and his companions, whether they would recant and give over their opinions? Whereupon they answered, that through God's help they would steadfastly continue in the manifest truth, and not depart from the same. Then were they degraded one after another by the bishop, and so delivered over to the secular rulers of Florence; with strict commandment to carry them forth, and handle them as obstinate and stiff-necked heretics.

Thus was the worthy witness of Christ, with the other two aforesaid, first hanged up openly in the market-place, and afterwards burnt to ashes, and the ashes gathered up, and cast into the river, the 24th of May, in the year of our Lord 1499.—Ex Catal. Testium Illyrici.

This man foreshewed many things to come, as the destruction of Florence and Rome, and the renewing of the church.—Also he foretold that the Turks and Moors in the latter days should be converted unto Christ. He also declared, that ONE SHOULD PASS THE ALPS INTO ITALY LIKE UNTO CYRUS, WHICH SHOULD SUBVERT AND DESTROY ALL ITALY. Whereupon Johannes Franciscus Picus, earl of Maudula, called him a holy prophet, and defended him by his writings against the pope. Many other learned men also defended the innocency of the said Savanarola. Masilius Ficinus also in a certain epistle doth attribute unto him the spirit of prophecy, greatly commending and praising him. In like manner Philippus Comneus, a French historiographer, which had conference with him, witnesseth that he was a holy man, and full of the spirit of prophecy, forasmuch as he had foreshewed unto him so many things which in event had proved true.

Has not this prediction, which was uttered three hundred years ago, been literally fulfilled in the conquest of all Italy by the French general (late emperor) Buonaparte, and his passage of the Alps in 1800?

The above account is taken out of Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. 1. p. 831, ninth edition, London, 1634

Anton. Flaminius, an Italian, and for piety and learning famous in that age, wrote this Epigram upon the death of Jerome Savanarola.

*Dum fera flamma tuos, Hieronyme, pascitur artus,  
Religio, sanctus dilaniat comas,  
Ilevit, et O, dixit, crudeles parcite flamma,  
Parcite, sunt isto viscera nostra rogo.*

Which may be thus Englished:

Whilst flames unjust, blest Saint, thy body burn,  
Weeping Religion, with dishevelled hairs,  
Cries out, and says, O spare his sacred urn,  
Spare, cruel flames; that fire my life impairs.

After the burning of *Babram*, in Norfolk, I mentioned also another aged man, mentioned in an old chronicle borrowed of one in the Tower, entitled *Polychron*, although I find not his name in the said chronicle, who suffered the pains of burning in Smithfield, about the same time, which was the year of our Lord 1500.

This aged father, I suppose, is he of whom I find mention made in certain old papers and records of William Cary citizen, (although the day of the month doth a little differ, wherein is thus testified, That on the 20th day of July, 1500, upon the day of St. Margaret, there was an old man burned in Smithfield for a heretic, and the same person,



upon the 10th day before he was burnt, would have stolen out of the Lollards' Tower, and so falling out of the Tower, did sadly hurt himself; whereupon he was carried in a cart to his death, as he went to be burned.

In the aforesaid papers of ancient record, is furthermore declared, how in the year above prefixed, which was anno 1499, in the time of one Percival, many were taken for heretics in Kent, and at Paul's cross they bore faggots, and were abjured; and shortly after, the same year, there went thirteen Lollards before the procession in Paul's, and there were of them eight women and a young lad, and the lad's mother was one of the eight, and all the thirteen bore faggots on their necks before the procession.

*William Tylsworth, martyr.*—In the days of king Henry VII. anno 1506, in the diocese of Lincoln, in Buckinghamshire, William Smith being bishop of the same diocese, one William Tylsworth was burned in Amersham, in a close called Stanley, about sixty years ago. At which time one Joan Clerk, being a married woman, (who was the only daughter of the said William Tylsworth, and a faithful woman,) was compelled with her own hands to set fire to her dear father: and at the same time her husband, John Clerk, did penance at her father's burning, and bore a faggot; as did also twenty-three men and women besides.

About the same time of the burning of William Tylsworth, one father *Roberts* was burned at Buckingham; he was a miller, and dwelled at Missenden. And at his burning there were about twenty persons that were compelled to bear faggots, and to do such penance as the wicked Pharisees did compel them. About the space of two or three years after, at Amersham, *Thomas Bernard*, a husbandman, and *James Mordon*, a labourer, were burned both at one fire; and there was *William Littlepage*, compelled to be burned in the right cheek; and father *Rogers*, and father *Rever*, alias *Reive*, which after was burned. This father Rogers was in the bishop's prison fourteen weeks together, night and day, where he was so cruelly handled with cold, hunger, and irons, that after his coming out of the said prison he was so lame in his back, that he could never go upright as long as he lived. Also there were thirty more burned in the right cheek, and obliged to bear faggots the same time. The cause was, that they would talk against superstition and idolatry, and were desirous to hear and read the holy scriptures. The manner of their burning in the cheek was this: Their necks were tied fast to a post or stay with towels, and their hands holden fast, that they might not stir, and so the iron being hot, was put to their cheeks; and thus they bore the prints and marks of the Lord Jesus about them.

*The cruel handling of THOMAS CHASE, of Amersham, wickedly strangled and martyred in the Bishop's prison at Woburn, under William Smith, bishop of Lincoln.*

Among these aforesaid, who were so cruelly persecuted for the gospel and word of Christ, one *Thomas Chase*, of Amersham, was one of them that was cruelly handled: which *Thomas Chase*, by the report of such as did know him, was a man of a godly, sober, and honest behaviour, and could not abide idolatry and superstition, but many times would speak against it. Wherefore the ungodly and wicked did him more hate and despise him, and took him and brought him before the bishop, being at that time at Woburn, in the county of Buckingham. He was asked many questions touching the Romish religion, with many taunts, checks, and rebukes; and the said *Thomas Chase* was commanded

to be put in the bishop's prison, called Little Ease, in the bishop's house at Woburn. There *Thomas Chase* lay bound most painfully with chains, gyves, manacles, and irons, oftentimes sore pined with hunger, where the bishop's alms was daily brought unto him by his chaplains; which alms was nothing else but checks, taunts, rebukes, and threatenings, floutings, and mockings. All which cruelty the godly martyr took most quietly and patiently, remembering and having respect to Christ's promises, Matt. v. "Blessed are they which suffer persecution for righteousness' sake, for their's is the kingdom of heaven:" and as followeth, "Blessed are ye when men revile you and persecute you," &c. When the bishop, with his band of shavelings, perceived that by their daily practices of cruelty they could not prevail against him, but rather that he was the more fervent and earnest in professing Christ's true religion, and that he did bear most patiently all their wickedness and cruelty, they imagined how they might put him to death, lest there should be a tumult or an uproar among the people. And as *Richard Hun* shortly after was hanged or strangled in Lollards' Tower, about the year of our Lord 1514, even so these blood-suckers most cruelly strangled and prest to death this said *Thomas Chase* in prison, who most heartily called on God to receive his spirit; as witnesseth a certain woman that kept him in prison.

After that these stinging vipers, being of the wicked brood of Antichrist, had thus must cruelly and impiously murdered this faithful Christian, they were all at their wits' end, and could not tell what shift to make, to cloke their shameful murder withal: at last, to blind the ignorant silly people, these bloody butchers most slanderously caused it by their ministers to be noised abroad, that the aforesaid *Thomas Chase* had hanged himself in prison: which was a most shameful and abominable lie, for the prison was such that a man could not stand upright, nor lie at ease, but stooping. And besides that, this man had so many manacles and irons upon him, that he could not well move either hand or foot. And yet these holy Catholics had not made an end of their wicked act in thus both killing and slandering of this godly martyr, but to put out the remembrance of him, they caused him to be buried in the wood called Norland wood, in the highway betwixt Woburn and Little Marlow, to the intent he should not be taken up again to be seen.

After the martyrdom of these two, I read also of one *Thomas Norris*, who likewise for the same cause, that is, for the profession of Christ's gospel, was condemned by the bishop, and burnt at Norwich, the last day of March, anno 1507.

#### *The Martyrdom of LAURENCE GHEST.*

Next in order cometh the memorial of *Laurence Ghest*, who was burned in Salisbury for the matter of the sacrament, in the days of king Henry VII. He was a comely and tall personage, and otherwise, as appeareth, not unfriendly: for which the bishop was the more loath to burn him, but kept him in prison the space of two years. This *Laurence* had a wife and seven children: wherefore, they thinking to pervert his mind, by stirring up his fatherly affection towards his children, when the time came which they had appointed for his burning, as he was at the stake, they brought before him his wife and his aforesaid seven children. At the sight whereof, although nature is commonly wont to work in others, yet in him religion overcoming nature, made him to remain immoveable, in such sort, as when his wife exhorted him to favour himself, he desired her to be content, and not to be a block in his way, for he was in a good course, running to



wards the mark of his salvation : and so fire being put to him, he finished his life, renouncing not only wife and children, but also himself, to follow Christ. While he was burning, one of the bishop's men threw a firebrand at his face ; whereat the brother of Laurence, standing by, ran at him with his dagger, and would have slain him, had he not been otherwise stayed.

*A faithful Woman burned.*

But amongst all the examples of God, whereof so many have suffered from time to time for Christ and his truth, I cannot tell if ever any martyrdom was more admirable, wherein the plain demonstration of God's mighty power and judgment hath at any time been more evident against the persecutors of his flock, than at the burning of a certain godly woman put to death in Cheaping-Sodbury, about the same time, under the reign of king Henry VII.

The constancy of which blessed woman, as it is glorious for all true godly Christians to behold ; so again the example of the bishop's chancellor, who cruelly condemned the innocent, may offer a terrible spectacle to the eyes of all papistical persecutors to consider, and to take example ; which the living God grant they may. Amen.

The name of the woman is not known ; the name of the chancellor who condemned her was Dr. Whittington.

After this godly woman, and martyr of Christ, was condemned by the wretched chancellor above-named, Dr. Whittington, for the faithful profession of the truth, which the papists called heresy, and the time now come when she should be brought to the place and pains of her martyrdom, a great concourse of all the multitude, both in the town and country about, were gathered to behold her end ; amongst whom was also the aforesaid Dr. Whittington, the chancellor.

Thus this faithful woman, and true servant of God, constantly persisting in the testimony of the truth, committing her cause to the Lord, gave her life over to the fire, refusing no pains nor torments to keep her conscience clear and unrepensible in the day of the Lord. The sacrifice being ended, the people began to return homeward, coming from the burning of this blessed martyr. It happened in the mean time, that as the Catholic executioners were busy in slaying this lamb at the town's side, a certain butcher was as busy within the town slaying of a bull, which bull he had fast bound in ropes, ready to knock him on the head. But the butcher, (belike not so skilful perhaps in this art of killing beasts as the papists are in murdering Christians,) as he was lifting his axe to strike the bull, failed in his stroke, and smote a little too low : the bull, not stricken down, put his strength to the ropes, and brake loose from the butcher into the street, the very same time as the people were coming in great press from the burning. Who seeing the bull coming towards them, and supposing him to be wild, gave way for the beast, every man shifting for himself as well as he might. Thus the people giving back, and making a lane for the bull, he passed through the throng of them, touching neither man nor child, till he came where the chancellor was ; against whom the bull, as pricked with a sudden vehemency, ran full butt with his horns, and taking him upon the paunch, gored him through, and so killed him immediately, carrying his intestines, and dragging them with his horns all over the street, to the great admiration of all them that saw it.

Although the carnal sense of man be blind in considering the works of the Lord, imputing many times to blind chance the things which properly pertain to God's only praise and providence ; yet in this so strange and so evident example,

what man can be so dull or ignorant, who seeth not a plain miracle of God's mighty power and judgment, both in the punishing of this wretched chancellor, and also in admonishing all other like persecutors, by his example, to fear the Lord, and to abstain from the like cruelty ?

In the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII. *John Southake, Richard Butler, John Sam, William King, Robert Durdant, and Henry Woolman*, were especially charged by the papists with speaking words against the real presence of Christ's body in the sacrament of the altar, and also against images, and the rest of the seven sacraments. But the last five persons were particularly charged with the reading of certain English heretical books, accounting most blasphemously the Gospel of Jesus Christ, written by the four Evangelists, to be of that number, as appeareth evidently by the eighth article objected by Thomas Bennet, doctor of law, chancellor and vicar-general unto Richard Fitzjames, then bishop of London, against the said Richard Butler ; the very words of which article I have thought good here to insert, which are these : ' Also we object to you, that divers times, and especially upon a certain night, about the space of three years last past, in Robert Durdant's house of Yuer-Court, near unto Staines, you erroneously and damnablely read in a great book of heresy of the said Robert Durdant's all that same night, certain chapters of the Evangelists in English, containing in them divers erroneous and damnable opinions and conclusions of heresy, in the presence of the said Robert Durdant, John Butler, Robert Carder, Jenkin Butler, William King, and divers other suspected persons of heresy, then being present, and hearing your said erroneous lectures and opinions.' The tenor of some of the articles propounded against the other four, was to the same effect. Whereby we may easily judge what reverence they, who call themselves the true and only Church of Christ, bore to the word and gospel of Christ, who were not ashamed to blaspheme the same with most horrible titles of erroneous and damnable opinions and conclusions of heresy. But why should we marvel at this, seeing the Holy Ghost in sundry places of the scripture doth declare, that in the latter days there should come such proud and cursed speakers, which should speak lies through hypocrisy, and have their consciences seared as with a hot iron ? Let us therefore now thank our heavenly Father for revealing them unto us ; and let us also pray him, that of his free mercies in his Son Christ Jesus, he would either turn and mollify all such hearts, or else, for the peace and quietness of his Church, in his righteous judgment take them from us.

About the same time there were certain articles objected against *John Iligges*, alias *Noke*, alias *Johnson*, by the said bishop's vicar-general, amongst which were these : First, That he had affirmed, that it was as lawful for a temporal man to have two wives at once, as for a priest to have two benefices. Also that he had in his custody a book of the four Evangelists in English, and did often read therein ; and, that he favoured the doctrines and opinion of Martin Luther, openly pronouncing, that Luther had more learning in his little finger than all the doctors in England in their whole bodies ; and, that all the priests in the church were blind, and had led the people the wrong way. Likewise, it was alleged against him, that he had denied purgatory, and said that while he was alive, he would do as much for himself as he could, for after his death he thought that prayers and alms-deeds could not help him.

These and such like matters were they whereunto these

poor and simple men and women were chiefly charged, and as heinous heretics excommunicated, imprisoned, and at last compelled to recant; and some of them in utter shame and reproach (besides the ordinary bearing of faggots before the cross in procession, or else at a sermon) were enjoined for a penance, as they termed it, as well to appear once every year before their ordinary, as also to wear the sign of a faggot painted upon their sleeves, or other part of their outward garment, and that during their lives, or so often and as long as it pleased their ordinary to appoint.

*The Death and Martyrdom of WILLIAM SWEETING, and JOHN BREWSTER.*

In searching and perusing of the register, for the collection of the names and articles before recited, I find that within the compass of the same years there were also some others, who, after they had once shewed themselves as frail and inconstant as the rest, (being either therewith pricked in conscience, or otherwise zealously overcome with the manifest truth of God's most sacred word,) became yet again as earnest professors of Christ as ever they were before, and for the same profession were the second time apprehended, examined, condemned, and in the end were most cruelly burned. Of which number were *William Sweeting*, and *John Brewster*, who were both burned together in Smithfield the 18th day of October, in the year of our Lord 1511.—The chiefest case of religion alleged against them in their articles, was their faith concerning the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, which, because it differed from the absurd opinion of the new schoolmen, was counted as most heinous heresy. There were other things besides objected against them, as the reading of certain forbidden books, and conversing with such persons as were suspected of heresy. But one great and heinous offence counted amongst the rest, was their leaving off the painted faggots, which they were at their first abjuring enjoined to wear as badges during their lives, or so long as it should please their ordinary to appoint, and not to leave them off upon pain of relapse, until they had permission so to do.

*JOHN BROWN*, the father of *Richard Brown*; (which *Richard* was in Prison at Canterbury, and should have been burned, with two more besides himself, the next day after the death of *Queen Mary*; but by the proclaiming of *Queen Elizabeth* they all escaped.)

The occasion of the first trouble of this *John Brown*, was by a priest sitting in a Gravesend barge.—*John Brown*, being the same time in the barge, came and sat hard by him; whereupon, after certain communication, the priest asked him, Dost thou know (said he) who I am? thou sittest too near me, thou sittest on my clothes. No, sir, (said he,) I know not what you are. I tell thee, I am a priest. What sir, are you a parson, or a vicar, or a lady's chaplain? No, (quoth he again,) I am a soul-priest; I sing for a soul, (said he.) Do you so, sir, (quoth the other,) that is well done; I pray you, sir, (quoth he,) where find you the soul when you go to mass? I cannot tell thee, said the priest. I pray you, where do you leave it, sir, when the mass is done? I cannot tell thee, said the priest. Neither can you tell where you leave it when you go to mass, nor where you leave it after death; how can you then save the soul? said the other. In no way, (said the priest,) thou art an heretic, and I will be with thee.

So at the landing, the priest, taking with him *Walter More*

and *William More*, two gentlemen, brethren, rode straight-ways to the archbishop *Warham*. Whereupon the said *John Brown*, within three days after, his wife being churched the same day, and he bringing in a mess of pottage to the board to his guests, was sent for, and his feet bound under his own horse, and so brought up to Canterbury; neither his wife, nor he, nor any of his, knowing whither he went, nor whither he should; and there continuing from Low-Sunday till the Friday before Whitsunday, his wife not knowing all this while where he was, he was set in the stocks over night, and on the morrow went to death, and was burned at *Ashford*, anno 1517.

The same night, as he was in the stocks at *Ashford*, where he and his wife dwelt, his wife then hearing of him, came and sat by him all the night before he was burned: to whom he declaring the whole story how he was handled, shewed how he could not set his feet to the ground, for they were burned to the bone. And told her, that by the two bishops, *Warham* and *Fisher*, his feet were heated upon the hot coals, and burned to the bones, to make me (said he) to deny my Lord; which I will never do: for if I should deny my Lord in this world, he would hereafter deny me. I pray thee (said he) therefore, good *Elizabeth*, continue as thou hast begun, and bring up thy children virtuously in the fear of God. And so the next day, on Whitsunday even, this godly martyr was burned. Standing at the stake, he made this prayer, holding up his hands:

O Lord, I yield me to thy grace,  
Grant me mercy for my trespass;  
Let never the fiend my soul chase.  
Lord, I will bow, and thou shalt beat,  
Let never my soul come in hell heat.

Into thy hands I commend my spirit; thou hast redeemed me, O Lord of truth.

And so he ended.

*Ex testimonio Alicie Brown, ejus filiae, cujus mariti nomen dicebatur Strat, in parochia S. Pulcri.*

At the fire, one *Chilton*, bailiff-arrant, commanded his children also to be cast in; for they would spring, said he, of his ashes.

This blessed martyr, *John Brown*, had borne a faggot seven years before, in the days of king *Henry the Seventh*.

As it is the property of Satan ever to malign the saints of God, and true profession of Christ, so ceaseth he not continually to stir up his wicked members to the effectual accomplishing of that which his envious nature so greedily desireth: if not always openly by colour of tyrannical laws, yet at least by some subtle practice of secret murder. Which thing doth most plainly appear, not only in a great number of the blessed martyrs of Christ's Church mentioned in this book, but also and especially in the lamentable history I have now in hand, concerning the secret and cruel murdering of *Richard Hunne*, whose story I have taken partly out of the registers of London, partly out of a bill exhibited and denounced in the parliament house.

*The Cruel Murder of RICHARD HUNNE, by Dr. Hutton, Chancellor of the Bishop of London, and others.*

There was, in the year of our Lord 1514, one *Richard Hunne*, merchant-tailor, dwelling within the city of London, and freeman of the same, who was esteemed during his life, and worthily reputed, not only for a man of true dealing and

good substance, but also for a good Catholic man. This Richard Hunne had a child at nurse in Middlesex, in the parish of St. Mary Matfilon, which died: by the occasion whereof one Thomas Dryfield, clerk, being parson of the said parish, sued the said Richard Hunne in the spiritual court for a bearing-sheet, which the said Thomas Dryfield claimed unjustly to have of the said Hunne, for a mortuary for Stephen Hunne, son of the said Richard Hunne; which Stephen being at nurse in the said parish, died, being of the age of five weeks, and not above. Hunne answered him again, That forasmuch as the child had no propriety in the sheet, he therefore neither would pay it, nor the other ought to have it. Whereupon the priest, moved with covetousness, and loath to lose his pretended right, cited him to appear in the spiritual court, there to answer the matter. Whereupon the said Richard Hunne, being troubled in the spiritual court, was forced to seek counsel of the learned in the law of this land, and pursued a writ of *Præmunire* against the said Thomas Dryfield, and other his aiders, counsellors, proctors, and adherents, as by the process thereof is yet to be seen. Which, when the rest of the priestly order heard, greatly disdaining that any layman should so boldly enterprise such a matter against any of them, and fearing also that if they should now suffer this priest to be condemned at the suit of Hunne, there would be thereby ever after a liberty opened unto all others of the laity to do the like with the rest of the clergy in such like cases; they straightways, both to stop this matter, and also to be revenged of him for what he had already done, sought all means they possibly could how to entrap and bring him within the danger of their own cruel laws. And thereupon making secret and diligent inquisition, at length they found means to accuse him of heresy unto Richard Fitzjames, then bishop of London, and so did; who (desirous to satisfy the revenging and bloody affection of his chaplains) caused him thereupon to be apprehended, and committed unto prison within the Lollards' Tower at Paul's, so that none of his friends might be suffered to come to him.

This Richard Hunne being clapt in the Lollards' Tower, shortly after, at the earnest instigation of Dr. Horsey, the bishop's chancellor, was brought before the bishop at his manor of Fulham, the 2d day of December, in the year before mentioned, where within his chapel he examined him upon these articles following, collected against him by the said Horsey and his accomplices:

First, That he had read, taught, preached, published, and obstinately defended, against the laws of Almighty God, that tithes, or paying of tithes, was never ordained to be due, saving only by the covetousness of priests.

2. Item, That he had read, taught, preached, published, and obstinately defended, that bishops and priests be the scribes and pharisees that did crucify Christ, and condemn him to death.

3. Item, That he had read, taught, preached, &c. that bishops and priests be teachers and preachers, but no doers, neither fulfillers of the law of God, but catching, ravening, and all things taking, and nothing ministering, neither giving.

4. Item, Where and when one Joan Baker was detected and shewed of many great heresies, (as it appeareth by her abjuration,) the said Richard Hunne said, published, taught, preached, and obstinately took upon him, saying, that he would defend her and her opinions, if it cost him 500 marks.

5. Item, Afterwards (where and when the said Joan Baker, after her abjuration, was enjoined open penance according to her demerits) the said Richard Hunne said, published,

taught, and obstinately did defend her, saying, The bishop of London and his officers have done open wrong to the said Joan Baker, in punishing her for heresy; for her sayings and opinions be according to the laws of God: wherefore the bishop and his officers are more worthy to be punished for heresy than she is.

6. Item, That the said Richard Hunne hath in his keeping divers English books, prohibited and damned by the law; as, the Apocalypse in English, Epistles and Gospels in English, Wickliff's damnable works, and other books containing infinite errors, in the which he hath been a long time accustomed to read, teach, and study daily.

This examination ended, the bishop sent him back again the same day unto the Lollards' Tower; and then, by the appointment of Dr. Horsey, his chancellor, he was colourably committed from the custody of Charles Joseph, the sumner, unto John Spalding, the bell-ringer, a man by whose simpleness of wit (though otherwise wicked) the subtle chancellor thought to bring his devilish pretended homicide the easier to pass; which most cruelly he did, by his hired servants, within two nights next following accomplish, as is plainly proved hereafter by the diligent inquiry, and final verdict, of the coroner of London and his inquest, made by order of the laws in that behalf limited.

But when this common practice of the persecutors was accomplished, there wanted then no secret shifts for the colouring of this mischief: and therefore the next morning after they had in the night committed this murder, Spalding got out of the way into the city, and leaving the keys of the prison with one of his fellows, willed him to deliver them unto the sumner's boy, who used to carry Hunne his meat and other necessities; thinking that the boy, first finding the prisoner dead and hanged in such sort as they left him, they might by his relation be thought free from any suspicion of this matter. Which thing happened in the beginning almost as they wished. The boy the same morning, being the fourth day of December, having the keys delivered him, accompanied with two other of the bishop's sumners, went about ten of the clock into the prison, to serve the prisoner, and when they came up, they found him hanged with his face towards the wall. Whereupon they gave information thereof immediately to the chancellor; who forthwith got unto him certain of his colleagues, and went with them into the prison, to see that which his own wicked conscience knew full well before, as was afterwards plainly proved, although then he blazed abroad among the people, by his officers and servants, that Hunne had hanged himself. Howbeit, the people having good experience, as well of the honest life and godly conversation of the man, as also of the devilish malice of his adversaries, the priests, judged rather that by their procurement he was secretly murdered. Whereof arose great contention; for the bishop of London on the one side, taking his clergy's part, affirmed stoutly that Hunne had hanged himself; the citizens again, on the other side, vehemently suspecting some secret murder, caused the coroner of London, according to law, to choose an inquest, and to take good view of the dead body, and so to try out the truth of the matter. Whereby the bishop and his chaplains were then driven to extremity: and therefore minding by some subtle shew of justice to stop the mouths of the people, they determined, that whilst the inquest was occupied about their charge, the bishop should for his part prosecute his *Officio*, in case of heresy, against the dead person; supposing that if the person were once condemned of heresy, the inquest durst not then but find him guilty of his own death: and so clearly acquit them from all the former charges.

privy murder. This determination of theirs they did immediately put in practice.

They therefore framed certain articles against him, which they affirmed were objected against him in his lifetime; and condemned the dead body of heresy, and delivered it to the secular power. They desired that it should be burned accordingly; which ridiculous and wicked decree was executed on this murdered man, in Smithfield, Dec. 20, 1514, full sixteen days after they had despatched him in the prison!

Reader, think of the horrid crimes which religious bigotry has perpetrated—be thankful that happier times have succeeded these days of darkness and cruelty—and devoutly pray to God that religious liberty may never retrograde, nor priesthood ever regain any portion of its former terrible powers.

Notwithstanding all this tragical and cruel handling of the dead body, and their fair and colourable show of justice, yet the inquest no whit stayed their diligent searching out of the true cause of his death. Inasmuch, that when they had been divers times called both before the king's privy council, his majesty himself being sometimes present, and also before the chief judges and justices of this realm, and that the matter being by them thoroughly examined, they found, by good proof, and sufficient evidence, that Dr Horsey, the chancellor, Charles Joseph, the sumner, and John Spalding, the bell-ringer, had privily and maliciously committed this murder, and therefore indicted them all three as wilful murderers. Howbeit, through the earnest suit of the bishop of London unto cardinal Wolsey, (as appeareth by his letters hereafter mentioned,) means were found, that at the next session of great deliverer the king's attorney pronounced the indictment against Dr Horsey to be false and untrue, and him not to be guilty of the murder. Who, being then thereby delivered in body, having yet in himself a guilty conscience, got unto Exeter, and durst never after come to London. But that the truth of all this may appear more manifest unto all men's eyes, here follows, word by word, the whole inquiry and verdict of the inquest, exhibited by them unto the coroner of London, and so given up and signed with his own hand.

#### *The Verdict of the Inquest*

'The fifth and the sixth day of December, in the sixth year of the reign of our sovereign lord the king Henry VIII. William Barnwell, coroner of London, the day and year above-said, within the ward of Castle Baynard, of London, assembled a quest, whose names afterward do appear, and hath sworn them truly to inquire of the death of one Richard Hunne, which lately was found dead in the Lollards' Tower within Paul's church of London.—Whereupon all we of the inquest together went up into the said tower, where we found the body of the said Hunne hanging upon a staple of iron in a girdle of silk, with a fair countenance, his head fair kembed, and his bonnet right sitting upon his head, with his eyes and mouth all closed, without any staring, gaping, or frowning, also without any drivelling or spunging in any place of his body: whereupon by one assent all we agreed to take down the body of the said Hunne, and as soon as we began to heave the body, it was loose; whereby, by good advisement, we perceived that the girdle had no knot about the staple, but it was double cast, and the links of an iron chain, which did hang on the same staple, were laid upon the same girdle whereby he did hang; also the knot of the girdle that went about his neck stood under his left ear, which caused his head to lean towards his right shoulder. Notwithstanding that out of his nostrils two small streams of blood, to the number of four drops: save only these four drops of

blood, the face, lips, chin, doublet, collar, and shirt, of the said Hunne, was clean from any blood. Also we find that the skin both of his neck and throat, beneath the girdle of silk, was flet and faled away, with that thing which the murderers had broken his neck withal. Also the hands of the said Hunne were wiung in the wrists, whereby we perceived that his hands had been bound.—Moreover, we find that within the said prison was no mean whereby a man might hang himself, but only a stool, which stool stood upon a bolster of a bed, so tickle that any man or beast might not touch it so little but it was ready to fall. whereby we perceived, that it was not possible that Hunne might hang himself, the stool so standing. Also the girdle, from the staple to his neck, as well as the part which went about his neck, was too little for his head to come out thereat. Also it was not possible that the soft silken girdle should break his neck or skin beneath the girdle. Also we found in a corner, somewhat beyond the place where he did hang, a great parcel of blood. Also we find upon the left side of Hunne's jacket, from the breast downward, two great streams of blood. Also within the flap of the left side of his jacket we find a great cluster of blood, and the jacket folden down thereupon, which thing the said Hunne could never fold nor do after he was hanged: whereby it appeared plainly to us all, that the neck of Hunne was broken, and the great plenty of blood was shed, before he was hanged. Wherefore all we find, by God and all our consciences, that Richard Hunne was murdered. Also we acquit the said Richard Hunne of his own death.

"Also there was an end of a wax-candle, which, as John, bell-ringer, saith, he left in the prison burning with Hunne that same Sunday at night that Hunne was murdered; which wax-candle we found sticking upon the stocks, far put out, about seven or eight foot from the place where Hunne was hanged, which candle, after our opinion, was never put out by him, for many likelihoods which we have perceived. Also, at the going up of master chancellor into the Lollards' Tower, we have good proof that there lay on the stocks a gown, either of murray, or crimson in grain, furred with shaks; whose gown it was we could never prove, neither who bare it away. All we find, that master William Horsey, chancellor to my lord of London, hath had at his commandment both the rule and guiding of the said prisoner. Moreover, all we find that the said master Horsey, chancellor, hath put Charles Joseph out of his office, as the said Charles hath confessed, because he would not deal and use the said prisoner so cruelly, and do to him as the chancellor would have had him to do. Notwithstanding the deliverance of the keys to the chancellor by Charles on the Saturday at night before Hunne's death, and Charles riding out of town on that Sunday in the morning ensuing, was but a convention made betwixt Charles and the chancellor to colour the murder. For the same Sunday that Charles rode forth, he came again to the town at night, and killed Richard Hunne, as in the depositions of Julian Lattel, Thos. Chicheley, Thos. Simonds, and Peter Turner, doth appear.

"After colouring of the murder betwixt Charles and the chancellor conspired, the chancellor called to him one John Spalding, bell-ringer of Paul's, and delivered to the same bell-ringer the keys of the Lollards' Tower, giving to the said bell-ringer a great charge, saying, I charge thee to keep Hunne more straitly than he hath been kept, and let him have but one meal a day; moreover, I charge thee to let no body come to him without my license, neither to bring him shirt, cap, kerchief, or any other thing, but that I see it before it come to him. Also before Hunne was carried to



Fulham, the chancellor commanded to be put upon Hunne's neck a great collar of iron, with a great chain, which is too heavy for any man or beast to wear and long to endure.

"Moreover, it is well proved, that before Hunne's death the said chancellor came up into the said Lollards' Tower, and kneeled down before Hunne, holding up his hands to him, praying him for forgiveness of all that he had done to him, and must do to him. And on Sunday following, the chancellor commanded the penitentiary of Paul's to go up to him, and say a gospel, and make for him holy water and holy bread, and give it to him; which he did: and also the chancellor commanded that Hunne should have his dinner. And at the same dinner time Charles's boy was shut in prison with Hunne, which was never so before; and after dinner, when the bell-ringer set out the boy, the bell-ringer said to the same boy, Come no more hither with meat for him till tomorrow, for my master chancellor hath commanded that he should have but one meal a day: and the same night following, Richard Hunne was murdered, which murder could not have been done without consent and license of the chancellor, and also by the witting and knowledge of John Spalding, bell-ringer; for there could no man come into the prison but by the keys, being in John, bell-ringer's, keeping. Also, as by my lord of London's book doth appear, John, bell-ringer, is a poor innocent man. Wherefore all we do perceive, that this murder could not be done but by the commandment of the chancellor, and by the witting and knowing of John, bell-ringer.

"Charles Joseph, within the Tower of London, of his own free will, and unconstrained, said, That master chancellor devised and wrote with his own hand, all such heresies as were laid to Hunne's charge: record John God, John True, John Pasmere, Richard Gibson, with many other. Also Charles Joseph saith, That when Richard Hunne was slain, John, bell-ringer, bare up the stairs into the Lollards' Tower a wax-candle, having the keys of the door hanging on his arm; and I, Charles, went next to him, and master chancellor came up last; and when all we came up, we found Hunne lying on his bed; and then master chancellor said, Lay hands on the thief! and so all we murdered him: and then I, Charles, put the girdle about Hunne's neck; and then John, bell-ringer, and I, Charles, did heave up Hunne, and master chancellor pulled the girdle over the staple, and so Hunne was hanged."

*The Copy of Richard Fitzjames's Letter, then Bishop of London, sent to Cardinal Wolsey.*

"I beseech your good lordship to stand so good lord unto my poor chancellor now in ward, and indicted by an untrue quest, for the death of Richard Hunne, upon the only accusation of Charles Joseph, made by pain and durance; that by your intercession it may please the king's grace to have the matter duly and sufficiently examined by indifferent persons of his discreet council, in the presence of the parties, are there be any more done in the cause; and that upon the innocency of my said chancellor declared, it may further please the king's grace to award a placard unto his attorney to confess the said indictment to be untrue, when the time shall require it: for assured am I, if any chancellor be tried by any twelve men in London, they be so maliciously set, in favorem heretica pravitatis, that they will cast and condemn any clerk, though he were as innocent as Abel. Quare si pater, beate Pater, adjuva infirmitates nostras, et tibi in perpetuum devincterimus. Over this, in most humble wise I beseech you, that I may have the king's gracious favour, whom I never offended willingly; and that by your good

means I might speak with his grace and you: and I with all mine shall pray for your prosperous estate long to continue.—Your most humble orator, "R. LONDON."

Lastly, now it remaineth to mention the sentence of the questmen, after I have first declared the words of the bishop spoken in the parliament house.

*The Words that the Bishop of London spake before the Lords in the Parliament House.*

"Memorandum, That the bishop of London said in the parliament house, that there was a bill brought to the parliament, to make the jury that was charged upon the death of Hunne true men: and said and took upon his conscience, that they were false perjured catiffs: and said further to all the lords there being, For the love of God, look upon this matter; for if you do not, I dare not keep mine house for heretics; and said, that the said Richard Hunne hanged himself, and that it was his own deed, and no man's else. And furthermore said, that there came a man to his house, whose wife was appeached of heresy, to speak with him; and he said that he had no mind to speak with the same man; which man spake and reported to the servants of the same bishop, that if his wife would not hold still her opinions, he would cut her throat with his own hands; with other words."

*The Sentence of the Inquest, subscribed by the Coroner.*

"The inquisition intended and taken at the city of London, in the parish of St. Gregory, in the ward of Baynard Castle in London, the sixth day of December, in the sixth year of the reign of king Henry VIII. before Thomas Barnwell, coroner of our sovereign lord the king within the city of London aforesaid. Also before James Yarford and John Munday, sheriffs of the said city, upon the sight of the body of Richard Hunne, late of London, tailor, which was found hanged in the Lollards' Tower, and by the oath and proof of lawful men of the same ward, and of other three wards next adjoining, as it ought to be, after the custom of the city aforesaid, to inquire how, and in what manner wise, the said Richard Hunne came unto his death: and upon the oath of John Bernard, Thomas Stert, William Warren, Henry Abraham, Joan Aborow, John Turner, Robert Allen, William Marler, John Burton, James Page, Thomas Pickhill, William Burton, Robert Bridgewater, Thomas Busted, Gilbert Howell, Richard Gibson, Christopher Grafton, John God, Richard Holt, John Palmere, Edmund Hudson, John Arnsell, Richard Cooper, John Tim; the which said upon their oaths, that where the said Richard Hunne, by the commandment of Richard, bishop of London, was imprisoned and brought to hold in a prison of the said bishop's, called Lollards' Tower, lying in the cathedral church of St. Paul in London, in the parish of St. Gregory, in the ward of Baynard Castle aforesaid; William Horsey, of London, clerk, otherwise called William Heresie, chancellor to Richard, bishop of London; and one Charles Joseph, late of London, sumner, and John Spalding, of London, otherwise called John Bell-ringer, feloniously as felons to our lord the king, with force and against the peace of our sovereign lord the king, and dignity of his crown, the fourth day of December, the sixth year of our sovereign lord aforesaid, of their great malice, at the parish of St. Gregory aforesaid, upon the said Richard Hunne, a fray, and the same Richard Hunne feloniously strangled and smothered, and also the neck they did break of the said Richard Hunne, and there feloniously slew and killed him; and also the body of the said Richard Hunne, in the ward, the same fourth day, year, place, parish, and town



aforsaid, with the proper girdle of the same Richard Hunne, of silk, black of colour, of the value of twelve pence, after his death, upon a hook driven into a piece of timber in the wall of the prison aforsaid, made fast, and so hanged him, against the peace of our sovereign lord the king, and the dignity of his crown: and so the said jury hath sworn upon the holy Evangelists, that the said William Horsey, clerk, Charles Joseph, and John Spalding, of their set malice, then and there feloniously killed and murdered the said Richard Hunne, in manner and form above-said, against the peace of our sovereign lord the king, his crown and dignity.

Subscribed in this manner:

“THOMAS BARNWELL,  
“Coroner of the city of London.”

After that the twenty-four had given up their verdict, sealed and signed with the coroner's seal, the cause was then brought into the parliament house, where the truth was laid so plain before all men's faces, and the fact so notorious, that immediately certain of the bloody murderers were committed to prison, and should no doubt have suffered what they deserved, had not the cardinal by his authority practised for his Catholic children, at the suit of the bishop of London. Whereupon the chancellor, by the king's pardon and secret shifting, rather than by God's pardon and his deserving, escaped, and went, as is said, to Exeter, &c. Nevertheless, though justice took no place where favour did save, yet because the innocent cause of Hunne should take no wrong, the parliament became suitors unto the king's majesty, that whereas the goods of the said Hunne were confiscated unto the king's hands, it would please his Grace to make restitution of all the said goods unto the children of the said Hunne. Upon which motion, the king of his gracious disposition did not only give all the aforsaid goods unto the aforsaid children, under his broad seal, yet to be seen, but also did send out his warrants (which hereafter shall follow) to those that were the cruel murderers, commanding them, upon his high displeasure, to deliver all the said goods, and make restitution for the death of the said Richard Hunne: all which goods came to the sum of fifteen hundred pounds sterling, besides his plate and other jewels.

*The tenor of the King's Letter in behalf of Richard Hunne.*

“Trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. Whereas, by the complaint to us made, as well as also in our high court of parliament, on the behalf and part of Roger Whapplot, of our city of London, draper, and Margaret, his wife, late the daughter of Richard Hunne; and whereas you were indicted by our laws, of and for the death of the said Richard Hunne, and the said murder cruelly committed by you, like as by our records more at large plainly it doth appear, about the fifth day of December, in the sixth year of our reign; the same we abhor. Nevertheless, we of our special grace, certain science, and mere motion, pardoned you upon certain considerations as moving: for the intent that the goods of the said Richard Hunne, and the administration of them, were committed to the said Roger Whapplot. We then supposed and intended your amendment, and restitution to be made by you to the infants the children of the said Richard Hunne, as well for his death, as for his goods embezzled, and consumed, by your tyranny and cruel act so contrary to the same being of no little value: and as hitherto ye have made no recompense, according to our laws, as might be required by equity, justice, right, and good conscience, and that due satisfaction ought to be made by our laws: therefore we will and exhort, and otherwise charge and

command you, by the tenor of these our especial letters, that ye satisfy and recompense the said Roger Whapplot, and the said Margaret, his wife, according to our laws in this case, as it may stand with right and good conscience, else otherwise at your further peril; so that they shall have no cause to return unto us, for their further remedy eftsoons in this behalf, as ye in the same tender to avoid our high displeasure: otherwise that ye upon the sight hereof set all excuses apart, and repair unto our presence, at which your hither coming you shall be further advertised of our own mind.

“From our manor,” &c.

From the above it is evident, that these murderers had nearly filled up the measure of their iniquity, and that their cause began at this time, by the just judgment of God, to lose that influence which it soon after lost entirely, and through God's mercy has never since been able to regain.— This is, indeed, the common procedure of divine Providence, in bringing good out of evil; the wicked are permitted to overact their parts, and thus defeat their own bad purposes.

*JOHN STILMAN and THOMAS MAN, Martyrs.*

John Stilman, about September 24th, in the year of our Lord 1518, was apprehended and brought before Richard Fitzjames, then bishop of London, at his manor of Fulham, and by him was there examined and charged, that notwithstanding his former recantation, oath, and abjuration, made about eleven years then past, before Edmund, then bishop of Salisbury, as well for speaking against the worshipping, praying, and offering unto images; as also for denying the carnal and corporal presence in the sacrament of Christ's memorial: yet since that time he had fallen into the same opinions again, and so into the danger of relapse; and further, had highly commended John Wickliff, affirming that he was a saint in heaven, and that his book, called the *Wickett*, was good and holy. Soon after his examination he was sent from thence unto the Lollards' Tower at London, and October 22d, then next ensuing, was brought openly into the consistency of Paul's, and was there judicially examined by Thomas Hed, the bishop's vicar-general.

But as he firmly persevered in the truth, Dr. Hed, vicar-general, October 25, by his sentence definitive did condemn him a relapsed heretic; and so delivered him the same day unto the sheriffs of London, to be openly burned in Smithfield.

Next to John Stilman, followeth in this order of blessed martyrs, the persecution and condemnation of Thomas Man, who, March 29, in the year of our Lord 1518, was burned in Smithfield. This Thomas Man had likewise been apprehended for the profession of Christ's gospel, about six years before, August 14, 1511, and being at that time brought before Dr. Smith, bishop of Lincoln, was by him examined upon divers and sundry articles, the effect wherof are these:

First, That he had spoken against auricular confession, and denied the corporal presence of Christ's body in the sacrament of the altar.

2. Item, That he believed that all holy men of his age were true priests.

3. Item, That he believed not aright in the sacrament of extreme unction.

4. Item, That he had called certain priests, meanly arrayed, pilled knaves.

5. Item, That he had said, that pulpits were priests' lying-stools.

6. Item, That he had believed that images ought not to be worshipped, and that he neither believed in the crucifix, nor yet would worship it.

7. Item, That he had said that the popish church was not the church of God, but a synagogue: and that holy men of his sect were the true church of God, &c.

For these and such like matters was he a long time imprisoned, and at last, through frailty and fear of death, was led to abjure, and yield himself unto the judgment of the Romish church, and thereupon was enjoined, not only to make his open recantation, but also from thenceforth to remain a prisoner, within the monastery of Osney, besides Oxford, and so to bear a faggot before the first cross, at the next general procession within the university. But not long after, the bishop having need of the poor man's help in his household business, took him out of the said monastery, and placed him within his own house until his business was ended; and then, his turn once served, he appointed Dr. Wilcocks, his vicar-general, that in his judicial session within the priory of Frideswide, at Oxford, he should assign him to remain within the said priory, and not to depart thence without license of the prior for the time being, upon pain of relapse: and upon the like pain he also enjoined him to wear the sign of a faggot under his uppermost garment, until he were dispensed withal for the same. But he (being both sorry for his offence in denying the truth, and also weary of his servile and prison-like bondage,) bethought himself how he might best escape their cruel hands; and therefore after a while, seeing a good opportunity, he fled the diocese and jurisdiction of Lincoln; and seeking abroad in other counties for work, he most commonly abode some time in Essex, some time in Suffolk; where also he associated himself unto such godly professors of Christ's gospel as he there could hear of. But within few years after, he was again accused of relapse by the inquest of the inquisition of London, and thereupon was apprehended and brought before Richard Fitzjames, then bishop of London, and, March 29, 1518, he was examined and condemned by Dr. Hed, the bishop's vicar-general.

Thus Thomas Man, the manly martyr of Jesus Christ, being condemned by the unjust sentence of Hed, the chancellor, was delivered to the sheriff of London, sitting on horseback in Paternoster-row, before the bishop's door, anno 1518, he protesting to the said sheriff, that he had no power to put him to death, and therefore desired the sheriff to take him, as a relapse, and condemn him, to see him punished. The sheriff receiving neither articles to be read at his burning, nor any indentures of that his delivery, immediately carried him to Smithfield, and there the same day in the forenoon caused him to be hurried to God's angels; according to the words of the said Thomas Man, saying, That if he were taken again by the pilled knave priests, as he called them, he knew well he should go to the holy angels, and then be an angel in heaven.

#### *ROBERT COSIN, Martyr.*

This *Robert Cosin* seemeth to be the same which in the former part of this history is forementioned, being called by the name of Father Robert, and was burnt in Buckingham. Of this Robert Cosin, I find in the registers of Lincoln, that he, with Thomas Man, had instructed and persuaded one Joan Norman, about Amersham, not to go on pilgrimage, nor to worship any images of saints. Also, when she had bound

a piece of silver to a saint for the health of her child, they dissuaded her from the same; and said, that she needed not to confess her to a priest, but that it was sufficient to lift up her hands to heaven. And thus you see the doctrine of these good men, for the which they were in those days condemned to death.

#### *W. SWEETING and J. BREWSTER, Martyrs.*

*William Sweeting*, otherwise named *Clerke*, first dwelt with the lady Percy at Darlington, in the county of Northampton, for a certain space, and from thence went to Boxted, in the county of Essex, where he was the holy-water clerk the space of seven years: after that, he was bailiff and farmer to Mrs. Margery Wood, the term of thirteen years. From Boxted he came to the town of St. Osithe, where he served the prior of St. Stithes, called George Laund, the space of sixteen years and more. Where he had so turned the prior by his persuasion, that the said prior of St. Osithe was afterwards compelled to abjure. This William Sweeting, coming up to London with the aforesaid prior, for suspicion of heresy, was committed to the Lollards' Tower, under the custody of Charles Joseph, and there being abjured in the church of St. Paul, was constrained to bear a faggot at Paul's cross, and at Colchester; and afterwards to wear a faggot upon his coat all his life. Which he did two years together upon his left sleeve; till at length the parson of Colchester required him to help him in the service of the church, and so plucked the badge from his sleeve, and there he remained two years, being the holy-water clerk. From thence afterwards he departed, and travelling abroad, came to Rhederith, in the diocese of Winchester, where he was holy-water clerk the space of a year. Then he went to Chelsith, where he was their neatherd, and kept the town-beasts. In which town, upon St. Anne's day in the morning, as he went forth with his beasts to the field, the good man was apprehended, and brought before the bishop, and his chamber searched for books; this was anno 1511.

The crimes whereupon he was examined were these:

First, for having much conference with one William Man, of Boxted, in a book which was called Matthew.

Item, That when his wife would go on pilgrimage, he asked of her, What good she should receive by her going on pilgrimage? adding moreover, that, as he supposed, it was to no purpose nor profit, but rather it were better for her to keep at home, and to attend her business.

Item, That he had learned and received of William Man, that the sacrament of the altar was not the present very body, but bread in substance received in memorial of Christ.

Item, Because he had reproved his wife for worshipping the images in the church, and for setting up candles before them.

And thus have you all the causes and crimes laid against this William Sweeting, wherefore he was condemned; who then being asked what cause he had why he should not be judged for relapse? said, he had nothing else, but only that he committed himself to the mercy of Almighty God.

With William Sweeting also the same time was examined and condemned *James Brewster*, of the parish of St. Nicholas in Colchester. This James Brewster was a carpenter, dwelling ten years in the town of Colchester; who, being questioned, could neither read nor write, and was apprehended upon the day of St. James, in one Walker's house, in St. Clement's parish.

About six years before, which was anno 1506, he had

been abjured by William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, the see of London being then vacant. And after other penance done at Colchester, he was enjoined to wear a fag-got upon his upper garment during life. Which badge he did bear upon his left shoulder near the space of two years, till the controller of the earl of Oxford plucked it away, because he was labouring in the works of the earl.

The crimes whereupon he was examined, and which he confessed, were these :

First, That he had been five times with William Sweeting in the fields keeping beasts, hearing him read many good things out of a certain book.

Item, For having a certain little book of scripture in English, of an old writing, almost worn for age, whose name is not there expressed.

Item, That he had much conference with Henry Hert, against oblations and images, and that it was better bestowed money which was given to the poor, than that which was offered in pilgrimage.

Item, When Thomas Goodred, William Sweeting, and he, in the fields keeping beasts, were talking together of the sacrament of the Lord's body, and like matters, this James Brewster should thus say, "Now the Son of the living God help us:" unto whom William Sweeting again should answer, "Now Almighty God so do."

And thus have you the cause likewise and crimes laid against James Brewster, upon which he, with William Sweeting, were together examined and condemned. Then being asked, as the Romish manner is, Whether he had any cause why he should not be adjudged for relapse? he said, that he submitted him to the mercy of Almighty God, and to the favourable goodness of him his judge. And likewise did William Sweeting submit himself; trusting belike that they should find some favour and relief in this humble subjecting themselves unto their goodness.

But note here the unmerciful dealing of these Catholic fathers, who upon their submission were contented to give out a solemn commission, the tenor whereof was to release them from the sentence of excommunication! But immediately after, upon the same, the bishop pronounced upon them the sentence of death! Whereupon they were both delivered to the secular power, and both together burnt in Smithfield at one fire, the 18th day of October, anno 1511.

### CHRISTOPHER SHOEMAKER, *Martyr.*

To these blessed saints before-named, we will also adjoin *Christopher Shoemaker*, of whom this I find briefly in the register of sir John Longland, That the said Christopher Shoemaker, a parishioner of Great Missenden, came to the house of John Say, and after other matters of talk, read to him out of a little book the words which Christ spake to his disciples. And thus coming to his house about four times, at every time he read something out of the same book unto him: teaching him not to be deceived in the priest's celebration of the mass, and declaring that it was not the same very present body of Christ, as the priests did insinuate, but in substance bread, bearing the remembrance of Christ: and taught him moreover, that pilgrimage, worshipping and setting up candles to saints, were all unprofitable. And thus said John Say, being taught by this Christopher, and confirmed by John Okenden, and Robert Pope, was brought to the knowledge of the same doctrine. Thus much I find in that register concerning Christopher Shoemaker, declaring further, that he was burned at Newbery at that time, which was anno 1518.

## THE LIFE OF MARTIN LUTHER.

Written originally in German, by DANIEL HERNNSCHMID.

### *Of his Birth and Childhood.*

1. THAT in the fifteenth century, the state of the church was above measure corrupt, and that in civil as well as religious affairs nothing but wickedness covered the face of the earth, is so clear and incontestable a truth, that the Romanists themselves, both in that age and our own, have been constrained to acknowledge it. To stem this torrent, God, who calls the weak things of the world to confound the things that are mighty, in the year 1483 caused *Martin Luther* to be born. His parents, John Luther and Margaret Lindeman, lived in a little village between Eisenach and Salzungen. They came to Isleb to buy some things they wanted, when his mother was big with child, who was brought to bed of him there on the 10th of November, about eleven at night. After a short time his father removed, and settled at Mansfeldt, where he followed his business, which was, to work in the mines.

2. He was an honest man, and one that feared God; and when his son was capable of going to school, gave his master a particular charge concerning him. Being afterwards informed that he took his learning well, he determined to breed him up a scholar. Accordingly, at fourteen years old he sent him to Magdeburg, and the next year to Eisenach. His great progress in learning was soon observed, both by his masters and other learned men.

3. Both at Magdeburg and Eisenach, being extremely poor, he procured himself the necessaries of life, by going round, with several other poor scholars, singing psalms at the doors of the citizens; till a pious gentlewoman of Eisenach, related to his mother, observing his devout manner of singing and praying, took him to diet at her own table. God by this means taught him, both a deep compassion for the poor, and an unshaken reliance on his providence.

4. While he was at school, he was excited to diligence in study by the usual motives of praise and vain-glory. Having experienced the danger of this course, he was the more vehement all his life long in dissuading others from poisoning the minds of youth, either with desire of honour, or fear of contempt; insisting, that they ought to be accustomed to act, in childhood, as well as in riper years, only upon those noble as well as more powerful motives, the fear and the love of God.

5. In his eighteenth year he was sent to the university at Erfurt, where he made so swift a progress in his studies, that in less than three years' time the degree of master of arts was conferred upon him. All this time he attended all the public lectures; when there were none, he was in the library. He often conversed with the professors, and himself read lectures on Aristotle's ethics, and other parts of philosophy. Thus was he led, by the wise counsel of God, into a thorough knowledge of all these things, that he might be afterwards able to give the stronger testimony against the abuse of them.

### *Of his Convictions, and entering into a Monastery.*

1. In the midst of his philosophical studies, he always retained the fear of God. And hence it was that he constantly began his studies with fervent prayer to God, and through his whole life very frequently used this saying,

*Dimidium studii rite precatus habet;*

i. e. He who has prayed aright, has half finished his study.

Thus the goodness of God impressed that upon his mind, which preserved him even in his youth both from the wildness and lasciviousness which are too common both in schools and universities.

2. Nor did God suffer him to stop here, but drew his inmost soul nearer and nearer to himself. While he was at the university, he fell into a dangerous illness, which caused him to meditate much upon death. An old priest came to him in the height of it, and said, 'Be of good courage: you shall not die of this sickness. Our God will make you a great man, who shall comfort many. For God lays the cross early upon him whom he loves, and is preparing for the salvation of others. Those who have patience, learn many things in the school of the cross.' This gave him much comfort, and he had a thankful remembrance of it to his life's end.

3. Soon after, he was extremely shocked by the terrible murder of an intimate acquaintance; so that he fell under a deep and lasting apprehension of the wrath and judgment of God. And as he returned one day from Mansfeldt to Erfurt, he was so affrighted by thunder and lightning, that he fell to the earth half dead; and during that fright made a vow to God, that if his life was spared, he would wholly renounce the world, and retire into a monastery. He made no delay, but immediately entered himself in the monastery of the Augustines at Erfurt.

4. Here he was put upon hard service, being ordered, not only to discharge the office of porter, but also to clean and empty the necessary-house, and to go a begging round the city. It may be easily conceived, to what straits he was now reduced; not only finding no relief for his troubled mind, but having new burdens laid both on his body and soul; of which this was not the least, that his father would by no means be appeased or reconciled to his monastic life. And when he was at length prevailed upon to see him, he would receive no excuse, but left him that word, "Have you not heard that children ought to obey their parents?"

5. In these floods was he tost to and fro, during the year of his noviciate. But in all his anxiety and trouble, he gave himself up to continued and earnest prayer: and all his vacant hours he employed in reading a Latin version of the Bible, which he studied with such application, and made so familiar to him, that he could turn at once to any passage contained therein. From the hour he first light upon this in the library, he esteemed this book above all in the world: and often begged of God, that he might some time or other have such a book of his own. And now in the midst of all his superstitions and prejudices, did that good seed begin to be sown in his heart, which was never afterwards rooted out, till by the grace of God he brought forth fruit with patience.

6. It does not appear, that he ever complained of the hard usage he met with in the monastery; till some of the university prevailed with the superior, to exempt him from those mean employments: in which they were seconded by John Staupitius, the provincial of the order; who likewise advised him to draw all his doctrine from the fountain-head; which advice he willingly obeyed.

7. In the twenty-fourth year of his age, 1507, he was ordained priest. He was then ordered to read the school-lessons; which he did with all diligence, together with the ecclesiastical historians. Notwithstanding which, he hid himself as often as he could in the library, with his Bible; the only book, as he often said, wherein he could find comfort, in the melancholy that frequently came upon him.

8. Whatsoever he did, he did it with all his might, as unto the Lord, and not unto men, exceedingly macerating his body

with intense study and prayer, as well as with watching and fasting. He was often so taken up with reading or writing, that he forgot to recite the canonical hours. He would then, to satisfy his conscience, shut himself up in his chamber, and neither eat nor drink till he had said all those prayers: so that sometimes he had not an hour's sleep in a night for four weeks together, till his senses were almost gone.

9. He was generally pensive and sad, (though this was not his natural temper,) in the midst of which he had strong consolations from God. Staupitius likewise administered much comfort to him, when he told him his horrible and grievous temptations. 'You know not, (said he,) how useful and necessary these temptations are. God does not thus exercise you without cause: he will make you an instrument of great things.'

10. He was strengthened yet more by the discourse of an old Augustine monk, concerning the certainty we may have that our sins are forgiven. This he inferred even from that article of our creed, "I believe the forgiveness of sins:" strongly insisting, that these very words implied, not barely a belief that some men's sins are forgiven, but that each man is personally to believe for himself, "God through Christ has forgiven my sins."

11. God likewise gave him much comfort in his temptations, by that saying of St. Bernard, 'It is necessary to believe first of all, that you cannot have forgiveness but by the mere mercy of God; and next, to believe that through his mercy thy sins are forgiven thee.' This is the witness which the Holy Spirit bears in thy heart, 'Thy sins are forgiven thee.' And thus it is, that, according to the apostle, a man is justified freely through faith.

#### *Of his Remove to Wittenberg, and Journey to Rome.*

1. As God is wonderful in all his ways, so it was a singular instance of his providence, that Frederic III. elector of Saxony, founded a new university at Wittenberg, in October, 1502, and employed Staupitius to procure men of piety and learning, from all parts, to settle there. He soon cast his eyes upon Martin Luther, whose religion and learning he was well apprised of, as being vicar-general of all the convents of Augustine monks.

2. It was in the year 1508, that he ordered Luther, being then twenty-six years of age, to remove to Wittenberg. He was here much employed in public disputations; wherein he soon signalized himself, as by his ready and succinct method of expressing himself, so by the quickness and strength of his understanding.

3. His manner of disputing was widely different from that which then obtained in most universities. For he judged and spoke of nothing but according to the dictates of his conscience, and from an experimental knowledge of all he said. And from the very beginning, he grounded all his doctrines, not on the schoolmen, but on the word of God.—Whence it was, that his positions always contained something far above the received doctrines of the age. For although it was as yet blended with much darkness, yet had he great light into many practical truths: which gave occasion to that judgment which the great Mallerstadius so early formed concerning him, 'That monk will confound all the doctors, and reform the whole church, for he minds only the prophets and apostles, and builds on the word of Jesus Christ; a foundation which neither the philosophers, nor sophists; nor scolastics, nor thomists, are able to overthrow.'

4. Indeed, the love of the scriptures (whatever else he was constrained to teach) increased in him more and more, which was in a great measure owing to those pangs of controversy



that still pursued him with little intermission, and which he could no otherwise assuage, than by close application to the word of God. 'How willingly (says he, writing to a friend 'about this time) would I change all my philosophical studies 'for that of divinity! The divinity, I mean, which searches 'the kernel of religion, which pierces the marrow, and discerns the thoughts and intents of the heart.'

5. Having now, under the secret leadings of God, and the bitter exercises of repentance, experimentally learned the nature of sin, the utter impotence of man, and the absolute necessity of grace; and being confirmed herein by the word of God, as well as by some of the ancient fathers, he contracted the strongest aversion to those principles and doctrines of the schoolmen which contradict these fundamental truths. Nor had he any desire to conceal that aversion; supposing, in the simplicity of his heart, that the church still retained those essential truths, from which the schoolmen had deviated. And hence he still held the church, and all the governors thereof, in the highest reverence and esteem.

6. About this time, both his brethren and the provincial had such an opinion of the sanctity of his manners, and of his learning and understanding, that they deputed him to Rome, in order to put an end to those disputes, which had disturbed the whole order, and set one part of them at variance with the other. This was in the year 1510. He transacted the affair with such diligence and success, as to gain the applause not only of Staupitius, but of the whole society.

7. In this journey, he beheld the pope and his prelates, and all the ceremonies of the church, with the utmost reverence. He attended all the churches and chapels, and firmly believed all the legends he heard there. Yet at the same time he could not but observe the lives of the clergy, at which he was extremely offended. And this offence sunk deeper into his heart, when, as he was saying mass with some Italian priests, one at the next altar had recited seven masses before he had finished one. He was likewise exceedingly shocked at finding so many atheists in Italy, among the laity, as well as clergy; insomuch that many looked on it as a disgrace, to be thought to believe the resurrection of the dead.

8. By all this it appears, that Luther's coming to Rome was by the peculiar providence of God, that he might see that desolation with his own eyes, of which he was afterwards to bear witness. And this he acknowledged himself often, saying, 'He would not but have seen Rome for a thousand florins.'—God preserved him untainted in the midst of the abominations which he saw, both by keeping his conscience always awake and tender, by a fit of sickness he had at Bonna, and by sharp temptations concerning the forgiveness of his sins, out of all which he was afterwards delivered.

9. In the year 1512, he was ordered by the provincial to take his doctor's degree. He endeavoured to excuse himself on account of his weak and sickly habit of body. But being peremptorily required to obey, he complied, and was created doctor of divinity. At his inauguration, he took, as usual, a solemn oath, to teach the holy scriptures. And many times afterwards, when he was in strong agony of spirit, and tempted not to write or preach any more, he was confirmed by that thought, 'I have sworn unto the Lord, and I cannot go back from it.'

#### *Of the four next Years of his Life.*

1. Being now called, more immediately than before, to study and expound the holy scriptures, he gave himself wholly to hereto, and to the study of the Greek and Hebrew tongues. And hence it was, that he came to have so high an esteem

for Erasmus, and several other learned men: in particular, for Philip Melancthon, who was a kind of master to him in acquiring those languages. Indeed, in the beginning of this century, God revived in many souls, together with a thirst after all useful learning, a great love for those tongues, whereby a way was opened for the more swift and effectual revival of the gospel.

2. It being now a branch of his office to read public lectures in divinity, he set upon the work with the utmost pleasure. He read, disputed, and preached, with all diligence. He expounded the Psalms, and the Epistle to the Romans, and the Galatians. He began to enlarge on that question, Whether we are not to learn, how to believe aright, to live holy, and to die happy, from the book of God, rather than from the books of pagan philosophers? of Aristotle in particular, whose philosophy had then engrossed all pulpits as well as schools: having learned, by painful experience, how weak and unavailing all the helps of human reason are, and how effectual the pure word of God, for the relief of a wounded spirit.

3. From this time he began to look deeper into the epistle to the Romans, and to consider what St. Paul there means by, the righteousness of God. And he no sooner perceived that it is not by works, but through faith in the atonement made by Jesus Christ, that God justifies a sinner, than 'he felt himself as it were in paradise, and changed into a new creature.' The whole scripture appeared with another face. His views of divinity were quite altered; and on this foundation he built all his doctrines for the time to come. And though he still retained many of his former erroneous opinions, concerning less essential points; yet as he had himself tasted the marrow of Christianity, so he was continually recommending it to others.

4. In the year 1516, Staupitius being sent by the elector into the Netherlands, he was appointed vicar of all the Augustine convents in those provinces, during his absence. In his visitation of them, he had not only an opportunity of instilling into many the great truths of the gospel, but also of narrowly observing the grievous vices of all kinds, which reigned in those that were called religious houses. His chief care in this visitation was, to press them all to study the holy scriptures; and to lead lives agreeable thereto, as well as to the solemn vows that were upon their souls.—In the same year he disputed publicly against the doctrine of the schoolmen, concerning the natural free-will of men, and laboured to set in a true and clear light, what he had learned herein from his own experience. It is not therefore strange, that from this time many began to look upon him as an heretic, and others, who had a relish for better things, to esteem him very highly in love.

#### *Of his first Attempts towards a Reformation.*

1. In the year 1517, when the word *Penitentia* (penance, penitence, or repentance) was occasionally mentioned in conversation, Staupitius observed, that 'there is no true penance or repentance, but that which arises from the love of God.' This conversation sunk deep into Luther's heart, and 'I soon (says he) saw the error of those who make penance or repentance little more than a few trifling satisfactions, or confessions to a priest; being carried away with the notion of the word, *doing penance*, which signifies rather a change of affection, and does in no wise consist in the least part of the Greek word *μετανοια*.

2. 'While my thoughts were warmly engaged on this subject, (continues he) to sound all around us; new truths began to dawn upon my mind, and I began to see the error of pardons and indulgences in a manner unheard of before. And the most impious, false, and heretical things, which



'taught with so great authority, that whoever dared to mutter against them, was straight devoted to the flames, and to everlasting damnation.'—And thus it was that he was drawn unawares into a controversy, from which he could never draw back.

3. The case was thus: John Tezel, a Dominican monk, a man famous for all manner of vice, had been employed several years in selling indulgences up and down Germany. He came this year on the same business as before; but more confidently than ever, having a commission to sell them, under the great seal of Albert, archbishop of Mentz. The form of indulgence, sold to any one who would pay the price, ran in these words:

'The Lord Jesus Christ absolve thee, through the merits of his most holy passion: and by his authority, and that of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and our most holy Pope—I absolve thee, first, from all ecclesiastical censures; then from all the sins and offences thou hast committed, how enormous soever. I remit to thee, by this plenary indulgence, all the punishment in purgatory due for these crimes. And I restore thee to the innocence and purity in which thou wast when thou wast baptized: so that the gates of punishment shall be shut to thee when thou diest, and the gates of paradise open. In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.'

'JOHN TEZEL wrote this with his own hand.'

4. Abundance of people flocking to father Tezel, to purchase these indulgences, Luther began modestly to teach the people of Wirtemberg, 'That they might employ both their money and time better.' He did not then know for whom that money was designed. But not long after, the archbishop published an order, requiring the persons intrusted, to press the people with all their might to buy those indulgences. It was then known, that he had hired Tezel to undertake the work; and that the pope had authorized him so to do, on condition that half the money should be sent to Rome, towards the building of St. Peter's church. The rest was for the archbishop, to pay for his cardinal's cloak, for which thirty thousand pieces of gold were due to the holy see.

5. Luther had soon a nearer occasion given him, to oppose this scandalous traffic. Several, whose confessor he was, acknowledged they had committed the most heinous crimes; but yet refused the penances he enjoined, because they had indulgences. Luther not accepting their plea, denied them absolution. Of this they bitterly complained to Tezel; who thereupon began furiously to inveigh in his sermons against those who undervalued the rights of the holy see, and to threaten them with the rigours of the inquisition, and with the punishment due to obstinate heretics.

6. Luther was much moved at this, and not only preached more freely on this head than before, but also published a sermon on indulgences; towards the close of which he observes, 'That they are grounded neither on evangelical precept nor counsel, but are only suffered for the sake of lazy and slothful Christians; that it cannot be proved that souls are thereby delivered out of purgatory; that whoever preaches otherwise is a seducer, and carries his soul in his purse, and has more concern for the getting of money, than for the saving of souls.'

7. Tezel was above measure exasperated at this sermon; and which he published a tract in German, which Luther instantly answered; adding in the close, 'At length, after tired with wresting the scripture, he brandishes all his weapons at me, calling me heretic, schismatic, and so on. To

this I answer, God be merciful both to me and thee. Amen.'

8. In the mean time were published those famous theses, ninety-five in number, which Luther affixed to the gates of All-Saints Church in Wirtemberg, on the 31st day of October. These contained the same doctrines with his sermon; only proposed in a different form, as questions to be examined by disputation, if any would offer themselves to dispute with the proposer. He subjoined to them a protestation, 'That he would neither maintain nor believe any thing but what was grounded on scripture, and on the fathers, canons, and decrees, received in the holy Roman Church. He submits himself to the judgment of all his superiors; claiming to himself only that privilege of every Christian, either to receive or refute the opinions of any canonists or schoolmen, if they are not supported by holy writ.'

9. None appeared to dispute on these theses. But Tezel fixed up at Frankfort upon the Oder, a hundred and six, and soon after fifty theses, by which, says he, 'it will be seen at the first glance, who is to be accounted an heretic, a schismatic, stubborn, obstinate, erroneous, and seditious. To the glory of God, and the honour of the holy apostolic see.' Luther was not so confident as this: yet by the duty of his office, as well as by the clamours of his adversaries, he was constrained to go on, though studiously endeavouring to clear the pope from the scandal of those vile practices, (as never imagining, that all these things were done, not only with his knowledge, but by his order,) and doing all things with the utmost circumspection, and modestly towards his superiors.

10. The same evening that he set up his theses, he wrote to the archbishop. His letter begins with these words, 'Forgive me, most reverend father in Christ, most illustrious prince, that I, the dregs of mankind, have so much rashness, as to dare to think of writing to your sublime dignity. The Lord Jesus is my witness, that from a consciousness of my own littleness and baseness, I have long delayed what I am now emboldened to perform, moved chiefly by the duty which I owe to you, as my most reverend father in Christ.' He proceeds, 'There are indulgences carried about, as by your most illustrious authority, the unhappy purchasers of which believe, that they are sure of salvation: likewise, that souls immediately fly out of purgatory, as soon as they have cast their money into the chest; that hereby every crime, of every kind, is forgiven, even though a man had ravished (if it could be) the mother of God; and that whoever has such an indulgence, is instantly free from all punishment and all guilt.—O blessed God! are the souls committed to your charge, most holy father, thus trained up to destruction? Is not then the heavy account increasing daily, which you are to give for every one of them!—Therefore I could be no longer silent.—But what can I do, most illustrious prince? only beseech you, for the sake of our Lord Jesus Christ, utterly to take away this occasion of offence, lest some one should at length arise, and confute the tract recommending those indulgences, to the disgrace of your most illustrious highness. I entreat your highness to receive these faithful offices, of him who is mostly humbly devoted to you; seeing I also am a part of your flock. Most reverend father, the Lord Jesus preserve you for ever!'

These letters Luther sent to the archbishop with his theses. But he never received any answer.

11. In the year 1518, he wrote another equally submitted letter to the bishop of Brandenburg, his diocesan, who had shewn him much favour on other occasions. In this

gives him an account of all the steps he had taken, and concludes in these words, 'If the work be not God's, let it not be mine, yea, let it come to nothing. It was my duty to seek nothing else but this, that I might lead no man into error. Let him alone have the glory to whom glory belongs, who is blessed for ever. Amen.' The bishop in his answer persuaded Luther 'to desist from his undertaking, telling him he touched the power of the church, and would create much trouble to himself.'

12. In the mean time his theses were received with so great applause, that in a few days they ran through all Germany. For indulgences were now a common nuisance, every where complained of. But especially those which were sold by Tezel in so shameful a manner. And yet there was no one who had the courage to speak, being awed by the terror of the papal thunder.

13. What state of mind Luther himself was in at that time, we may learn from his own words, in the preface prefixed to an edition of these theses, which he published some years after. 'These (says he) are the theses, which I opposed, at my first setting out, to the doctrine of indulgences. I publish them now, that the success which afterward followed may be ascribed, not to me, but to God alone. For by these my exceeding great weakness appears; and with fearfulness I began that business. I fell upon it alone and unawares, and being not able to retreat; yet I not only yielded much to the pope in many and weighty points, but in very truth made a god of him. For what was I but a poor despicable monk, more like a carcase than a man? And how great was the majesty of the pope, inasmuch that his nod was dreaded even by the kings of the earth! In how great distress my soul was, both that and the following year, what sinkings of spirit, yea, well nigh despair, I was continually struggling with, they can by no means judge, who now set upon the pope with such boldness and self-sufficiency. But I, who encountered the whole storm alone, was not so bold and sure of my cause. I was then ignorant of many things, which by the grace of God I now know. Only I was desirous to learn: and not finding satisfaction in the books of canonists, and school divines, I wanted to consult and argue those points with living men, and above all, to hear the church. In the church only I expected the gifts of the Spirit, (meaning thereby, the pope, cardinals, bishops, and clergy,) and that with such earnestness, that I was hardly in my senses, and scarce knew whether I was asleep or awake. And when I had mastered all the objections brought from scripture, still I could not for a long season get over that great objection of all,—that I ought to obey the church.'

*Of what preceded and followed his Journey to Augsburg.*

1. On Trinity Sunday, Luther wrote to pope Leo X. sending him his theses at the same time. He concludes his letter in these words: 'I offer myself prostrate at your feet, most holy father, with all that I have or am. Bid me live or die; call, recall; approve, or reject, as you see good. I shall acknowledge your voice as the voice of Christ, presiding and speaking in you. If I have deserved death, I refuse not to die. The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof.'

2. In the mean time, while he was expecting all good things from the pope, divers adversaries began to write against him. The first was John Eccius, vice-chancellor of the university of Ingolstadt. The next was Sylvester Prierias, a Dominican friar, master of the palace at Rome; who so much attacked the authority of the pope and the church, that Lu-

ther even then did not scruple to declare, 'If this be taught at Rome, with the knowledge of the pope and cardinals, (which I hope it is not,) I freely pronounce, that he is the true Antichrist sitting in the temple of God, and reigning in that purple Babylon, and that the court of Rome is the synagogue of Satan.' The third who entered the lists was James Hockstrate, a Dominican of Louvain, who exhorted the pope to use no other remedy against such an heretic, but fire and sword.

3. From this time his faith and courage increased daily. And hence, although many endeavoured to dissuade him, yet he would go to the general convention of the Augustine monks, which was this year held at Heidelberg, being strongly recommended by the elector of Saxony to the prince palatine. In his journey he waited on the bishop of Wirtzburg, who received him with great humanity, as being a favourer of his doctrine. But he lived only till the next year. At Heidelberg, he publicly disputed on twenty-eight theological, and twelve philosophical, paradoxes: in which he treated of free-will since the fall, of grace, of faith, of justification, and of good works. There was a vast concourse of hearers, not only of the students, but of the citizens and courtiers also. He was opposed by five doctors of divinity. His great sweetness and perspicuity in answering, and readiness in solving all their objections, caused an universal admiration.—Among his hearers were Theobald Billicanus, John Brent, and Martin Bucer. The two former were thoroughly convinced of the truth, and from that time preached it with all diligence. Bucer came to his house, asked many questions, and at length was fully satisfied.

4. He now published his sermon on the sacrament of penance, by which we may perceive how he was led from one point to another. He teaches in this, 'That the remission of punishment must be distinguished from remission of sin; that if indulgences avail any thing, it pertains to the former; but the latter is to be sought from God only: that a man may be saved without indulgences, but not without a peaceful conscience, and a soul rejoicing in God, which can only arise from the remission of his sin. That this is sought in vain from indulgences, fasting, or ever so many good works; all who seek it from these, mistaking here, that they would do good works before their sins are forgiven; whereas their sins must first be forgiven, before they can do any good works; seeing their works do not expel sin, but the expelling of sin makes their works good.—That unbelief is the greatest of all sins, in that it makes God a liar: that we ought not (as some men falsely teach) to be uncertain touching our pardon, and doubtful whether our sins are forgiven or no, and whether we are sufficiently contrite; that we ought rather to believe, that all our contrition, how great soever, is utterly insufficient, and that for this very cause we have no other refuge than the free grace of God in Christ Jesus.—That we ought with all our might to repent, to mourn, to confess our sins, and to do all good works; but still to remember, faith is the principal good whence all truly good works must spring, being wrought purely for the glory of God, and the good of our neighbour, not as an atonement for the least sin. That all this properly belongs to those who are convinced of sin; not to the stubborn and careless sinner, who must first be terrified and awakened by denouncing the just and dreadful judgments of God.'

5. There were now great commotions concerning these doctrines both in Italy and Germany. And the emperor Maximilian I. having called a diet at Augsburg, wrote a letter to pope Leo X. dated the 5th of August, wherein he desired these things might be determined as soon as possible, and

promised his own assistance therein. At Rome, all things went ill on Luther's side. Cardinal Raphael had before written to the elector, pressing him not to defend him any longer. To whom the elector replied, 'That he did not take upon him to defend the writings or sermons of Martin Luther.' But that yet he could not condemn him, seeing Luther was always ready to appear before any fair and competent judges, either to defend his own doctrine, or to learn any better, which should be taught him out of the holy scriptures; that he was grieved any errors should ever creep into the holy Catholic faith, and prayed that God would preserve him from the impurity of espousing, or defending, them.

6 Cardinal Cajetan was at the diet, sent by the pope as legate *a latere*. To him the pope directed an apostolical brief, so called, on the 23d of August, commanding him to require Luther (already pronounced an heretic by Jerome, bishop of Asculum, whom he had commissioned to examine the cause) to appear before himself at Rome, and to call in the assistance, both of the emperor and of the other princes of Germany, with all the communities, universities, and potentates, whether ecclesiastical or secular. That if Luther came to him of his own accord, to ask pardon, and shewed signs of true repentance, he might receive him to favour; but if not, he should, by a public edict, warn all the Christians in all parts of Germany to look upon him as an excommunicated, anathematized, accursed heretic, and to seize and deliver him into his hands. That whosoever gave him any help, encouragement, or advice, publicly or privately, directly or indirectly their cities, towns, and countries, should be laid under an interdict, the clergy deprived of their benefices, the laity outlawed, debarred from Christian burial, and farther punished as the cause should require.

7. The pope sent a brief to the elector the same day, exhorting him to take care, that 'Luther, that son of wickedness, might be delivered up to the judgment of the apostolic see; whom he knew, from the relation of most religious and learned men, particularly his beloved son, master of the palace, to be an asserter and public preacher of impious and heretical doctrines.' Luther plainly shewed, in a little tract, soon after published, how unjust this usage was. For he was not cited by the bishop of Asculum till the 7th of August. And in that citation he was allowed sixty days, wherein to appear and make his defence, whereas there were only sixteen days between this and the 23d of August, the day on which the brief was dated.

8. However, by the intercession of his friends, instead of going to Rome, he was ordered to appear before cardinal Cajetan, at Augsburg. He went thither on foot. At Nuremberg, one observing his cowl, which was exceedingly worn and threadbare, constrained him to borrow another, having no money to buy, no, not a single kruzter, (a coin, about an halfpenny in value.) When he came to the town, a lodging was provided for him among the Augustine monks. The elector had recommended it to the senate of the town, so that he should receive no hurt. And this they faithfully performed.—He likewise found many friends, both among the clergy and laity: yea, and many there were who had his safety much at heart, even among the emperor's counsellors.

9. As soon as he came into the town, several of the Italians came to see him, and advised him, in many smooth words, to have a good opinion of the cardinal, and to go to him without any suspicion. They exhorted him to comply with his desire, telling him, 'The whole affair might be concluded in three syllables, *Revoco*, (I recant.) But the senators

charged him not to go, till he had a safe-conduct from the emperor himself. This being obtained, with the abbot in whose house he lodged, and three or four more of his brethren, he went to the cardinal, and (as the custom was) threw himself on his knee before him. Being ordered to rise, he modestly said, 'That he was come to hear what was objected against him, being ready to obey if he should be shewn wherein he had erred, and wished to be better instructed.'

10. The cardinal answering him (in his Italian manner) with many mild and soft words, required three things. First, to recant what he had taught, then, to teach it no more, and lastly, to abstain from teaching any thing, which might disturb the peace of the church without promising, that he would deal tenderly with him as a father with a son. He then offered to disprove what Luther had taught. But it was easy to be discerned, that he was not to be satisfied with any thing less than a full recantation of all.

11. The next day, those of the imperial senators being present, Luther bringing with him a notary and witnesses, protested, that he was ready then and there, or at any other time and place, to give an account of whatever he had taught, and that if the legate did not think well of this, he was willing to answer in writing any objections he should make, and to bear thereon the judgment and decision of the universities of Basil, Insburg, Louvain, and Paris. The cardinal answered, 'This protestation was needless, for he would compose the thing in a fatherly and friendly manner. Meantime he urged Luther to recant, not giving him time to make any answer, till one of his friends desired he might have leave to speak, and recite his answer without interruption. In the end, he gained nothing more than that he might bring his answer in writing. But when he did, the legate rejected it; strongly pressing him to recant upon his refusing which, he said, 'Go, and see me no more, unless you will comply.'

12. Notwithstanding this, Luther wrote to the cardinal again, entreating him to proceed with the tenderness of a father, and declaring that he would for the time to come say nothing about indulgences, provided the same rule might be observed by his adversaries as well as himself. He received no other answer than five words. Upon which, by the advice of his friends, he composed 'An appeal from the pope' misinformed, to the pope when he should be better informed. And this he procured to be affirmed, two days after he left the town, to the cathedral church, in the presence of notaries and witnesses. And the 20th of October, very early in the morning, mounting a horse which his friends had procured, though without either boots, spurs, or breeches, he left Augsburg, and rode 48 miles that day.

13. From Augsburg he wrote to Philip Melancthon thus, 'There is nothing new or strange here, only that the city is full of talk concerning me, and all men desire to see the Herostratus, who has thus set the church on fire. Do you go on, and play the man, in training up the youth in solid and useful knowledge. I am going, if it so please the Lord, to be offered up for you and them. I had rather perish, and lose even your conversation for ever, than retract any part of the truth I have taught.'

'Italy lies in Egyptian darkness, darkness that may be felt. So ignorant are they all of Christ, and the things of Christ. Yet these are they who are lords of our faith and practice. Thus is the wrath of God fulfilled upon us, which says, 'I will give them children for princes, and babes shall rule over them.''  
14. Being returned to Wirtemberg, he immediately resumed both his preaching and reading public lectures. He was minded soon to remove to some other country.

the elector should come into trouble on his account: till the elector himself sent him express orders not to remove from Wirtemberg. "I then determined (said he) by the advice of my friends, to appeal to the council which was shortly to meet: though still resigning my will to the will of God, and being resolved that if I had a thousand lives, I would lose them all rather than retract the least point of the faith once delivered to the saints." By all which it appears, that God was still secretly carrying on the great work of reformation, and delivering his servants more and more under various trials, from all fearfulness, into the boldness of faith.

15. When Luther was gone, the cardinal wrote to the elector, relating what had past, after his own manner, and concluding in these words: "Let your lordship know, that this so grievous and pestilent business cannot be suffered long. For they will surely resume the cause, and prosecute it at Rome, when I have washed my hands of it, and have sent an account of these shifts and tricks to our most holy father." He added some things with his own hand, and this among the rest, "Let not your highness, for one insignificant monk, stain both the glory of your ancestors, and your own." The elector immediately sent this to one of his ministers, still at Augsburg, with orders to move the emperor, that Luther's cause might be examined in Germany, by more fair and impartial judges.

*Of his Disputation at Leipsig, and Appearance at Worms.*

1. In the course of these trials Luther gained much strength, and became as it were a new man. He was more and more confirmed in all the truths of God, which he had learned and taught. Those which he afterwards taught are no otherwise to be considered than as conclusions built on the foundation laid before, as he was led on by various occasions, and as his mind was gradually enlightened with the knowledge of God.

2. In the beginning of the year 1519, the court of Rome spared no endeavours to stir up the elector against him. To this end the pope wrote to Pffeffinger, his minister, and sent his own chamberlain, Charles Militius: the sum of whose negotiation was, 1. That the people were perverted from the truth, with regard to indulgences: 2. That this was done by Luther, 3. Though the occasion was given by Tezel, 4. And the archbishop of Mentz: 5. In which Tezel had gone too far. Thus he granted some points, in order to gain others; and indeed used Tezel so roughly, that through grief and vexation he fell into an illness, which ended in his death. Luther himself conversed with Militius at Altenberg, and was received by him with great humanity. It was agreed between them, that Militius would undertake to give a fair account of all that had passed to the pope; that all disputes should be stopped, and the cause referred to some learned bishop in Germany; and that he should deliver to Luther, in writing, the articles which he thought ought to be retracted.

3. On the 9th of January the elector wrote to Militius, 'That he did not at all concern himself with the merits of the case, nor ever had done, as he had ordered to be signified to Dr. Luther himself.' Whence it appears, that although, on the one hand, God so far made use of the elector, as not to suffer Luther to be destroyed, (and thus far he patronized him, particularly this year, when, upon the death of the emperor Maximilian, he was made vicar of the empire,) yet, on the other, Luther could not trust in him alone, nor have any firm dependence upon him; so that he must many times utterly have fainted, had he not had a sure confidence in God.

4. On the 4th of July this year, began the celebrated disputation on free-will, at Leipsig, between John Eccius and Andrew Carolostadius. It continued eight days. Eccius being a subtle and ready disputant, and having both the students and courtiers on his side, seemed to have much the better of the argument, and gained general applause. Yet in the conclusion he said, he was of the same mind with Carolostadius, and gave up many of the points in question. Luther, who came only to accompany his friend, without any thought of disputing, finding how much the truth suffered, and Eccius triumphed, consented to dispute with him himself the next week: in the course of which it was observed, that Eccius would not say one word on the head of indulgences; and that the primacy of the bishop of Rome was now first brought into question. They spoke likewise of councils; which Luther plainly shewed might err, and had erred. In the close, Eccius acknowledged, 'That in most of those points, Luther and he were of the same judgment. 'Only in what related to the bishop of Rome, he was constrained to dissent from him.'

5. Peter Mosellanus, then professor of Greek at Leipsig, who was present at these disputations, describes him thus: "Martin Luther is of middle stature, of a thin habit of body, exhausted both by cares and study; so that one who is near him may almost tell all his bones. His voice is clear and shrill. He has a wonderful knowledge of scripture, having it all, as it were, at his fingers' ends.—Nor does he ever want matter of discourse, having an immense treasure, both of thoughts and words. Perhaps he has not always so correct a judgment, or knowledge how to use them. In his life and manners he is courteous and easy, having nothing stoical, nothing supercilious. He is cheerful, and yet severe: at all times, and in all places, he has an air of satisfaction on his countenance. Yet, in reproving, he is somewhat more hasty, and more biting, than becomes the character of a divine." He adds, "The victory is claimed by both parties. Eccius triumphs, wherever he comes." Luther less applause, both because wise and judicious men are scarce, and because he speaks modestly of himself. Yet, you would not believe how much men's spirits are softened towards him since he came to this place. Even the archbishop of Triers, whom the pope has appointed to re-examine his cause, has no sort of ill-will towards him."

6. In these exercises he spent the year 1519, while the elector of Saxony was vicar of the empire; under whom it pleased God to give him a little rest, that he might gather strength against sharper trials, which were at hand. For Charles V. being now elected emperor, the Italians soon moved him to put a stop to Luther's heresy. Luther, on the other hand, besought him, in a letter written January 15, 1520, 'That he would deign to receive not him, but the cause of truth, under the shadow of his wings; and to protect him, only till his cause was fairly heard, and it was examined, whether he was in the right or wrong; that he desired this one thing, that, whether the doctrine was true or false, it might not be condemned unheard.' About this time, the bishop of Meissen published a decree, prohibiting Luther's sermon on the Lord's Supper; because he had wished therein, that a general council would order it to be administered to the people, as well as the priests, in both kinds." Luther presently answered this; and here began the controversy concerning communicating in both kinds.

7. He wrote also to the pope, on September 16, declaring to him at large the wickedness of his clergy; but still with the utmost respect for the pope himself, whom he addressed in these words: 'In the mean time, you, Leo, sit as a lamb

his adversaries should now be confirmed by these disturbances, as if his doctrine had a natural tendency to create tumult and confusion. And it gave him much concern, that the scripture, which he had with so much labour and danger dragged out of obscurity, should again be despised, and laid aside, by men who pretended to be taught of God.

8. But that it might appear he put not his trust in man, he first wrote to the elector in these terms: 'I write to your highness, that you may know I go to Wirtemberg under a far more powerful protection than yours. I desire not you to protect me.—God, without the help of man, will take care of his own cause. Because your highness is weak in faith, I cannot have you for my defender. And whereas you would know, "What you should do, and say you have not done enough;" I say, you have nothing to do, and that you have already done too much. God will not suffer that either your highness or I should defend his cause by force. If you believe this, you will be safe. If you do not believe, I do, and leave you to the pain of your unbelief.'

9. Yet he was exceedingly cautious in judging even of those who were the authors of these commotions. Accordingly, he warns Philip Melancthon, not to pass a hasty judgment, but to try the spirits whether they were of God. But he feared the revelations they spoke of were not from God, 'because (said he) I have always observed, that God first visits those souls with deep trials and temptations, to whom he manifests himself in a more especial manner: whereas those persons have had no inward conflicts at all, but have talked of all joy and peace from the beginning.'

10. He came to Wirtemberg on the 7th of March, in the year 1522. The same day those disturbers partly left the city, partly were brought to a sound mind; so that all those commotions ceased at once, and peace and brotherly love were restored.

11. Meanwhile, the pope vehemently insisted upon the execution of the imperial edict against him. For which purpose Adrian VI. sent his nuncio with a severe brief to the states of the empire assembled at Nuremberg. But notwithstanding this, they decreed, in the year 1523, both that the edict of Worms should be repealed, and that a council should be held in Germany as soon as possible.

12. Luther was now chiefly employed in perfecting and publishing his translation of the Bible. He first printed the Gospel of St. Matthew, next that of St. Mark, and then the Epistle to the Romans. The same year he finished his version of the New Testament, and went as far as Leviticus in the Old.

13. In the year 1524, April 18, the emperor published a fresh edict against Luther and his doctrine. This Luther printed, together with the edict of Worms, with a preface, shewing that they contradicted each other.—On the 24th of October, he laid aside his monastic habit, and took one fit for a preacher of the gospel.

14. The next year broke out that unhappy controversy concerning the Lord's supper, with Zuinglius and Occolampadius. And about the same time was the sedition of the rustics in Suabia, and several other countries. At first Luther wrote mildly to those rioters; but when they persisted in their mutiny and rebellion, he exhorted the magistrates of those parts not to bear the sword in vain; and wrote to Antwerp, and several other places, warning all against those impostors.

15. This year he performed his first ordination at Wirtemberg; and first administered the Lord's supper in the vulgar tongue. On the 13th of June, being forty-two years of age, he was espoused to Catharine a Bora, a maid of a

noble family, formerly a nun, and on the 27th the marriage was celebrated.—Thus he confirmed by his own example what he had so often taught, that marriage is honourable in all men. Yet the year before he appeared to have no thought of this. For writing to a friend, he says, 'As to what Argula says of my marrying, thank him in my name, and tell him I am in the hand of God, whose heart he may change at any hour or moment. Yet in the mind in which I have been hitherto, and am now, I shall not take a wife; not that I am a stock or a stone, but my mind is averse from marriage, as I expect death every day. I do not set God a time, nor trust in my own heart.—But I hope I shall not stay here long.'

16. In this year began his controversy with Erasmus, concerning free-will. The next, he wrote a submissive letter to king Henry VIII. asking pardon for the book he had published against him. But king Henry knew not how to pardon.

17. In the year 1527, he was under heavy temptations, both of soul and body.—These often drew from him deep complaints: 'I was unworthy (said he) to pour out my blood for Christ, as many of my brethren have done. But this honour was denied even to the beloved disciple; although he wrote a much worse book against the papacy, than I was ever able to write.' And when his strength failed, he cried out, 'O Lord, thou knowest how willingly I would have shed my blood for thy word. But perhaps I am not worthy. Thy will be done. If it is thy will, I die: only let me glorify thy name by death or by life. If it were possible, I should even wish to live still, for thy elect's sake. But if the hour is come, thou art the Lord of life and death.'

About the same time he wrote to a friend thus: 'I will bear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against him. The pope, and the emperor, princes, bishops, and the whole world, hate and persecute me. But this is not enough, unless my brethren also torment me; while my sins, and the devil and his angels, incessantly rage against me. And what is it that can comfort me, if Christ also forsake me, for whose sake I am hated of all? But he will not cast off for ever the chief of sinners: for I know I am the vilest of all mankind. Therefore let me not be impatient under his rod. Blessed be his holy, acceptable, perfect will!'

18. The plague being at Wirtemberg this year, the university was transferred to Jena. But Luther would not remove, not even when some in his house had taken the infection: yet he blamed not those who did remove, unless it implied the neglect of some office or trust, either relating to the church, or the city, or state, or their own family. In the mean time, to the students who remained, he expounded the Epistles of St. John. Immediately after, he set on foot an ecclesiastical visitation throughout the electorate; which was then begun by the command of the elector, and finished the next year.

19. He begins his instruction to the visitors in this manner: 'I observe this defect in our doctrine, that although they preach of the faith whereby we must be justified, yet do not sufficiently shew how we are to obtain faith. And almost all omit one part of the Christian doctrine, without which no man can understand what faith is. For Christ, Luke xxiv. commands to preach repentance and remission of sins. But many now preach only of the remission of sins, saying nothing, or however but little, of repentance; whereas notwithstanding, without repentance there can be no remission of sins. Nor can remission of sins be understood without repentance. But if remission of sins



'be taught without repentance, the consequence will be, that the people will believe that they may obtain remission of sins without repentance and contrition, and thereby will be led into carnal security; which error is worse than all that have been hitherto; and it is altogether to be feared that, as Christ saith, the last state of these men will be worse than the first.'

20. In the year 1528, the cities of Brunswick and Hamburg embraced the doctrine of Luther, reformed according to his plan, and received ministers from him. The citizens of Nuremberg also began to think favourably of him, as did the marquis of Brandenburg and some others.

About this time the Antinomian doctrine appeared, which was soon attended with dreadful consequences. This Luther strenuously opposed: 'Let us explode (says he) the Antinomians, who reject all preaching of the law, and would bring men to repent by preaching the gospel. This indeed is true, that men ought to be comforted. But what men? Those who faint with hunger and thirst, those who groan and cry unto the Lord, and are now on the borders of despair. Unto these the gospel is to be preached.'

Of the same he says in another place, 'They preach well of grace and remission of sins; but they avoid and shun the doctrine of sanctification; lest men, as they say, should be brought into fear, or robbed of their comforts. Whereas they ought to say, Thou canst not be a Christian, if thou art a whoremonger, a drunkard, proud, covetous: they say, If thou art such, only believe in Christ, and thou needest not fear the law, for Christ has fulfilled it all.'

21. The year 1529 was memorable for the diet at Spire, wherein the name of Protestants arose. For the Romanists endeavouring to procure a decree, That it should not be lawful for any of the states of the empire to make any change in their religion; this was protested against by the elector of Saxony, the marquis of Brandenburg, Ernest and Francis, dukes of Lunenburg, the landgrave of Hesse, and the prince of Anhalt, in which they were joined by the imperial cities of Argentoratum, Nuremberg, Ulm, Constance, Lindau, Leutling, Memmingen, Campodunum, Nordling, Hailbrun, and several others.

22. The same year, Philip, landgrave of Hesse, appointed a conference at Marburg, on the Lord's supper. Here Luther, Melancthon, Zuinglius, Martin Bucer, and many other eminent men, met together. The Swiss divines behaved with great tenderness and love, agreeing with Luther in every article, except only that of consubstantiation.—And with regard to this, they allowed thus much, That the true body and blood of Christ are spiritually eaten and drunk in the Lord's supper. They likewise earnestly desired, that although they could not as yet exactly agree in all points, yet they should each acknowledge the others as their brethren.—But this Luther said, "he could not allow; because all men would then believe, that he and his companions now approved of their doctrines: but that he would engage for a loving and friendly agreement, and the omission of all polemical writings." Both parties acquiesced in this, and all subscribed their names thereto.

23. About this time, the emperor having imprisoned the ambassadors who were sent to him from the protesting princes, there was a consultation among them concerning a league for their mutual defence against the papists. This Luther opposed with all his might: 'Rather let us die, (said he, in his letter to the elector,) than that our gospel should be the occasion of shedding blood, and other public evils. It is our part to suffer, and to be as sheep appointed for the slaughter. If we will be ranked among Christians, why

'do we look for better treatment than that which Christ and all his saints have had? We must needs bear the cross of Christ. The world will not bear, but rather lay it upon others. We Christians therefore are to bear it, lest it should be of none effect. Your highness has valiantly borne it hitherto. Nor has God ever forsaken you. Wherefore I earnestly and humbly beseech your highness to be bold and intrepid in this danger. Our prayers will avail with God, more than all their threats, so we keep our hands pure from blood.'

24. How little desire he had of worldly things, appears from another of his letters to the elector.

'I have long delayed returning your highness thanks for the clothes you sent me. I most humbly beseech your highness, not to credit those who say that I am poor. I have more, yea, I grieve that I have received more from your highness, than I have need of. As a preacher of the gospel, I ought not to abound; neither do I desire it.—Hence I am afraid of your highness's bounty and favour. For I would not be in the number of those of whom Christ says, "Wo unto you, rich, for you have received your consolation." I beg, therefore, that your highness's bounty may cease: for you have already given me too much. May Christ restore it seven-fold. This is my ardent and continual prayer.'

*Of what occurred from the year 1530, to the year 1543.*

1. After the diet at Augsburg, the elector of Saxony wrote to Luther, whom he answered in the following manner: 'Your highness inquires, whether you ought to obey the emperor, if he forbids the protestants to preach at Augsburg? I answer, the emperor is our master, and Augsburg is properly under his jurisdiction. Therefore I think we ought to submit. May the merciful God continually guide us by his Holy Spirit!'

2. But all this time he had the strongest confidence that God would maintain his own cause. Hence he wrote to his friend thus, June 30, 1530: 'I learn from your's and Melancthon's letters, that you are both greatly afflicted, and he in particular. He has indeed a zeal for God, but not according to knowledge. As if it was by the care and anxiety of our forefathers, that we were what we are now; and not rather by the providence of God alone, who will be God after us, as he was before and is at this day! For he will not die with us, nor cease to be God. Eli thought that the kingdom of Israel was utterly fallen, when the Philistines had taken the ark. But what was the event? He fell himself. But the kingdom stood, and flourished more than ever. Let not Philip torment himself about our posterity; let him no longer desire to be governor of the world. For my part, if I am dead, if I am murdered by the papists, I shall still defend our posterity, and chastise those wild beasts, even more than I desire.'

'If there is a God, we shall live not here only, but likewise where he liveth. But if so, what are their threatenings to us? He that created me, will be a father to my child, and an husband to my widow, and a governor to the state, and a pastor to the flock, far better than I am; yea, a better when I am dead, than now I am alive, seeing I often hinder his work.'

3. The same day he wrote to Melancthon thus: 'I am concerned at your vain cares. I have been in greater straits than I trust you will be. But, in them all, I am always refreshed by the words of my brethren.—And why do you despise our words, or rather the Holy Spirit that speaks by us? If it be false, that God has given his own

'Son for us, let the devil be in my place.—But if it be true, what does our care and anxiety profit? He who gave his Son, will he not give us all things? And is Satan stronger than him?

'In private trials, you are stronger than me; in public, I am stronger than you. You despise your own life, but are afraid for the cause of God. I have no fear with regard to this, seeing I know of a truth, that it is just and good: whereas I am a poor trembling sinner. All the threats and fierceness of the papists, I value not a rush. If we fall, Christ must fall with us. And be it so: I had rather fall with Christ than stand with Cesar.

'O cast thy care upon the Lord. Does he not say, "Be of good cheer, I have overcome the world?" Such a saying is worth bringing from Rome, or Jerusalem, even upon one's knees. But they grow cheap, by our being accustomed to them. Such is the weakness of our faith. O let us pray with the apostles, "Lord, increase our faith."

4. He now spent his time at Coburg, in writing and praying, till his return to Wirtemberg: where being informed of the severe decree which the emperor had published against the protestants, the next year he published notes upon it, and an exhortation to them, not to return evil for evil.

5. In the year 1532, he earnestly exhorted the protestant princes not to reject the overtures of peace, which had before been treated of at Nuremberg. "If but any tolerable conditions of peace be offered, (said he,) we must by no means think of war." And accordingly a peace was concluded, and published by the imperial edict.

6. John, elector of Saxony, died this year, and was succeeded by his son. This occasioned Luther to say, "Wisdom died with duke Frederic, and piety with duke John. Now nobility will reign, without either wisdom or piety. This God cannot but chastise; otherwise he would deny himself." And the event proved the truth of his prophecy.

7. In the year 1534, the German translation of the Bible was committed to the press. And now was held the grand consultation at Smalcald, among the protestant princes.—About the same time, Philip, landgrave of Hesse, restored Ubri to his dukedom of Wirtemberg, while the anabaptists were raising those dreadful disturbances at Munster, and in many other places.

8. There was much talk the next year concerning a general council. And on this pretence the pope's legate came into Germany. He had a long and particular conference with Luther, who told him all that was in his heart, and that with great plainness of speech, so that at least he delivered his own soul.

9. He was called to Smalcald, with Melancthon, and several other divines, by the protestant princes, in 1537, to consider what answer they should give to Paul III. who had offered to summon a council at Mantua.—Here he fell into so violent a fit of the stone, that his life was not expected.—In the midst of his pain he prayed in these words, 'Lord Jesus Christ, thou hast delivered many: if it be for the glory of thy name, heal and deliver me; and if not, close thou mine eyes in peace. O Lord Jesus Christ, what an honour is that, if a man die a martyr for thy word! Thou hast not vouchsafed this honour to me.—But I thank thee that I die in the knowledge of thy name. I will do what seemeth good unto the Lord, to whose grace I wholly give myself up.' But being carried to the town of Tambach, God soon restored him to health.

10. May 25, 1539, on Whitsun-eve, Luther preached his first sermon in the chapel of the castle in Leipsig; in which the mass had been celebrated at Easter. Such a surprising

change was owing to the death of duke George, his irreconcilable enemy; who leaving no children, was succeeded by his brother Henry.

11. In the year 1540, Philip Melancthon being on his journey to the meeting of the divines, which was appointed at Hagenau, and being under great sorrow and concern, was seized with a very dangerous illness.—The elector immediately sent Luther to him, who found him at the point of death.—His eye-strings were broke, his speech entirely gone, his chaps were fallen, and he knew no one. Luther turned his face from him to the window, and poured out his heart in prayer. Then taking him by the hand, he said, 'Be of good courage, Philip: thou shalt not die. God willeth not the death of a sinner, but that he should turn and live. He will not cast thee away, nor suffer thee to die in thy sins, and in thy sorrow. Therefore give no place to the spirit of sadness, neither be thy own murderer. But put thy trust in God, who killeth and maketh alive.' While he was speaking, Philip began breathing again, and grew better and better, till he was restored to perfect health.

12. From this time, Luther was continually employed in meditating upon death. The next year, being informed of the dangerous sickness of Frederick Myconius, superintendent of Saxe-gotha, he wrote to him in these terms: 'I beseech the Lord Jesus, our life and salvation, that he would not suffer this to be added, That, while I survive, you should break through the veil into rest, and leave me without among devils, while my companions go before. May the Lord grant, that I may be sick in your stead, and lay down this useless, shattered, worn-out tabernacle. May he not suffer me to hear of your decease; but grant, that I may be discharged first.' His prayer was heard.—Myconius immediately recovered, and survived Luther near a year.

13. The longer he lived, the more did his concern for peace and public tranquillity increase; insomuch, that when, in the year 1542, a war broke out between John the elector, and Maurice, duke of Saxony, he vehemently exhorted them to desist, and with the desired success. And he frequently said, he was persuaded God had heard his prayers, and granted him his request, that there should not be any war in Germany as long as he was alive.

#### *Of what occurred from the year 1543, to his death.*

1. This year, 1543, was a sorrowful year to Luther, by reason of the impiety reigning in all places, and the vile abuse of the gospel. Of these he writes to a friend thus: 'The world is the world; it always was, and always will be; which knows nothing, and desires to know nothing, of Christ. Let them then grow worse and worse; a certain proof, that the glorious coming of the Lord is at hand. For not only those groanings of the saints which cannot be uttered, but also the world's unspeakable contempt of the word of God, shews that the world is given up, to hasten the day of its own perdition, and our salvation.'

2. He was now more and more afflicted with bodily infirmities. He had violent pains in his head, (by which one of his eyes was much weakened,) his legs swelled, and he had sharp and frequent fits of the stone. At the same time he was so grieved and troubled in spirit, that he took his leave of Wirtemberg; being above measure displeased at the abominations of various kinds which he saw, but could not remove. Of these he bitterly complains in his letters to his wife, telling her, 'He designed to see that place no more, this being the last year he had to live; that he would have her sell what she had, and escape out of that Sodom as soon as

'possible.' Concerning which, Matthesius writes thus:—  
'Our pastor being now well stricken in years, and growing weaker and weaker every day, the devil brought one wickedness after another into his congregation. Many loose women came to Wirtemberg, and corrupted many of the youth in the university. At this he was unspeakably grieved and vexed in soul. He wrote and preached against them with all his might; and finding he could not prevail, removed to Merseberg, resolving to return no more.'

3. When this was publicly known at Wirtemberg, it occasioned a general consternation. All the professors immediately sent a petition to the elector, beseeching him to interpose his authority, adding, 'We will endeavour with all our might to amend whatever he disapproves of. But let him not, for the faults of a few, forsake the whole church and university, whom we cannot but acknowledge (like another Elijah) to be the chariot of Israel, and the horsemen thereof.' The elector hereupon sent a special messenger to him; upon which he returned to Wirtemberg.

4. On the 17th of November, 1515, he finished his Commentary on Genesis; in the close of which he speaks thus:—  
'This is now my beloved Genesis. Our Lord God grant that others after me may do this better! I can do no more. I am weak. Pray for me, that he may give me a good and an happy hour.'

5. In the year 1516, he was sent for to Isleb by the counts of Mansfeldt, in order to make up the differences which were arisen between them, with regard to their lands and inheritance. And although he was not accustomed to meddle with secular affairs, and was then fully employed in preaching, reading, and writing, yet he was prevailed upon to go, partly because it was their request, partly because he had a desire once more to see the place of his nativity.

6. Before he reached Isleb, he was seized in the coach with such a weakness, that it seemed as if he would have died in the instant. But he was brought to himself by rubbing him with hot cloths, together with the use of proper medicines. He preached at Isleb four times, and twice received the Lord's supper; and was once and again present at the interview between the contending brethren.

7. From the 16th of February he began to be more violently afflicted with the heart-burn, and fits of swooning. Yet, in the intervals, he was able to walk about, and was frequently repeating select portions of scripture. These he continually intermixed with prayer, particularly with that of the psalmist, "Into thy hands I commend my spirit; for thou hast redeemed me, O Lord, thou God of truth."

8. A little before he expired, he said, 'I perceive by the straitness of my breast, and this cold sweat, that I am to remain at Isleb.' Soon after he broke out, 'My heavenly Father, thou God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, thou God of all consolation, I give thee thanks that thou hast revealed to me thy Son Jesus Christ, in whom I have believed, whom I have professed, whom I have loved, whom I have preached, whom the bishop of Rome, and all the impious crowd, persecute and put to an open shame. I beseech thee, my Lord Jesus Christ, receive my poor soul. My heavenly Father, although I leave this life, although I am now to lay down this body, yet I assuredly know, that I shall live with thee for ever, and that none shall pluck me out of thy hands.' He added, 'God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son, in the end that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.' And, 'God is the Lord, from whom cometh our salvation: God is the Lord, by whom we escape death.'—They then gave him a medicine; after which he said again, 'I go now to give up my soul.'

He then swiftly repeated thrice over, 'Into thy hands I commend my spirit; thou hast redeemed me, O God of truth.' He spoke no more, till being asked, 'Do you die in the constant confession of the doctrine you have preached?' He answered with a loud voice, Yes. Then turning upon his right side, he slept about a quarter of an hour. Presently after he fetched a deep sigh, and without any struggle or sign of pain peacefully slept in the Lord.

9. Justus Jonas preached a funeral sermon over him, on the 19th of February, in St. Andrew's church. Michael Cælius preached on the same occasion, the next morning, Feb. 21, his body was carried to Halle. Thence it was removed on the 22d to Wirtemberg, and interred in the church of the castle; Pomeranus preaching, and Philip Melancthon concluding the service with a funeral oration.

10. May God grant that all, who call themselves by his name, may not excuse their vices by his defects, but diligently follow his unbiassed integrity, his unshaken faith, his fervour in prayer, his immovable constancy, his conquest over the fear of man, his contentedness, and all the other graces, where-with he was so highly favoured. Otherwise how justly will they fall under that sharp reproof which he gave to some who were called Lutherans, while they abused the gospel, under a cloak of liberty to all licentiousness:

'Hear, thou fool! This I require first, that my name be laid aside; neither let any man call himself a Lutheran, but a Christian. What is Luther? The doctrine is not mine, nor was I crucified for any man. Paul forbade any to be called after his name. Should I desire them to be called after mine? God forbid. Let us lay aside all these factitious names, and be called Christians, because we have the doctrine of Christ. Let the Papists be called by that name, seeing they choose to have the pope for their master. I am no man's master, neither will I be. I hold with the church the common doctrine of Christ. He alone is our master.'

## GREAT PERSECUTION AFTER THE DOCTRINE OF LUTHER.

In different parts of this history we have heard of many troubles in the church of Christ, concerning the reformation of divers abuses and great errors crept into the church of Rome. For what man has there been, within the space of several hundred years, either virtuously disposed or excellently learned, which hath not disproved the wicked actions and corrupt example of the see and bishop of Rome, from time to time, unto the coming of Luther? wherein this may also appear to all godly disposed men to be noted, not without great admiration, that seeing this aforesaid Romish bishop hath had great enemies and gainsayers from time to time, both speaking and working, preaching and writing, against him, yet notwithstanding never could any prevail before the coming of this man. The cause whereof, although it be secretly known unto God, yet so far as men may conjecture, it may have been thus: That whereas other men before him, speaking against the pomp, pride, whoredom, and avarice, of the bishop of Rome, charged him only, or most especially, with examples and manners of life; Luther went further with him, charging him not with life, but with his learning; not with his doings, but with his doctrine; not picking at the rind, but plucking up the root; not seeking the man, but shaking his seat; yea, and charging him with plain heresy, as prejudicial, and resisting plainly against the blood of Christ, contrary to the true sense and direct understanding of the sacred testament of God's holy word. For whereas the foundation of our faith, grounded upon the holy scripture,

teacheth and leadeth us to be justified only by the worthiness of Christ, and the only price of his blood; the pope, proceeding with a contrary doctrine, teacheth us otherwise to seek our salvation, not by Christ alone, but by the way of men's merits. Whereupon rose divers orders and religious sects among men, some professing one thing, and some another, and every man seeking his own righteousness, but few seeking the righteousness of him who is set up of God to be our righteousness, redemption, and justification.

Martin Luther, therefore, bringing back things to the foundation and touchstone of the scripture, opened the eyes of many, which before were closed in darkness. Whereupon it cannot be expressed what joy and consolation came to the hearts of men, some lying in darkness and ignorance, some wallowing in sin, some being in despair, some macerating themselves by works, and some presuming upon their own righteousness, to behold that glorious benefit of the great liberty and free justification set up in Christ Jesus. And briefly to speak, the more glorious the benefit of this doctrine appeared to the world after long ignorance, the greater persecution followed. And where the elect of God took most occasion of comfort and of salvation, thereof the adversaries took most matter of vexation and disturbance, as commonly we see the true word of God ever to bring with it dissension and perturbation; and therefore truly it was said of Christ, "That he came not to send peace on the earth, but the sword." And this was the cause that, after the doctrine and preaching of Luther, such great troubles and persecutions followed in all quarters of the world; whereby arose great disquietness amongst the prelates, and many laws and decrees were made to overthrow the same, by cruelly handling many good and Christian men. Thus while authority, armed with laws and rigour, did strive against simple verity, lamentable was it to hear how many poor men were troubled, and went to wreck; some tossed from place to place, some exiled out of the land for fear, some caused to abjure, some driven to caves and woods, some racked with torment, some pursued to death with faggot and fire. Of whom we have now, Christ willing, in this history following, to treat, first beginning with certain that suffered in other states, and then to return to our own martyrs here in England.

#### *The Martyrdom of HENRY VOES and JOHN ESCH, Augustine Friars.*

IN the year of our Lord 1523, two young men were burnt at Brussels, the one named *Henry Voes*, being of the age of 24 years, and the other *John Esch*, which before had been of the order of the Augustine friars.—They were degraded the first day of July, and spoiled of their friars' weed, at the suit of Egmondanus, the pope's inquisitor, and the divines of Louvaine; for that they would not retract and deny their doctrine of the gospel, which the papists call Lutheranism. Their examiners were Hochestratus, and others; who demanded of them, what they did believe? They said, the books of the Old and New Testament, wherein were contained the articles of their creed. Then were they asked, whether they believed the decrees of the councils, and of the fathers? They said, such as were agreeing to the scripture they believed. After this, they proceeded further, asking, whether they thought it any deadly sin to transgress the decrees of the fathers, and of the bishop of Rome? That, said they, is to be attributed only to the precepts of God, to bind the conscience of man, or to loose it. Wherein when they

constantly persisted, and would not turn, they were both condemned, and judged to be burned. Then they began to give thanks to God their heavenly Father, who had delivered them, through his great goodness, from that false and abominable priesthood, and made them priests of his holy order, receiving them unto him as a sacrifice of sweet odour. Then there was a bill written, which was delivered unto them to read openly before the people, to declare what faith and doctrine they held. The greatest error that they were accused of, was, that men ought to trust only in God, forasmuch as men are liars and deceitful in all their words and deeds, and therefore there ought no trust or affiance to be put in them.

As they were led unto the place of execution, which was the first of July, they went joyfully and merrily, making continual protestation that they died for the glory of God, and the doctrine of the gospel, as true Christians, believing and following the holy church of the Son of God; saying also, that it was the day which they had long desired.

After they were come to the place where they should be burned, and were despoiled of their garments, they tarried a great space in their shirts, and joyfully embraced the stake that they should be bound to, patiently and joyfully enduring whatsoever was done unto them, praising God, and singing psalms, and rehearsing the Creed in testimony of their faith. A certain doctor, beholding their jollity and mirth, said unto Henry, that he should take heed so foolishly to glorify himself. To whom he answered, God forbid that I should glory in any thing, but only in the cross of my Lord Jesus Christ. Another counselled him to have God before his eyes: unto whom he answered, I trust that I carry him truly in my heart. One of them, seeing that the fire was kindled at his feet, said, Methinks ye do strew roses under my feet. Finally, the smoke and the flame mounting up to their faces, choked them.

Henry being demanded, among other things, whether Luther had seduced him, or no? Yea, said he, even as Christ seduced his apostles. He said also, that it was contrary to God's law, that the clergy should be exempted from the power and jurisdiction of the magistrate ordained of God; for such as were ordained in office by the bishops, have no power but only to preach the word of God, and to feed their flock.

After their death, their monastery was dissolved at Antwerp. The president thereof, by the papists called Jacobus Lutheranus, after divers and sundry troubles and afflictions, was forced to recant at Brussels; but afterward his mind being renewed by the Holy Ghost, embracing that again which before he had renounced, he fled unto Luther.

#### *Martyrdom of HENRY SUTPHEN, Monk, in Diethmar.*

The next year after the burning of those two Christian martyrs at Brussels above-mentioned, with like tyranny also was martyred and burned, without all order of judgment or just condemnation, about the city of Diethmar, in the borders of Germany, one *Henry Sutphen*, monk, anno 1524.

This Sutphen had been before with Martin Luther, and afterwards coming to Antwerp, was from thence excluded for the gospel, and so came to Bremen, not to the end there to preach, but he was minded to go to Wittenberg, being driven from Antwerp, as is above said. Who being at Bremen, was there required by certain godly citizens to make one or two brief exhortations upon the gospel. Whereunto, through the earnest love and zeal that was in him, he was easily persuaded. He made his first sermon unto the people.



ple the Sunday before St. Martin's day. When the people heard him preach the word of God so sincerely, they desired him again the second time, and were so in love with his doctrine, that the whole parish required him to tarry amongst them; which thing, for fear of danger, for a time he refused.

When the religious rout had understanding hereof, especially the canons, monks, and priests, they went about with all endeavour to oppress him, and thrust both him out of the city, and also the gospel of Christ, (for that was their chief seeking.) Whereupon they went unto the senate, desiring that such an heretic might be banished the town, who preached against the Catholic church. Upon the complaint of the canons, the senate sent for the wardens and head men of the parish where Henry had preached; who being come together, the senate declared unto them the complaint of the canons and all the other religious men. Whereunto the citizens of Bremen, taking their preacher's part, answered, that they knew none other but that they had hired a learned and honest man to preach unto them, which should teach them sincerely and truly the word of God. Notwithstanding, if the chapter-house, or any other men, could bring testimonial or witness that the preacher had taught any thing which either savoured of heresy, or was repugnant to the word of God, they were ready, they said, with the chapter-house, to prosecute him; for God forbid that they should maintain an heretic. But if, contrariwise, the canons of the chapter-house, and the other religious men, will not declare and shew that the preacher whom they had hired, had taught any error or heresy, but were set only of malice by violence to drive him away, they might not, said they, by any means suffer the same. Whereupon they desired the senate, with all humble obedience, that they would not require it of them, but grant them equity and justice, saying, that they were minded to assist their preacher always, and to plead his cause.

This answer the senate commanded to be declared to the chapter-house. When as the religious sort understood that they could prevail little or nothing with their words, bursting out into a fury, they began to threaten, and therewithal went straight unto the archbishop, to certify him how that the citizens of Bremen were become heretics, and would no longer obey their priests, with many other like things in their complaint, so that it was to be feared lest the whole city should shortly be seduced. When the bishop heard tell of these things, straightway he sent two which were of his council unto Bremen, requiring that Henry should be sent unto him without delay. When they were demanded, why they should have him sent? they answered, because he preached against the holy church. Being again demanded, in what points or articles? they had nothing to say. One of these counsellors was the bishop's suffragan, a naughty hypocrite, that sought all means possible to carry away the said Henry captive. Finally, they received this answer of the senators, That forasmuch as the preacher, being hired of the church-wardens, had not hitherto been convicted of any heresy, and that no man had declared any erroneous or heretical article that he had taught, they said they could by no means obtain of the citizens that he should be carried away: wherefore they earnestly desired the bishop, that he would speedily send his learned men unto Bremen, to dispute with him; and if he were convicted, they promised without any delay that he should be justly punished, and sent away: if not, they would in no wise let him depart. Whereunto the archbishop answered, with a great protestation, requiring that he might be delivered into his hands for the quietness of the country, taking God to his witness, that in this behalf

he sought for nothing else, but only the safety of his country. But for all this they could not prevail, for the senate continued still in their former mind. Whereupon the suffragan being moved with anger, departed from Bremen, and would not confirm their children.

When he came unto the bishop, he declared the answer of the senate, and what he had heard and learned of the priests and monks there. Afterwards, when daily news came that the preacher did still more and more preach and teach more heinous matter against the religious rout, they attempted another way, by suborning great men to admonish the citizens of Bremen into what jeopardy their commonwealth might fall by means of their preacher, preaching contrary to the decree of the pope and emperor. Besides, they said, that he was the prisoner of the lady Margaret; for which cause they had gotten letters of the lady Margaret, requiring to have her prisoner sent unto her again.

All these crafts and subtleties did not prevail, for the senate of Bremen answered all things without blame. When the bishop saw this his enterprise also frustrate, he attempted another way, whereby he had certain hope, that both he, and also the word of God with him, should be wholly oppressed. Whereupon they decreed a provincial council, not to be holden at Bremen, as it was accustomed, but at Buxstade, which place they thought most meet for their purpose.

To this council were called the prelates and learned men of the diocese, to determine what was to be believed, and whereunto to trust.

Also to the said council was Henry called, notwithstanding that they had already decreed to proceed against him as against a manifest heretic, although he was not yet convicted, nor had pleaded his cause before them. Wherefore the rulers of the city, together with the commonalty, detained him at home, foreseeing and suspecting the malice of the council. Then the said Henry gathered the sum of his doctrine into a few articles, and sent it with his letters unto the archbishop, asserting his innocence, offering himself to be ready, if he were convicted of any error by the testimony of the holy scripture, to recant the same: notwithstanding, earnestly requiring, that his errors might be convicted by the holy scriptures, by the testimony whereof he had hitherto proved his doctrine, and doubted not hereafter to confirm the same. But this took no place amongst those anointed prelates; what the determination of their judgment was, it may hereupon well be gathered, in that shortly after they set upon the church porch, the bull of pope Leo, X. and decree of the emperor made at Worms. But Henry, contemning their madness, proceeded daily in preaching the gospel, adding always this protestation, That he was ready willingly to give account, touching his faith and doctrine, to every man that would require the same.

In the mean time, the holy Catholics could not be idle, but sent their chaplains unto every sermon, to entrap him in his words. But God, whose footpaths are in the midst of the floods, would have his marvellous power to be seen in them; for he converted many of them: insomuch that the greater part of those who were sent to hearken, did openly witness his doctrine to be God's truth, against which no man could contend, and such as in all their lives before they had not heard, persuading them likewise, that they, forsaking all impiety, should follow the word of God, and believe the same, if they would be saved. But the chief priests, canons, and monks, were so hardened and blinded, that they became the worse for these admonitions. When God saw the proper time that Henry should confirm the verity that he had preached, he



sent him among the cruel murderers appointed for that slaughter, in the following manner :

It happened in the year of our Lord 1524, that this Henry was sent for by letters, by Nicholas Boy, parish priest, and other faithful Christians of the parish of Meldorpb, which is a town in Diethmar, to preach the gospel unto them, and deliver them out of the bondage of Antichrist, which in that place had full dominion.

These letters being received upon St. Catharine's evening, calling together six brethren, honest citizens, he opened the matter unto them, how that he was sent for by them of Diethmar, to preach the gospel; adding, moreover, that he was not only a debtor unto them, but to all other which required his aid. Wherefore he thought good to go to Diethmar, to see what God would work by him, requiring also, that they would help him with their advice by what means he might best take his journey, that no man should know of it, that thereby he might not be stopped; which thing without doubt had come to pass, if his purpose had been known to the people. Unto whom the citizens answered, desiring him that he would not depart for a time, forasmuch as the gospel had not yet taken so deep root in the people, but was as yet weak, and especially in the villages thereabout, and that the persecution was very great; willing him also to have respect unto this, that he was by them called to the office of preaching; and if they of Diethmar desired a preacher, he should send some other in his place, for they had before perceived the disposition and unsteadiness of them of Diethmar: besides that, it was not in their power to give him free liberty to depart, without the consent of the whole commonalty. Whereunto Henry made answer in this manner, That although he could not deny but that he was sent for by them, yet now there were many godly men at Bremen, whose labour they might use in his absence, in preaching of the gospel. Besides, that the papists were for the most part vanquished, and their folly known, even unto women and children; adding, that he had now preached the gospel by the space of two years at Bremen, and that they of Diethmar lived without a pastor even in the midst of wolves; wherefore he could not with a safe conscience deny their request. And whereas they alleged that they could not license him without the consent of the whole congregation; that, said he, was but of small effect, forasmuch as he would not utterly forsake them, but determined only to remain with them of Diethmar for a month or two, to lay a foundation, and then to return again; desiring them, that after his departure they would declare unto the congregation how he was sent for by them of Diethmar, to whom he could not say nay; willing them also to excuse his sudden departure, for that he was forced to depart secretly, because of his adversaries privily lying in wait in every place for him. Finally, they should promise to the congregation in his name, that when he had performed his enterprise, he would straight return again. They being persuaded with these words, consented unto him, steadfastly hoping that they of Diethmar should be converted to the true Christian faith; which people above all other have been always given to idolatry.

Having prepared all things toward his setting forth, the 22d day of October he took his journey, and came to Meldorpb, whither he was sent for; where he was joyfully received by the parish priest and others, as soon as he was come thither. Though he had not yet preached, the devil with his members by and by began to fret and fume for anger; above all other, one Augustine Tornborch, prior of the black friars, went unto Mr. J. Swicken, his companion, and commissary to the official of Hamburg, to take counsel what was

to be done, lest they should lose their kingdom. Finally, it was decreed by them, above all things to withstand the beginnings, that he should not have license to preach: for if by any means it happened that he preached, and the people should hear him, it was to be feared that the wickedness and craft of the priests and monks should be opened; which being made manifest, they knew plainly that it would be but a folly to resist, remembering what had happened lately before in Bremen.

The prior the next day early in the morning (for he had not slept well all night for cares) went with great speed unto Heida, to speak with the eight-and-forty presidents of the country: unto whom with great complaints he shewed how that a seditious fellow, a monk, was come from Bremen, which would seduce all the people of Diethmar, as he had done those of Bremen. Mr. Gunterus, chancellor of the country, and Petrus Hannus, both enemies unto the gospel, assisted the prior, persuading the other forty-six, being simple and unlearned men, that they should obtain great favour and good-will of the bishop of Bremen, if they should put this heretic monk to death. When these poor and unlearned men heard these words, they declared that this monk should be put to death, neither heard nor seen, much less convicted.

Furthermore, this prior obtained letters from the forty-eight presidents to the parish priest, commanding him under great penalty that he should put the monk out of his house, and command him to depart without preaching.

With these letters he came speedily to Meldorpb, and delivered the letters over-night unto the parish priest; trusting that by their threatenings and commandments the said Henry should be prevented from preaching, diligently watching whether he did preach or not.

When the parish priest had read over the letters, he marvelled not a little at that proud commandment, for that it had not been heard of before, that the forty-eight presidents should meddle with the ecclesiastical matters, and that it had been of long time used, that the ruling thereof should be in the hands of the parish priest; it having been decreed by the whole province, that in every church the parish priest should have free liberty to receive or put out the preacher. These letters the parish priest delivered unto Henry; which when he had diligently looked over them, he answered, that forasmuch as he was come, being sent for by the whole congregation to preach the gospel of Christ, he would satisfy that vocation, because he saw that it would be acceptable unto the whole congregation, and that he ought rather to obey the word of God than man.—Also, that if it pleased God that he should lose his life in Diethmar, that was as near a way to heaven as from any other place; for that he doubted nothing at all, that once he must suffer for the gospel's sake.

Upon this courage and boldness, the next day Henry went up into the pulpit, and made a sermon, expounding the place of Paul, which is Rom. i. *Testis est mihi Deus*, &c. that is, "God is my witness;" and the gospel of the day. After the sermon was done, the whole congregation being called together, the prior delivered the letters that were sent by the forty-eight presidents, the tenor whereof was this: That they of Meldorpb should be fined with a fine of a thousand gilders, if they suffered the monk to preach; and commanded moreover that they should send ambassadors unto Heida, with full power and authority. When they heard these words, read, they were much moved, because they were so contrary to the custom of the country; forasmuch as the parish priest hath always had authority, according to the

discretion, to choose or put away the preacher. Briefly, they all determined with one voice to keep Henry for their preacher, and to defend him; for when they had heard the sermon, they were greatly offended with the prior.

After dinner, Henry preached again, expounding the place of St. Paul, Romans xv. *Debemus nos qui potentes sumus, &c.* "We ought which are strong," &c. The next day the citizens of Meldorff sent their messengers unto Heida, offering to answer to all causes before all men for their preacher, whom they had received. Besides that, the messengers declared what christian and godly sermons they heard him preach. The parish priest also wrote letters by the said legates unto the forty-eight rulers, wherein he excused himself that it never was his mind, nor the intent of the said Henry, to move sedition, but only sincerely to preach the word of God, and offered himself ready to answer for the said Henry to all men, whensoever he should be called; most earnestly desiring them not to give credit unto the monks, who being blinded with hatred and avarice, had fully determined to oppress the truth: saying, moreover, that it was against all reason that a man should be condemned before the truth be tried out, and his cause declared; and if, after due inquisition, he should be convicted, then he should suffer condign punishment.

This submission, with the public testimonial, was not regarded, neither was there any answer given thereto, but every man repined and murmured at it. Last of all, one Peter Dethleues, one of the seniors, answered, That although there were divers dissensions in every place about the Christian faith, and that they as men ignorant could not repress the same, yet this their sentence should be holden and ratified; which was, that the judgment of determining this dissension should be reserved to the next council, which by the report of master chancellor was now in hand to be called and gathered. Also, until all discord and dissension should be appeased, whatsoever was received and believed by their neighbours, he promised, in the name of the rest, that they would willingly receive and believe the same. So that if the word of God hath not hitherto been clearly and sincerely preached, as they said, unto the people, and that there be now some which can teach and preach the same more sincerely, it is not their mind or intent to withstand or resist their good doings; but that the presidents would wish this one thing diligently to be taken heed of, that there be no occasion given by any man to move sedition, and in the mean time he commanded all men quietly to give over all matters until Easter next. With this answer they were all very well contented; and the messengers returned again to Meldorff with great joy and gladness, declaring to the whole congregation what answer was made, concerning a sure hope that the matter would shortly come to pass.

Upon St. Nicholas day, this Henry preached twice, first upon the gospel, *Homo quidam nobilis, &c.*—"A certain nobleman," &c. Secondly upon this text, *Plures facti sunt sacerdotes, &c.*—"There are many made priests," &c. with such a spirit and grace, that all men had him in admiration, praying God most earnestly, that they might long have such a preacher. Upon the day of the Conception of our Lady, he also made two sermons upon the first chapter of St. Matthew, expounding the book of the generation; wherein he rehearsed the promises made by God unto our forefathers, and what faith our fathers, that then were, had lived; and also, that all works being set apart, we must be governed by the same faith. All these things were spoken with much boldness of spirit, that all men greatly marvelled at him, giving thanks to God for his great mercy, that

had sent them such a preacher, desiring him, moreover, that he would tarry with them all Christmas to preach; for they feared lest he should be sent for to some other place.

In the mean space, the prior and master John Schink were not idle: for when the prior perceived that his malicious enterprise had no success, he adjoined unto him a companion, William, a doctor of the Jacobines, and so went up to Laudanum, to the Franciscan monks and minors, for help and counsel. For those kinds of friars above all others are best qualified by their hypocrisy to deceive the poor and simple people. These friars straightway sent for certain of the rulers, which had all the rule and authority, and especially Peter Hannus, Peter Swine, and Nicholas Roden; unto whom they declared after their accustomed manner, with great complaints, what an heretic monk had preached, and how he had obtained the favour almost of all the simple people; which if they did not speedily provide for, withstand the beginnings, and put the heretic to death, it would come to pass, that shortly the honour of our Lady, and all saints, together with the two abbeys, should utterly come to ruin and decay.

When these simple and ignorant men had heard these words, they were greatly moved. Whereunto Peter Swine answered thus, That they had before written unto the parish priest and to Henry, what was best to be done; notwithstanding, if they thought good, they would write again. No, said the prior, this matter must be attempted another way: for if you write unto the heretic, he will by and by answer you again. And it is to be feared lest the contagion of his heresy also do infect you, being unlearned men: for if you give him leave to speak and to answer, there is no hope that you shall overcome him. Wherefore they finally determined to take Henry by night, and burn him before the people should know it, or he come to his defence to answer. This device pleased all men, but especially the Franciscan friars.

Peter Hannus, the friars' chief friend, willing to get the chief praise and thanks of this matter, by the help of master Gunter, did associate unto him certain other rulers of the towns near adjoining, whose names are here not to be hidden, because they so much affected praise and glory. The names of the presidents were these, Peter Hannus, Peter Swine's son, Henricke Londane, John Holneus, Lawrence Hannemanus, Nicholas Wislingbourough, Ambrose and John Brenthusius, Marquardus Kremmerus, Heustedanus Ludecas, Joannes Wislingus, and Petrus Grossus, president of Hemingstate. All these presidents, and all other that were of counsel in this business, assembled together in the parish of the new church, in the house of M. Gunter, where also the chancellor was consulting together with them how they might burn the said Henry secretly, coming upon him without any judgment or sentence. They concluded, the next day after the Conception of our Lady, to meet at Henning, which is five miles from Meldorff, with a great band of husbandmen. This determination thus made, they placed scouts in every place, that there should no news of their intended mischiefs come to Meldorff; commanding, that as soon as it began to wax dark they should all gather together. There assembled above five hundred men of the country, unto whom was declared the cause of their assembly, and also they were instructed what was to be done; for before, no man knew the cause of the assembly, but only the presidents. When the husbandmen understood it, they would have returned back again, refusing such a detestable and horrid deed. The presidents with most bitter threats kept them in obedience; and to the intent they should be the more cou-

rageous, they gave them three barrels of Hamburg beer to drink.

About midnight they came in armour to Meldorph. The Jacobines and monks prepared torches for them, that Henry should not slip away suddenly in the dark. They had also with them a traitor, named Henneagus, by whose treason they had perfect knowledge of all things. With great violence they burst into the house of the parish priest, breaking and spoiling all things. If they found either gold or silver, they took it away. When they had spoiled all things, they violently fell upon the parish priest, and with great noise cried out, Kill the thief! kill the thief! Some of them took him by the hair of the head, and pulled him out into the dirt, forcing him to go with them as a prisoner: others cried out, saying, that the parish priest was not to be meddled withal, for they had no commission to take him.

After they had satisfied their rage upon the parish priest, with great fury they ran upon Henry, and drawing him naked out of his bed, bound his hands hard behind him: whom being so bound, they drew to and fro so long, that Peter Hannus, who was otherwise unmerciful, and a cruel persecutor of the word of God, willed them that they should let him alone, for that without doubt he would follow of his own mind. Then they committed the guiding of him to John Balco, who rather drew him by violence than led him. When he was brought to Hemingstate, they asked of him how and for what intent he came to Diethmar. Unto whom he gently declared the whole cause of his coming. But they all in a rage cried out, Away with him, away with him; for if we hear him talk any longer, it is to be feared he will make us also heretics. Then he, being marvellous weary and faint, required to be set on horseback, for his feet were all cut and hurt with the ice, because he was led all night barefoot. When they heard him say so, they mocked and laughed at him, saying, Must we hire an horse for an heretic? he shall go afoot, whether he will or no. Because it was night, they carried him naked to Heida; afterwards they brought him to a certain man's house, named Calden, and bound him there with chains in the stocks. The master of the house seeing the cruel deed, taking compassion upon Henry, would not suffer it to be done. Wherefore he was carried away to a priest's house, the official's servant, of Hamburg, and shut up in a cupboard, and was kept by the rude people, which all the night mocked and scorned him. Amongst all other there came unto him Simon, in Alteenord, and Christian, parish priest of the new church, both alike wicked and ignorant persecutors of the word of God, demanding of him why he had forsaken his holy habit? Unto whom he friendly answered by the scriptures; but those ignorant persons understood nothing what he said. Mr. Gunterus also came unto him, inquiring whether he had rather to be sent to the bishop of Bremen, or receive his punishment in Diethmar? Unto whom Henry answered, If I have preached any thing contrary to God's word, or done any wicked act, it is in their hands to punish me. Gunterus answered, Hark, I pray you, good friends, hark, he desireth to suffer in Diethmar. The common people continued all the night in immoderate drinking.

In the morning, about eight o'clock, they gathered together in the market-place, to consult what they should do: where the country people, boiling with drink, cried out, "Burn him! burn him! to the fire with the heretic! Without doubt, if we do it, we shall this day obtain great glory and praise both of God and man; for the longer he liveth, the more he will seduce with his heresy." What need many words? Sure he was to die; for they had condemned this good Henry with-

out any judgment (his cause not being heard) to be burned. At last they commanded the crier to proclaim, That every man that was at the taking of him should be ready in armour to bring him forth to the fire. Amongst all other, the Franciscan friars were present, encouraging the drunken rude people, saying, Now you go the right way to work. Then they bound the said Henry, hands, feet, and neck, and with great noise brought him forth to the fire. As he passed by, a certain woman standing in her door, beholding that pitiful sight, wept abundantly: unto whom Henry turning himself, said, I pray you weep not for me. When he came to the fire, for very weakness he sat down upon the ground. By and by there was present one of the presidents, named May, who was evidently known to be corrupted and bribed with money to this purpose; he condemned the said Henry to be burned, pronouncing this sentence upon him:

'Forasmuch as this thief hath wickedly preached against the worship of our blessed Lady; by the commandment and sufferance of our reverend father in Christ, the bishop of Bremen, and my lord, I condemn him here to be burned and consumed with fire.'

Unto whom Henry answered, I have done no such thing; and, lifting up his hands towards heaven, he said, O Lord, forgive them, for they offend ignorantly, not knowing what they do: thy name, O Almighty God, is holy.

In the mean time, a certain woman, the wife of one Jungar, sister of Peter Hannus, offered herself to suffer a thousand stripes, and to give them much money, so that they would pacify the matter, and keep him in prison, until that he might plead his matter before the whole convocation of the country. When they had heard these words, they waxed more mad, and threw the woman down under feet, and trod upon her, and beat the said Henry unmercifully. One of the country people struck him behind on the head with a sharp dagger; John Holmes, of the new church, struck him with a mace; others thrust him in the back, and in the arms; and this was not done once or twice, but as often as he began to speak. Master Gunter cried out, encouraging them, saying, Go to boldly, good fellows; truly, God is with us present!

After this, he brought a Franciscan friar unto Henry, that he should be confessed. Whom Henry demanded in this manner: Brother, when have I done you injury, either by word or deed, or when did I ever provoke you to anger? Never, said the friar. What should I then confess unto you, said he, that you think you might forgive me? The friar, being moved at these words, departed.

The fire, as often as it was kindled, would not burn; notwithstanding, they satisfied their minds upon him, striking and pricking him with all kinds of weapons; the said Henry standing in the mean time in his shirt before all this rude people. At the last, they having gotten a ladder, bound him hard thereunto, and cast him into the fire. And when he began to pray, and to repeat his creed, one struck him upon the face with his fist, saying, Thou shalt first be burned, and afterward pray and prate as much as thou wilt. Then another, treading upon his breast, bound his neck so hard to a step of the ladder, that the blood gushed out of his mouth and nose. This was done to strangle him withal; for they saw that for all his sore wounds he did not die.

After he was bound to the ladder, he was set upright; then one running unto him, set his halbert for the ladder to lean against, (for those countrymen use no common hangman; but every man exercises the office without difference, but the ladder slipping away from the point of the halbert, the halbert ran through his body. Then they cast the man, ladder and all, upon the wood, which tumbling down

ight upon the one side. Then John Holmes ran unto him, and struck him with a mace upon the breast, till he was dead, and stirred no more. Afterward they roasted him upon the coals; for the wood, as often as it was set on fire, would not burn out. And thus this godly preacher finished his martyrdom, which was anno 1524.—Ex Epist. Mar. Lut.

About the same time, many other godly persons, and such as feared God, for the testimony of the gospel were thrown into the river Rhine, and into other rivers, where their bodies afterward were found, and taken up. Also in the said town of Diethmar, another faithful saint of God, named *John*, suffered the like martyrdom. Thus these two blessed and constant martyrs, as two shining lights set up of God, in testimony of his truth, offered up the sacrifice of their confession, sealed with their blood, in a sweet savour unto God.

At the town of Hala likewise, another preacher, named *M. George*, for ministering in both kinds, was martyred by cut-throats set on by the monks and friars to murder him, near to the town called Haschemburg.

At Prague also, in Bohemia, another, for changing his monkery into matrimony, did suffer in the like manner.

Furthermore, in the same year of our Lord above-mentioned, 1524, and the 22d of October, the town of Miltenberg, in Germany, was taken and ransacked, and divers of the inhabitants were slain, and many imprisoned, for maintaining and keeping with them Carolostadius to be their preacher.

In the same catalogue of holy martyrs likewise is to be placed *Gasper Tamber*. Also another, called *Georgius*, a scrivener, which both were burned at Vienna, in Austria.

*The lamentable Martyrdom of JOHN CLERK, of Melden, in France.*

Melden is a city in France, ten miles distant from Paris, where *John Clerk* was first apprehended, anno 1523, for setting up upon the church door a certain bill against the pope's pardons lately sent thither from Rome, in which bill he named the pope to be Antichrist. For which, his punishment was this, That three several days he should be whipped, and afterward have a mark imprinted in his forehead, as a note of infamy. His mother being a Christian woman, although her husband was an adversary, when she beheld her son thus piteously scourged, and ignominiously deformed in the face, constantly and boldly did encourage her son, crying with a loud voice, "Blessed be Christ, and welcome be these prints and marks."

After this punishment, the said John departed that town, and went to Rosie, in Bry, and from thence removed to Metz, in Lotharing, where he remained a certain space, following his business, being a wool-carder by trade. Whereas he, the day before that the people of that city should go out to the suburbs to worship certain blind idols, after an old use and custom amongst them received, being inflamed with a zeal for God, went out of the city to the place where the images were, and broke them all to pieces. The next morning after, when the canons, priests, and monks, keeping their old custom, had brought with them the people out of the city to the place of idolatry, to worship as they were wont, they found all their blocks and stocks broken upon the ground. At the sight whereof they being mightily offended, sent all the city to search out the author thereof; who was hard to be found, forsomuch as this aforesaid Clerk, being noted of them to be a man much addicted

that way, he was also seen somewhat late in the evening before to come from the same place into the city. Wherefore he being suspected, and examined upon the same, at first confessed the fact, rendering also the cause which moved him so to do. The people hearing this, and being not yet acquainted with that kind of doctrine, were moved marvelously against him, crying out upon him in a great rage.

Thus his cause being told to the judges, wherein he defended the pure doctrine of the Son of God, he was condemned, and led to the place of execution, where he sustained extreme torments. For, first, his hand was cut off from his right arm; then his nose with sharp pincers was violently plucked from his face; after that, his arms and his paps were likewise plucked and drawn with the same instrument. To all them that stood looking on, it was an horror to behold the grievous and doleful sight of pains; again, to behold his patience, or rather the grace of God giving him the gifts to suffer, was wonderful. Thus quietly and constantly he endured his torments, pronouncing, or in a manner singing, the verses of the 115th psalm, "Their images are silver and gold, the work only of man's hand," &c. The residue of his life that remained in his rent body, was committed to the fire, and therewith consumed; which was about the year of our Lord 1524.

*The Martyrdom of JOHN CASTELLANE.*

The year next ensuing, which was 1525, master *John Castellane*, born at Tournay, a doctor of divinity, after that he was called to the knowledge of God, and became a true preacher of his word, and had preached in France, in a place called Barleduc, also at Vittery in Portoise, at Chalons in Champaigne, and in the town of Vike, which was the episcopal seat of the bishop of Metz, in Lorraine, after he had laid the foundation of the doctrine of the gospel in the town of Metz, in returning from thence, he was taken prisoner by the cardinal of Lorraine's servants; by whom he was carried from Gorze to the castle of Nommenie: whereupon the citizens of Metz took no little displeasure and grievance; who being grievously offended to have their preacher so to be apprehended and imprisoned, within a short space after took certain of the cardinal's subjects, by way of retaliation, and kept them prisoners so long, until the abbot of St. Anthony's in Viennois, called Theodore de Chaumont, vicar-general, as well in causes spiritual as temporal, through the jurisdiction both of the cardinal and bishopric of Metz, Toul, Verdun, and Verdun, being furnished with an officer and commission from the see of Rome, came to the said town of Metz; and after divers declarations made to the provost, and to the other justices and counsellors of the city, he so prevailed, that immediately the said subjects of the cardinal were set at liberty: but John Castellane was kept still a prisoner in the castle of Nommenie, and was most cruelly handled from the 4th day of May, until the 12th day of January; during all which he persevered constant in the doctrine of the Son of God. Whereupon he was carried from Nommenie to the town and castle of Vike, always persevering in the profession of the same doctrine; so that they did proceed unto the sentence of his degradation, that he might be delivered over unto the secular power, according to custom.

The sentence being ended, with their Catholic sermon also, the said bishop of Nicopolis, sitting in his pontificalibus in the judgment seat, being suffragan of Metz, with the clergy, nobles, and people about him, proceeded to the degrading, as they call it, of the said Mr. John Castellane. Thus being prepared for his degradation by the officers of the said



bishop, he was apparelled in his priestly attire, and afterward brought forth of the chapel by the priests, which were thereunto appointed, with all his priestly ornaments upon him, and holding his hands together, he kneeled down before the bishop. Then the officers gave him the chalice in his hands, with wine and water, the patin, and the host, all which things the said bishop which degraded him took from him, saying, We take away from thee, or command to be taken from thee, all power to offer sacrifice unto God, and to say mass, as well for the quick as the dead.

Moreover, the bishop scraped the nails of both his hands with a piece of glass, saying, By this scraping we do take away from thee all power to sacrifice, to consecrate, and to bless, which thou hast received by the anointing of thy hands. Then he took away from him the chesil, saying, By good right we do despoil thee of this priestly ornament, which signifieth charity; for certainly thou hast forsaken the same, and all innocency. Then taking away the stole, he said, Thou hast villanously rejected and despised the sign of our Lord, which is represented by this stole, wherewith we take it away from thee, and make thee unable to exercise and use the office of priesthood. The degradation of the order of priesthood being thus ended, they proceeded to the order of deacon. Then the ministers gave him the book of the gospels, which the bishop took away, saying, We take away from thee all power to read the gospels in the church of God, for it appertaineth only to such as are worthy. After this he spoiled him of the dalmatike, (which is the vesture that the deacons use,) saying, We deprive thee of this Levitical order; forasmuch as thou hast not fulfilled thy ministry and office. After this the bishop took away the stole from behind his back, saying, We justly take away from thee the white stole which thou hadst received undefiledly, which also thou oughtest to have loine in the presence of our Lord. and to the end that the people dedicated unto the name of Christ may take by thee example, we prohibit thee any more to exercise or use the office of deaconship. Then they proceeded to the degrading of subdeaconship, and, taking away from him the book of the epistles and his subdeacon's vesture, deposed him from reading of the epistles in the church of God: and so orderly proceeding unto all the other orders, degrading him from the order of canon and collet, from the order of exorcist, from the lectureship, and, last of all, from the office of door-keeper, taking from him the keys, and commanding him hereafter not to open or shut the revery, nor to ring any more bells in the church. That done, the bishop went forward to degrade him from his first shaving; and taking away his surplice, said unto him, By the authority of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and by our authority, we take away from thee all clerical habit, and despoil thee of all ornament of religion: also we do depose and degrade thee of all order, benefit, and privilege, of the clergy, and, as one unworthy of that profession, we commit thee to the servitude and ignominy of the secular power.

Then the bishop took the shears, and began to clip his head, saying in this manner, We cast thee out as an unthankful child of the Lord's heritage, whereunto thou wast called, and take away from thy head the crown which is the royal sign of priesthood, through thine own wickedness and malice. The bishop also added these words, That which thou hast sung with thy mouth, thou hast not believed with thy heart, nor accomplished in work, wherefore we take from thee the office of singing in the church of God.

The degrading thus ended, the procurator fiscal of the court of the city of Mentz, required of the notary an instru-

ment or copy of the degrading: then the ministers of the bishop turned him out of his clerical habit, and put upon him the apparel of a secular man. That done, forasmuch as he which is degraded, according to the institution of pope Innocent III. ought to be delivered unto the secular court, the bishop that degraded him proceeded no further, but said in this manner, We pronounce that the secular court shall receive thee into their charge, being thus degraded of all clerical honour and privilege.

This done, the bishop after a certain manner entreated the secular judge for him, saying, My lord judge, we pray you as heartily as we can, for the love of God, and the contemplation of tender pity and mercy, and for the respect of our prayers, that you will not in any point do any thing that shall be hurtful to this miserable man, or tending to his death, or maiming of his body. (But this is a constant form, though they determine that the man shall be burnt.)

These things thus done, the secular judge of the town of Vike, continuing the aforesaid sentence, condemned the aforesaid Mr John Castellane to be burned alive which death he suffered the 12th day of January, 1525, with such constancy and great fortitude, that not only a great company of ignorant people were thereby drawn to the knowledge of the truth, but also a great number which had already some taste thereof, were greatly confirmed by his constant and valiant death.

*The History of a Good Pastor murdered for preaching of the Gospel written by John Oecolampadius*

In the year of our Lord 1525, there was a certain good and godly minister, who was charged with having committed something in the commotion there raised by the clowns of the country, which, they said that knew him, was but of small importance. He, because he had offended his prince before, not with any crime, but with some words something sharply spoken, was therefore condemned to be hanged.

After sentence was given, there was a gentleman of a cruel heart sent with a certain troop of men to apprehend the said priest, and to hang him. Who, coming into his house, saluted him friendly, pretending as though their coming had been to make good cheer, for he was a good housekeeper, and the gentlemen of the country thereabouts used oft times to resort unto his house familiarly.

This priest made ready for them in short space a very sumptuous banquet, whereof they did eat and drink very cheerfully. After dinner was ended, the priest being yet at the table, thinking no hurt, the gentleman said to his servants, Take you this priest, our host, and hang him, and that without delay; for he hath well deserved to be hanged for the great offence he hath committed against his prince. The servants were astonished with his words, and abhorring to do the deed, said unto their master, God forbid that we should commit any such crime, to hang a man that hath treated us so gently: for the meat, which he hath given us, is yet in our stomachs undigested. It were a wicked act for a nobleman to render so great an evil for a good turn; but especially to murder an innocent. Briefly, the servants sought no other occasion, but only to give him way to fly, that they might also avoid the execution of that wicked purpose.

As the gentleman and his servants were thus contending, the priest said unto them, I beseech you shew no such cruelty upon me; rather lead me away captive unto my prince, where I may purge myself. I am falsely accused, and desire to pacify his anger which he hath conceived against me.



At least, remember the hospitality which I have ever shewed to you, and all noblemen at all times resorting to my house. But principally speaking to the gentleman, he advertised him of the perpetual sting which would follow upon an evil conscience: protesting that he had faithfully and truly taught them the doctrine of the gospel, and that was the principal cause why he had such evil will; which long time before he had foreseen would come to pass, forasmuch as he had oftentimes in the pulpit reproved sharply and openly the horrible vices of the gentlemen who maintained their people in their vicious living, and they themselves were given unto blasphemy and drunkenness, whereas they should shew example of faith, true religion, and soberness: but they had often resisted him, saying, that it was not his part to reprove them, forasmuch as they were his lords, and might put him to death if they would; that all things which they did were allowable, and that no man ought to gainsay it; also that he went about some things in his sermons, that would come to an evil end.

This good man could not prevail, whatsoever he could say; for the gentleman continued in his wicked enterprise, and urged his servants still to accomplish their purpose; for it was resolved by the prince that he should be put to death. And turning himself unto the priest, he said, That he could gain nothing by preaching in such sort, but that he should fully determine to die, for the prince had given express commandment to hang him, whose favour he would not lose to save his life.

At last, the servants, after great sorrow and lamentation, bound their host, and hanged him upon a beam in his own house, the gentleman standing by and looking on.

This good man seeing no remedy, spake no other words but only, "Jesus, have mercy upon me; Jesus, save me." This is the truth of this most cruel act, which a Turk would not have committed against his mortal enemy.

It so happened, a little before this present time, that there was a commotion of the country people, rising in arms against their rulers, to the great disturbance of the whole country of Germany, and no less to their own destruction, of whom were slain above twenty thousand. At length, when this rebellion was appeased, and all things quiet, such as were the pope's friends, to work their malice against the gospel, took occasion thereby not long after to accuse and entangle such as they knew to be gospellers and protestants. And although the said gospellers were never so innocent and clear from all rebellion, yet that sufficed not; for causes were made, false witnesses brought, corrupt judges suborned to condemn the innocent, and many were put to death, their cause being neither heard nor known. By reason whereof a great number of good and innocent Christians were miserably brought to their end and martyrdom: in the number of whom was this poor man also, whose story by Occolampadius is thus described.

*Another History of a certain Man of the Country, wrongfully put to Death.*

There was a certain man of the country, which in my judgment was a good man, and a lover of justice, and a mortal enemy of the cruel exactions of the gentlemen which oppressed the poor people. This man, after a tumult and commotion that had been in the country was appeased, was grievously vexed and tormented, because he had cried an

alarm, when a great number of horsemen ranged about the country to seek out those which had been the authors of that sedition. This poor man was taken by policy, and so upholden with fair promises, that they made him confess whatsoever they required. He, thinking that they would not have him put to death, was cast into prison, where he was long detained, and well cherished, to take away all suspicion from him. But after he had tarried a long time in prison, they kept him hanging in the truss of the cord the space of six hours, hanging a great stone fastened at his feet.

The sweat that dropped from his body for very pain and anguish, was almost blood. In this distress he cried out pitifully; but all that could not once move the tormentors' hearts. When all the power and strength in his body began to fail him, with great violence they let him fall down. There this poor man lay even as a stock, not moving any part or member of his body, but a little drawing his breath, which was a token that there was some life in him. Here the tormentors were in great doubt what to do with the man, whom they sought by all means to destroy, in what place they might put him, that he should not die of that torment.

Amongst them there was one who brought vinegar and rose-water, and rubbing him therewithal, they did somewhat recover him. After that they had caused him to eat and drink such as they had provided for him, they let him down into a deep dungeon, where he could see neither sun nor moon. All this was done to the intent to put him to more torment, when he had somewhat recovered his strength again. There they let him continue eighteen days, after which time they brought him again to examination, propounding certain articles unto him, which he constantly denied. They devised divers and sundry kinds of torments, to the intent they might even of force extort something of this poor man, which might seem worthy of death; yet for all that they were fain to depart without their purpose.

The twentieth day after, these tyrants hired a hangman, which left no kind of cruelty unpractised. Yet did he miss of his purpose also, and was constrained to leave his cruelty, and to pronounce, even with his own mouth, that the man was innocent, in that he had constantly endured so many horrible and grievous torments. But these tyrants came again the fourth time, and suborned two witnesses against him, concluding that he was worthy of death because he had cried alarm after the truce was taken, and would have moved a new sedition. The day was appointed when he should suffer, and they brought to him the hangman and a friar unto the prison.

In the mean time, this poor man thought with himself, that they would have shewed him the like cruelty as they had done the night before. They called him out of the dungeon where they had let him down, certifying him that they had things to tell him for his profit. This they did because he should not die in prison.

Then they let down a cord and a staff, but they could not persuade him to sit thereupon, saying, That he would rather choose to die there, than he would endure any more such cruel torments; notwithstanding, if they would promise not to put him any more to the truss of the cord, nor to put him to death, but to bring him before just judges, on that condition he would come out, although he had fully determined never to have removed from thence, but to have ended his life in that dungeon. There were present certain counsellors, which promised to perform his request; and thereupon he was taken out of the dungeon. As soon as he saw the king, he cried out with a loud voice, saying, O miserable and wretched man that I am! now I am betrayed and deceived,

for my latter hour is at hand: I see well the dream which I have dreamed this night will come to effect, for they do handle me tyrannously, and condemn me not being heard. The friar brake him off from his purpose, and pulling a wooden cross out of his sleeve, presented it unto him, declaring that he must be quiet, because they had already given sentence against him, and that he should gain nothing by so much talk. Poor man, (said the friar,) thou hast had good and gentle judges; at the least thou shalt go to God: therefore confess thy sins in my ear, and after thou hast received absolution at my hands, doubt not but this day thou shalt go straight to the kingdom of heaven. The poor man answered, Thou wicked friar, get thee away from me, for I have long since bewailed my sins and offences, and that before the face of my Lord Jesus, who hath already forgiven me all that which I have committed against his majesty; wherefore I have no need of thy absolution, which thou thyself dost not understand. This is most certain, that long time since thou shouldst have amended thine own wicked and hypocritical life. I know well enough what thou art: thou playest the ape with me, but thou hast a subtle and a crafty heart, which hath deceived many simple people. If thou hast any consolation out of the gospel to comfort me withal, let me have it; if not, get thee away from me.

The friar was so confused and amazed with these words, that he knew not what to do or say. The hangman being wiser than the friar, bade him read unto the poor man something of the Passion, wherein the poor man would take great pleasure: but this foolish friar had no other consolation to comfort him withal, but to hold the crucifix of wood before him, saying, Behold thy Saviour which died for thee! look upon him, and thou shalt be comforted. Then said the poor man, I have another Saviour, this is none of my Saviour; get thee away from me, thou naughty person, with thy wooden idol. My Saviour dwelleth in heaven, in whom I trust that he will not deliver my soul to eternal death. The friar crossed himself, shewing the semblance of a man that was very sorry and aggrieved, thinking with himself that this poor man was fallen into desperation. Then was he led forth into the market-place, where, according to the custom, openly before all the people his confession was read with a loud voice; which contained no other thing, but only that the man had been a seditious person, and that in the time of truce he had cried alarm, even in the night, when all men were at rest.

When he was come to the place where he should suffer, being compassed in gieves and halberts hired for the purpose, after he had said the Lord's Prayer, the hangman bid him kneel down; but he refused so to do, declaring that he had yet something more to say before the people; thinking that he should not be denied to speak in that place, as he was before the wicked judges. Those (said he) which know me will be sufficient good witnesses on my behalf, that from my youth upward I have always lived in good name, fame, and honesty, being never before accused for any offence, sedition, or perjury. And to speak of myself, I did never understand or know what the articles were that were published, neither was there ever any man that told me wherefore they were published; neither did I know wherefore the bands of the country men were risen, neither wherefore every man moved his neighbour to put on armour. Wherefore then have ye taken me as a seditious man, and made me to endure so great torments?

He continued a long time in declaring his innocence; but notwithstanding all his excuses and defences, the hangman drew his sword, and at the commandment of the judge struck

off his head, as he had made an end of his prayers. His tongue moved a long time after in his head, by means of the force of the words which he had before spoken.

Thus this good man of the country ended his days, against whom the false judges could find no crime or offence to object, albeit they had diligently sought by witnesses to have information of all his life and living.

*Martyrdom of GEORGE CARPENTER, of Emering;  
burned in the Town of Munchen, in Bavaria.*

The 8th day of February, in the year of our salvation 1527, there happened a rare and marvellous example and spectacle in the town of Munchen, in Bavaria, which was this:—A certain man, named *George Carpenter*, of Emering, was there burnt. When he was set out of the prison called Falcon-Tower, and led before the council, divers friars and monks followed him, to instruct and teach him; whom he willed to tarry at home, and not to follow him. When he came before the council, his offences were read, contained in four articles.

First, That he did not believe that a priest could forgive a man's sins.

Secondly, That he did not believe that a man could call God out of heaven.

Thirdly, That he did not believe that God was in the bread which the priest hangeth over the altar, but that it was the bread of the Lord.

Fourthly, That he did not believe that that very element of the water itself in baptism doth give grace.

Which four articles he utterly refused to recant. Then came unto him a certain schoolmaster of St. Peter, in the town of Munchen, in Bavaria, saying unto him, My friend George, dost thou not fear the death and punishment which thou must suffer? If thou wert let go, wouldst thou return to thy wife and children? Whereunto he answered, If I were set at liberty, whither should I rather go, than to my wife and well-beloved children? Then said the schoolmaster, Revoke your former opinion, and you shall be set at liberty. Whereunto George answered: My wife and my children are so dearly beloved by me, that they cannot be bought from me for all the riches and possessions of the duke of Bavaria; but for the love of my Lord God, I willingly forsake them.

When he was led to the place of execution, the schoolmaster spake unto him again in the midst of the market-place, saying, Good George, believe in the sacrament of the altar; do not affirm it to be only a sign. Whereunto he answered, I believe this sacrament to be a sign of the body of Jesus Christ offered upon the cross for us. Then said the schoolmaster, moreover, What dost thou mean, that thou dost so little esteem baptism, knowing that Christ suffered himself to be baptized in Jordan? Whereunto he answered, and shewed what was the true use of baptism, and what was the end why Christ was baptized in Jordan, and how necessary it was that Christ should die and suffer upon the cross, wherein only standeth our salvation. The same Christ (said he) will I confess this day before the whole world; for he is my Saviour, and in him do I believe.

After this came unto him one master Conrade Scheter, the vicar of the cathedral church of our Lady, in Munchen, a preacher, saying, George, if thou wilt not believe the sacrament, yet put all thy trust in God, and say, I trust my cause to be good and true: but if I should err, truly I would be sorry and repent. Whereunto George Carpenter answered, God suffer me not to err, I beseech him. Then the schoolmaster unto him, Do not put the matter

hazard, but choose unto you some good Christian brother; master Conrade, or some other, unto whom thou mayest reveal thy heart; not to confess thyself, but to take some godly counsel of him. Whereunto he answered, Nay, not so, for it would be too long. Then master Conrade began the Lord's prayer: "Our Father which art in heaven:"

whereunto Carpenter answered, Truly thou art our Father, and no other; this day I trust to be with thee. Then master Conrade went forward with the prayer, saying, "Hallowed be thy name:" Carpenter answered, O my God, how little is thy name hallowed in this world! Then said Conrade, "Thy kingdom come:" Carpenter answered, Let thy kingdom come this day unto me, that I also may come unto thy kingdom. Then said Conrade, "Thy will be done on earth as it is done in heaven:" Carpenter answered, For this cause, O Father, am I now here, that thy will may be fulfilled, and not mine. Then said Conrade, "Give us this day our daily bread:" Carpenter answered, The only living bread, Jesus Christ, shall be my food. Then said Conrade, "And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us:" Carpenter answered, With a willing mind do I forgive all men, both my friends and adversaries. Then said master Conrade, "And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from all evil:" whereunto Carpenter answered, O my Lord, without doubt thou shalt deliver me; for upon thee only have I laid all my hope.

Then he began to rehearse the Belief, saying, "I believe in God, the Father Almighty:" Carpenter answered, O my God, in thee alone do I trust, in thee only is all my confidence, and upon no other creature, albeit they have gone about to force me otherwise. In this manner he answered to every word: which his answers, if they should be described at length, would be too long.

This prayer ended, the schoolmaster said unto him, Dost thou believe so truly and constantly in thy Lord and God, with thy heart, as thou dost cheerfully seem to confess him with thy mouth? Hereunto he answered, It were a very hard matter for me, if that I, who am ready here to suffer death, should not believe that with my heart which I openly profess with my mouth: for I knew before that I must suffer persecution, if I would cleave unto Christ, who saith, "Where thy heart is, there is also thy treasure;" and whatsoever thing a man doth fix in his heart to love above God, that he maketh his idol. Then said master Conrade unto him, George, dost thou think it necessary after thy death that any man should pray for thee, or say mass for thee? He answered, So long as the soul is joined to the body, pray God for me, that he will give me grace and patience, with all humility to suffer the pains of death with a true Christian faith: but when the soul is separate from the body, then have I no more need of your prayers.

When as the hangman should bind him to the ladder, he preached much unto the people. Then he was desired by certain Christian brethren, that as soon as he was cast into the fire, he should give some sign or token what his faith or belief was. To whom he answered, This shall be my sign or token; that so long as I can open my mouth, I will not cease to call upon the name of Jesus.

Behold, good reader, what an incredible constancy was in this godly man, such as lightly hath not been seen in any man before. His face and countenance never changed colour, but cheerfully he went into the fire. In the midst, said he, of this town this day will I confess my God before the whole

the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. And when the two hangmen lifted him upon the ladder, smiling, he bade a certain Christian farewell, requiring forgiveness of him. That done, the hangman thrust him into the fire. He with a loud voice cried out, Jesus! Jesus! Then the hangman turned him over; and he again for a certain space cried, Jesus! Jesus! and so joyfully yielded up his spirit.

### *The Martyrdom of LEONARD KEYSER.*

We must not pass over the marvellous constancy of Mr. *Leonard Keyser*, of the country of Bavaria, who was burned for the gospel.—This Keyser was of the town of Rawbe, four miles from Passau, of a famous family. This man being at his study in Wittenberg, was sent for by his brethren, who certified him, that if ever he would see his father alive, he should come with speed; which thing he did. He was scarcely come thither, when, by the commandment of the bishop of Passau, he was taken by his mother and his brethren. The articles which he was accused of, for which also he was most cruelly put to death, and shed his blood for the testimony of the truth, were these:

That faith only justifieth.

That works are the fruits of faith.

That the mass is no sacrifice or oblation.

Item, For confession, satisfaction, the vow of chastity, purgatory, difference of days, for affirming only two sacraments, and invocation of saints.

He also maintained three kinds of confession: The first to be of faith, which is always necessary.

The second of charity, which serveth when any man hath offended his neighbour, to whom he ought to reconcile himself again, as a man may see by that which is written in Matt. 18.

The third, which is not to be despised, is to ask counsel of the ancient ministers of the church.

And notwithstanding that all this was contrary to the bull of pope Leo, and the emperor's decree made at Worms, sentence was given against him, that he should be degraded, and put into the hands of the secular power. The persecutors which sat in judgment upon him, were the bishop of Passau, the suffragans of Ratisbon and of Passau, also Dr. Eckius; being guarded about with armed men. His brethren and kinsfolks made great intercession to have his judgment deferred and put off, that the matter might be more exactly known; also John Frederick, duke of Saxony, and the earls of Schauenburgh and of Shunartzen, wrote to the bishop for him, but could not prevail.

After the sentence was given, he was carried by a company of harnessed men out of the city again, to Schardingham, the 13th of August. Where Christopher Frenkinger, civil judge, receiving him, had letters sent him from William of Bavaria, that forthwith, tarrying for no judgment, he should be burned alive. Whereupon the good and blessed martyr, early in the morning, being rounded and shaven, and clothed in a short gown, and a black cap set upon his head, all cut and jagged, so was delivered unto the officer. As he was led out of the town to the place where he should suffer, he boldly and hardily spake in the German tongue, turned his head first on the one side, and then on the other, saying, O Lord Jesus, remain with me, sustain and help me, and give me force and power.

Then the wood was made ready to be set on fire, and he began to cry with a loud voice, O Jesus, I am thine; have mercy upon me, and save me. And therewithal he felt the fire begin sharply under his feet, his hands, and about his

head : and because the fire was not great enough, the hangman plucked the body, half burnt, with a long hook, from underneath the wood. Then he made a great hole in the body, through which he thrust a stake, and cast him again unto the fire ; and so made an end of burning. This was the blessed end of that good man, which suffered for the testimony of the truth, August 16, in the year of our Lord 1526.—See Luther's Works, vol. 6.

*Martyrdom of WENDELMUTA, Widow.*

In Holland also, the same year 1527, was martyred and burned a good and virtuous widow, named *Wendelmuta*, a daughter of Nicholas, of Munchendam. This widow receiving to her heart the brightness of God's grace, by the appearing of the gospel, was therefore apprehended and committed to custody in the castle of Werden, and shortly after from thence was brought to the Hague, the 15th day of November, there to appear at the general sessions of that country. Where was present Hochstratus, lord president of the said country, who also sate upon her the 17th day of the aforesaid month. Divers monks were appointed there to talk with her, to the end they might convince her, and win her to recant ; but she constantly persisting in that truth wherein she was planted, would not be removed. Many also of her kindred, and other honest women, were suffered to persuade her. Amongst whom there was a certain noble matron, who loved and favoured dearly the said widow, being in prison. This matron coming and communing with her, in her talk said, My *Wendelmuta*, why dost thou not keep silence, and think secretly in thine heart these things which thou believest, that thou mayest prolong here thy days and life ? To whom she answered, Ah, you know not what you say ; it is written, " With the heart we believe to righteousness, with the tongue we confess to salvation," &c. And thus she remaining firm and steadfast in her belief and confession, the 20th day of November was condemned by sentence given as against an heretic, to be burned to ashes, and her goods to be confiscated ; she taking the sentence of her condemnation mildly and quietly.

After she came to the place where she should be executed, and a monk there had brought out a cross, willing her many times to kiss and worship her God : I worship (said she) no wooden god, but only that God which is in heaven. And so with a merry and joyful countenance she went to the stake, desiring the executioner to see the stake to be fast, that it fall not : then taking the powder, and laying it to her breast, she gave her neck willingly to be bound, with an ardent prayer commending herself to the hands of God.

When the time came that she should be strangled, modestly she closed her eyes, and bowed down her head as one that would take a sleep ; which done, the fire was then put to the wood, and she being strangled, was burned afterward to ashes, instead of this life to get the immortal crown in heaven, anno 1527.

*PETRUS FLISTEDIUS and ADOLPHUS CLAREBACHUS, put to death at Colen.*

In the number of these German martyrs are also to be comprehended *Peter Flisteden* and *Adolphus Clarebach*, two men of singular learning, and having ripe knowledge of God's holy word. Which two, in the year of our Lord 1520, for that they did dissent from the papists in divers points, and especially touching the supper of the Lord, and other of the pope's traditions and ceremonies ; after they had endured

imprisonment a year and a half, by the commandment of the archbishop and senate, were burned in Colen, not without the great grief and lamentation of many good Christians ; all the fault being put upon certain divines, which at that time preached that the punishment and death of certain wicked persons would pacify the wrath of God, which then plagued Germany grievously with a new and strange kind of disease ; for at that season the sweating sickness did mortally rage and reign throughout all Germany.—Ex Com. Joan. Sleidan, lib. 6.

*Martyrdom of GEORGE SCHERTER.*

After this *George* had instructed the people in the knowledge of the gospel at Rastadt, ten miles distant from Salzburg, he was accused by his adversaries, and put in prison, where he wrote a confession of his faith, which Matthias Iliricus hath set out with his whole story. He was condemned to be burnt alive : but interest was made, that first his head should be cut off, and his body afterwards be cast into the fire.

Going towards his death, he said, crying aloud, That you may know (said he) that I die a true Christian, I will give you a manifest sign. And so he did by the power of the Lord ; for when his head was taken off from his shoulders, the body falling upon his belly, so continued the space while one might eat an egg. After that, softly it turned itself upon the back, and crossed the right foot over the left. At the sight whereof, many were astonished. The magistrates, which before had appointed to have burned the body after his beheading, seeing this miracle, would not burn it, but buried it with other Christians' bodies ; and many by that example were moved to believe the gospel. Thus God is able to manifest the truth of his gospel in the midst of persecution.

*Martyrdom of HENRY FLEMING, at Dornick, 1535.*

This *Henry*, a friar, sometime of Flanders, forsook his habit, and married a wife. Who being offered life by Balthasar, if he would confess his wife to be an harlot, denied so to do, and so was burnt, at Dornick.

*Martyrdom of twenty-eight Christian Men and Women of Louvaine ; PAUL, a Priest ; and two aged Women, &c. at Louvaine, 1543.*

When certain of the city of Louvaine were suspected of Lutheranism, the emperor's procurator came from Brussels thither to make inquisition. After which inquisition made, certain bands of armed men came and beset their houses in the night, where many were taken in their beds, plucked from their wives and children, and divided into divers prisons. Through the terror whereof many citizens revolted from the doctrine of the gospel, and returned again to idolatry. But twenty-eight there were which remained constant in that persecution. Unto whom the doctors of Louvaine, Euchuanus especially, the inquisitor, and Latomus sometimes, with others, came and disputed, thinking no less but either to confound them, or to convert them. But so strongly the Spirit of the Lord wrought with his saints, that they went away confounded.

When no disputation could serve, that which lacked cunning they supplied with torments, by afflicting them severally every one by himself. Among the rest there was one *Paulus*, a priest, sixty years of age, whom the



of the university, with their colleagues, accompanied with a great number of bills and gleaves, brought out of prison to the Austin friars, where, after many foul words of the rector, he was degraded. But at length, for fear of death, he began to stagger in some points of his confession, and so was had out of Louvaine, and condemned to perpetual prison, which was a dark and stinking dungeon; where he was suffered neither to read nor write, nor any man to come at him, and allowed only to be fed with bread and water. After that, other two were there, which because they had revoked before, were put to the fire and burnt, constantly taking their martyrdom.

Then was there an old man and two aged women brought forth; of whom the one was called *Antonia*, born of an ancient stock in that city. These also were condemned, the man to be beheaded, the two women to be buried alive; which death they received likewise very cheerfully. Certain of the other prisoners, which were not condemned to death, were deprived of their goods, commanded in a white sheet to come to the church, and there kneeling with a taper in their hand, to ask forgiveness; and they who refused so to do, and to abjure the doctrine of Luther, were burnt alive.

*Murder of GILES TILLEMAN, at Brussels, anno 1544.*

This *Giles*, or *Egidius*, was born at Brussels, of honest parents; by his occupation he was brought up from his youth to be a cutler, in which occupation he was so expert, that he waxed thereby wealthy. Coming to the years of thirty, he began to receive the light of the gospel, through the reading of the holy scripture, and increased therein exceedingly. And as in zeal he was fervent, so he was of nature humane, mild, and pitiful, passing all other in those parts. Whatsoever he had that necessity could spare, he gave it away to the poor, and only lived by his science. Some he refreshed with his meat, some with clothing; to some he gave his shoes; some he helped with household-stuff; to others he ministered wholesome exhortation and good doctrine. One poor woman there was brought to bed, and had no bed to lie on, to whom he brought his own bed, himself contented to lie on the straw. But these eminently Christian virtues could avail nothing against the charge of error in matters of faith, nor holy living be allowed to atone for wrong thinking; for these ignorant bigots had not learnt from the great Master of Christians, to judge of the tree only by its fruits.

The said *Egidius* being detected by a priest or parson of Brussels, was taken at Louvaine for that religion which the pope called heresy. Where his adversaries extended great care and diligence to reduce him to their doctrine, and to make him abjure. But as he was a man well read, and singularly wise, they went away many times with shame. Thus being detained eight months in prison, he was sent to Brussels to be judged; where he comforted divers which were there in prison, exhorting them to the constancy of the truth unto the crown which was prepared for them. At the table he ministered unto them all, being contented himself with a few scraps which they left. In his prayers he was so ardent, kneeling by himself in some secret place, that he seemed to forget himself. Being called many times to meat, he neither heard nor saw them that stood by him, till he was lifted up by the arms, and then gently he would speak to them as one waked out of a sweet sleep.

Certain of the gray friars sometimes were sent unto him two and two, to reduce him. But he would always desire them to depart from him, for he was at a point; and

when the friar at any time did miscall him, he ever held his peace at such private injuries, insomuch that those blasphemers would say abroad, that he had a dumb devil in him. But when they talked of religion, there he spared not, but answered them fully by evidences of the scripture, in such sort, that divers times they would depart marvelling. At sundry times he might have escaped, the doors being set open; but he would not, lest it might bring his keeper in peril.

At length, about the month of January, he was brought to another prison, to be constrained with torments to confess purgatory, and to tell of his fellows. But no force would serve. Wherefore, upon the 22d of January, he was condemned to the fire, but privily, contrary to the use of the country; for openly they durst not condemn him, for fear of the people, so well was he beloved. When tidings of the sentence came unto him, he gave hearty thanks unto God, that the hour was come when he might glorify the Lord, by sealing the truth with his blood.

As he was brought to the place of burning, where he saw a great heap of wood piled, he required the greater part thereof to be taken away, and given to the poor; a little, he said, would suffice him. Also seeing a poor man coming by, as he went, that lacked shoes, he gave his shoes unto him: Better, said he, so to do, than to have his shoes burnt, and the poor to perish for cold. Standing at the stake, the hangman was ready to strangle him before; but he would not, saying, That there was no such need that his pain should be mitigated, for I fear not, said he, the fire; do thou therefore as thou art commanded. And thus the blessed martyr, lifting up his eyes to heaven in the middle of the flame, died, to the great lamentation of all that stood by.

After that time, when the friars of that city would go about for their alms, the people would say, It was not meet for them to receive alms with bloody hands. This history you shall find more copiously described in *Fran. Eucenas*.

*Great Persecution in Gaunt, and other parts of Flanders.  
At Gaunt, anno 1543, 1544.*

As Charles the emperor lay in Gaunt, the friars and doctors prevailed, that the edict made against the Lutherans might be read openly twice a year. Which being obtained, great persecution followed; so that there was no city nor town in all Flanders, wherein some were not either banished, or beheaded, or condemned to perpetual prison; or had not their goods confiscated; neither was there any respect of age or sex. At Gaunt especially, many there were of the principal men who for religion sake were burned.

Afterward the emperor coming to Brussels, there was terrible slaughter and persecution of God's people, namely, in Brabant, Hennegow, and Artois; the horror and cruelty whereof is almost incredible; insomuch, that at one time as good as two hundred men and women together, were brought out of the country into the city, of whom some were drowned, some burned alive, some privily made away, and others sent to perpetual prison; whereby the prisons and towers thereabout were replenished with prisoners and captives, and the hands of the hangmen tired with slaying and killing; to the great sorrow of all those who knew the gospel, being now compelled either to deny the same, or to confirm it with their blood.

The history of this persecution is at large set forth by *Fran. Enceuas*, a very learned man, who also himself was prisoner the same time at Brussels; and to this work the reader is respectfully referred.



AN ACCOUNT OF  
**THE REFORMATION IN FRANCE,**  
 WITH A  
 HISTORY OF THE CRUELITIES EXERCISED AGAINST THE  
 PROTESTANTS IN THAT COUNTRY; AND A CIRCUM-  
 STANTIAL RELATION OF THE ST. BARTHOLOMEW  
 MASSACRE.

[In a work of this nature, the History of the Reformation in France, and the Persecution of the Protestants, must be acknowledged of considerable importance; and though only a sketch of it can be introduced, yet this should by no means be omitted. The Rev. Mr. Robinson, of Cambridge, has given a concise, elegant, and interesting, view of this subject, in what he styles "Memoirs of the Reformation in France." This includes a general view of the state of religion in that country from A. D. 1515, to the revocation of the Edict of Nantz in 1685. With Mr. Robinson's memoir, the Bishop of Meaux's account of the Massacre of the Protestants at Paris on St. Bartholomew's-eve, 1572, is connected. Barbarities of this shocking nature should continue upon record in every book of Christian Martyrs.]

GAUL, which is now called France, in the time of Jesus Christ was a province of the Roman empire, and some of the apostles planted Christianity in it. In the first centuries, while Christianity continued a rational religion, it extended and supported itself without the help, and against the persecutions, of the Roman emperors. Numbers were converted from paganism, several Christian societies were formed, and many eminent men, having spent their lives in preaching and writing for the advancement of the gospel, sealed their doctrine with their blood.

In the fifth century, Clovis I. a Pagan king of France, fell in love with Clotilda, a Christian princess of the house of Burgundy, who agreed to marry him only on condition of his becoming a Christian; to which he consented, 491. The king, however, delayed the performance of this condition till five years after his marriage, when being engaged in a desperate battle, and having reason to fear the total defeat of his army, he lifted up his eyes to heaven, and put up this prayer, "God of queen Clotilda! grant me the victory, and I vow to be baptized, and thenceforth to worship no other God but thee!" He obtained the victory, and, at his return, was baptized at Rheims, December 30, 496. His sister, and more than three thousand of his subjects, followed his example, and Christianity became the professed religion of France.

Conversion includes in it the cool exercise of reason; and whenever passion takes the place and does the office of reason, conversion is nothing but a name. Baptism did not wash away the sins of Clovis; before it he was vile, after it he was infamous, practising all kinds of treachery and cruelty. The court, the army, and the common people, who were Pagan when the king was Pagan, and Christian when he was Christian, continued the same in their morals after their conversion as before. When the Christian church, therefore, opened her doors, and delivered up her keys, to these new converts, she gained nothing in comparison of what she lost. She increased the number, the riches, the pomp, and the power, of her family; but she resigned the exercise of reason, the sufficiency of scripture, the purity of worship, the grand simplicity of innocence, truth, and virtue, and became

a creature of the state. A virgin before—she became a prostitute now.

Such Christians, in a long succession, converted Christianity into something worse than Paganism. They elevated the Christian church into a temporal kingdom, and they degraded temporal kingdoms into fiefs of the church. They founded dominion in grace, and they explained grace to be a love of dominion. And by these means they completed that general apostasy, known by the name of Popery, which St. Paul had foretold, 1 Tim. iv. 1. and which rendered the Reformation of the sixteenth century essential to the interest of all mankind.

The state of religion at that time (1515) was truly deplorable. Ecclesiastical government, instead of that evangelical simplicity and fraternal freedom which Jesus Christ and his apostles had taught, was become a spiritual domination under the form of a temporal empire. An innumerable multitude of dignities, titles, rights, honours, privileges, and pre-eminences, belonged to it, and were all dependent on a sovereign priest, who being an absolute monarch, required every thought to be in subjection to him. The chief ministers of religion were actually become temporal princes; and the high-priest, being absolute sovereign of the ecclesiastical state, had his court and his council, his ambassadors to negotiate, and his armies to murder—his flock. The clergy had acquired immense wealth, and, as their chief study was either to collect and to augment their revenues, or to prevent the alienation of their estates, they had constituted numberless spiritual corporations, with powers, rights, statutes, privileges, and officers. The functions of the ministry were generally neglected, and, of consequence, gross ignorance prevailed. All ranks of men were extremely depraved in their morals, and the pope's penitentiary had published the price of every crime, as it was rated in the tax-book of the Roman chancery. Marriages, which reason and scripture allowed, the pope prohibited; and, for money, dispensed with those which both forbade. Church benefices were sold to children and to laymen, who then let them to under-tenants, none of whom performed the duty for which the profits were paid: but all having obtained them by simony, spent their lives in fleecing the flock to repay themselves. The power of the pontiff was so great, that he assumed, and, what was more astonishing, he was suffered to exercise, a supremacy over many kingdoms. When monarchs gratified his will, he put on a triple crown, ascended a throne, suffered them to call him Holiness, and to kiss his feet. When they disobliged him, he suspended all religious worship in their dominions; published false and abusive libels, called Bulls, which operated as laws, to injure their persons; discharged their subjects from obedience; and gave their crowns to any who would usurp them. He claimed an infallibility of knowledge, and an omnipotence of strength; and he forbade the world to examine his claim. He was addressed by titles of blasphemy, and though he owned no jurisdiction over himself, yet he affected to extend his authority over heaven and hell, as well as over a middle place called Purgatory, of all which places, he said, he kept the keys. This irregular church-polity was attended with quarrels, intrigues, schisms, and wars.

Religion itself was made to consist of the performance of numerous ceremonies, of pagan, Jewish, and monkish extraction, all which might be performed without either faith in God, or love to mankind. The church ritual was an address, not to the reason, but to the senses, of men; music stole the ear, and soothed the passions; statues, paintings, vestments, and various ornaments, beguiled the eye; and

the pause, which was produced by that sudden attack which a multitude of objects made on the senses, on entering a spacious decorated edifice, was enthusiastically taken for devotion. Blind obedience was first allowed by courtesy, and then established by law. Public worship was performed in an unknown tongue, and the sacrament was adored as the body and blood of Christ. The credit of the ceremonial produced in the people a notion that the performance of it was the practice of piety, and religion degenerated into gross superstition. Vice, uncontrolled by reason or scripture, retained a pagan vigour, and committed the most horrid crimes; and superstition atoned for them, by building and endowing religious houses, and by bestowing donations on the church. Human merit was introduced, saints were invoked, and the perfections of God were distributed, by canonization, among the creatures of the pope.

The pillars, that supported this edifice, were immense riches, arising by imposts from the sins of mankind; idle distinctions between supreme and subordinate adoration; senseless axioms, called the divinity of the schools; preachments of buffoonery, or blasphemy, or both; cruel casuistry, consisting of a body of dangerous and scandalous morality; false miracles, and midnight visions; spurious books and paltry relics; oaths, dungeons, inquisitions, and crusades. The whole was denominated THE HOLY, CATHOLIC, AND APOSTOLIC CHURCH, and laid to the charge of Jesus Christ.

Loud complaints had been made of these excesses, for the last hundred and fifty years, to those whose business it was to reform, and, bad as they were, they had owned the necessity of reformation, and had repeatedly promised to reform. Several councils had been called for the purpose of reforming; but nothing had been done, nor could any thing be expected from assemblies of mercenary men, who were too deeply interested in darkness to vote for day. They were inflexible against every remonstrance, and, as a Jesuit has since expressed it, "They would not extinguish one taper, though it were to convert all the Hugonots in France."

The restorers of literature reasoned on these complaints; but they reasoned to the wind. The church champions were hard driven, they tried every art to support their cause: but as they could neither get rid of the attack by a polite duplicity, nor intimidate their sensible opponents by anathemas; as they would not determine the matter by scripture, and as they could not defend themselves by any other method; as they were too obstinate to reform themselves, and too proud to be reformed by their inferiors; the plaintiffs at length laid aside thoughts of applying to them, and having found out the liberty wherewith Christ had made them free, went about reforming themselves. The reformers were neither popes, cardinals, nor bishops; but they were good men, who aimed to promote the glory of God, and the good of mankind. This was the state of the church, when Francis I. ascended the throne, 1515.

Were we to enter into the minute examination of the reformation in France, we would own a particular interposition of Providence; but we would also take the liberty to observe, that a happy conjunction of jarring interests rendered the sixteenth century a fit æra for reformation. Events, that produced, protected, and prosecuted reformation, proceeded from open and hidden, great and little, good and bad, causes. The capacities and the tempers, the virtues and the vices, the views and the interests, the wives and the mistresses, of the princes of those times; the abilities and dispositions of the officers of each crown; the powers of government, and the persons who wrought them; the tempers and geniuses of

the people; all these, and many more, were springs of action, which, in their turns, directed the great events that were exhibited to public view. But our limits allow no inquiries of this kind.

The reformation, which began in Germany, had extended itself to Geneva, and thence into France. The French had a translation of the Bible, which had been made in 1224, by Guiars des Moulins. It had been revised, corrected, and printed at Paris, 1487, by order of Charles VIII. and the study of it now began to prevail. The reigning sovereign, who was a patron of learning, encouraged his valet de chambre, Clement Marot, to versify some of David's Psalms, and took great pleasure in singing them; and, indeed, adapted them to his sports. His majesty's favourite psalm, which he sung when he went a hunting, was the 42d. The queen used to sing the 6th, and the king's mistress the 130th. Marot translated fifty, Beza the other hundred. Calvin got them set to music by the best musicians, and every body sung them as ballads. When the reformed churches made them a part of their worship, the Papists were forbidden to sing them any more; and to sing a psalm was a sign of a Lutheran.—However, as to religion, the king either protected or persecuted the reformation, as his interest seemed to him to require. Although in 1535 he went in procession to burn the first martyrs of the reformed church, yet, in the same year, he sent for Melancthon to come into France to reconcile religious differences. Although he persecuted his own Protestant subjects with great inhumanity, yet when he was afraid that the ruin of the German Protestants would strengthen the hands of the emperor Charles the Fifth, he made an alliance with the Protestant princes of Germany, and allowed the duke of Orleans, his second son, to offer them the free exercise of their religion in the dukedom of Luxemburg. He suffered his sister, the queen of Navarre, to protect the reformation in her country of Bearn, and even saved Geneva, when Charles, duke of Savoy, would have taken it. It was no uncommon thing, in that age, for princes to trifle thus with religion. His majesty's first concern was to be a king, his second to act like a rational creature.

The reformation greatly increased in this reign. The pious queen of Navarre made her court a covert from every storm, supplied France with preachers, and the exiles at Geneva with money. Calvin, who in 1534 had fled from his rectory in France, and had settled at Geneva in 1541, was a chief instrument; he slid his Catechism and other books into France. Some of the bishops were inclined to the reformation; but secretly, for fear of the Christians of Rome. The Reformation was called Galvinism. The people were named Sacramentarians, Lutherans, Calvinists; and nicknamed Hugonots, either from Hugon, a hobgoblin, because, to avoid persecution, they held their assemblies in the night; or from the gate Hugon, in Tours, where they used to meet; or from a Swiss word which signifies a league.

Henry II. who succeeded his father Francis, 1547, was a weak and wicked prince. The increase of his authority was the "law and the prophets" to him. He violently persecuted the Calvinists of France, because he was taught to believe that heresy was a faction repugnant to authority; and he made an alliance with the German Protestants, and was pleased with the title of Protector of the Germanic Liberties, that is, protector of Protestantism! This alliance he made in order to check the power of Charles V. He was governed, sometimes by his queen Catherine de Medicis, niece of pope Clement VII. who, it is said, never did right, except she did it by mistake; often by the constable de Montmorenci, whom, contrary to the express command of his father, in his dying

ilness, he had placed at the head of administration ; chiefly by his mistress, Diana, of Poitiers, who had been mistress to his father, and who bore an implacable hatred to Protestants ; and always by some of his favourites, whom he suffered to amass immense fortunes by accusing men of heresy. The Reformation was very much advanced in this reign. The gentry promoted the acting of plays, in which the comedians exposed the lives and doctrines of the Popish clergy, and the poignant wit and humour of the comedians afforded great diversion to the people, and conciliated them to the new preachers. Beza, who had fled to Geneva, 1548, came backward and forward into France, and was a chief promoter of the work. His Latin Testament, which he first published in this reign, was much read, greatly admired, (1556,) and contributed to the strength of the cause. The New Testament was the Goliath's sword of the clerical reformers—there was none like it.

Francis II. succeeded his father Henry, 1559. He was only in the sixteenth year of his age, extremely weak both in body and mind, and therefore incapable of governing the kingdom by himself. In this reign began those civil wars, which raged in France for almost forty years. They have been charged on false zeal for religion : but this charge is a calumny, for the crown of France was the prize for which the generals fought. It was that which inspired them with hopes and fears, productive of devotions, or persecutions, as either of them opened access to the throne. The interests of religion, indeed, fell in with these views, and so the parties were blended together in war.

The family of Charles the Great, which had reigned in France for 230 years, either became extinct, or was deprived of its inheritance, at the death of Lewis the Lazy, in 987. Him Hugh Capet had succeeded, and had transmitted the crown to his own posterity, which in this reign subsisted in two principal branches ; in that of Valois, which was in possession of the throne ; and that of Bourbon, the next heir to the throne of France, and then in possession of Bearn. The latter had been driven out of the kingdom of Navarre ; but they retained the title, and were sometimes at Bearn, and sometimes at the court of France. The house of Guise, dukes of Lorraine, a very rich and powerful family, to whose niece, Mary queen of Scots, the young king was married, pretended to make out their descent from Charles the Great, and were competitors, when the times served, with the reigning family for the throne, and, at other times, with the Bourbon family, for the apparent heirship to it. With these views they directed, their family alliances, perfected themselves in military skill, and, intrigued at court for the administration of affairs. These three houses formed three parties. The house of Guise (the chief of which were five brothers at this time) headed one ; the king of Navarre, the princes of the blood, and the great officers of the crown, the other ; the queen-mother, who managed the interests of the reigning family, exercised her policy on both, to keep either from becoming too strong ; while the feeble child on the throne was alternately a prey to them all.

Protestantism had obtained numerous converts in the last reign. Several princes of the blood, some chief officers of the crown, and many principal families, had embraced it, and its partisans were so numerous, both in Paris and in all the provinces, that each leader of the court parties deliberated on the policy of strengthening his party by openly espousing the Reformation, by endeavouring to free the Protestants from penal laws, and by obtaining a free toleration for them. At length, the house of Bourbon declared for Protestantism, and, of consequence, the Guises were inspired

with zeal for the support of the ancient religion, and took the Roman Catholics under their protection. The king of Navarre, and the prince of Conde, were the heads of the first : but the duke of Guise had the address to obtain the chief management of affairs, and the Protestants were persecuted with insatiable fury all the time of this reign.

Had religion then no share in these commotions ? Certainly it had with many of the princes, and with multitudes of the soldiers : but they were a motley mixture ; one fought for his coronet, another for his land, a third for liberty of conscience, and a fourth for pay. Courage was a joint stock, and they were mutual sharers of gain or loss, praise or blame. It was religion to secure the lives and properties of noble families ; and though the common people had no lordships, yet they had the more valuable rights of conscience, and for them they fought. We mistake if we imagine that the French have never understood the nature of civil and religious liberty ; they have well understood it, though they have not been able to obtain it. *Suum cuique* would have been as expressive a motto as any that the Protestant generals could have borne.

The persecution of the Protestants was very severe at this time. Counsellor du Bourg, a gentleman of eminent quality and great merit, was burnt for heresy, and the court was inclined, not only to rid France of Protestantism, but Scotland also, and sent La Brosse with three thousand men to assist the queen of Scotland in that pious design. This was frustrated by the intervention of queen Elizabeth of England. The persecution becoming every day more intolerable, and the king being quite inaccessible to the remonstrances of his people, the Protestants held several consultations, and took the opinions of their ministers, as well as those of their noble partisans, on the question, whether it were lawful to take up arms in their own defence, and to make way for a free access to the king to present their petitions ? It was unanimously resolved, that it was lawful ; and it was agreed, that a certain number of men should be chosen, who should go on a fixed day, under the direction of Lewis prince of Conde, present their petition to the king, and seize the duke of Guise, and the cardinal of Lorraine, his brother, in order to have them tried before the states. This affair was discovered to the duke by a false brother ; the design was defeated, and twelve hundred were beheaded. Guise pretended to have suppressed a rebellion that was designed to end in the de-throning of the king, and by this manœuvre he procured the general lieutenantancy of the kingdom, and the glorious title of Conservator of his country. He pleased the puerile king by placing a few gaudy horse-guards round his palace, and he infatuated the poor child to think himself and his kingdom rich and happy, while his Protestant subjects lay bleeding through all his realm.

The infinite value of an able statesman, in such an important crisis as this, might here be exemplified in the conduct of Michael de L'Hospital, who at this time, 1560, was promoted to the chancellorship : but our limits will not allow an enlargement. He was the most consummate politician that France ever employed. He had the wisdom of governing, without the folly of discovering it, and all his actions were guided by that cool moderation which always accompanies a superior knowledge of mankind. He was a concealed Protestant of the most liberal sentiments, an entire friend to religious liberty, and it was his wise management that saved France. It was his fixed opinion, that FREE TOLERATION was sound policy. We must not wonder, if the rigid Papists deemed him an atheist ; while zealous, but mistaken Protestants, pictured him carrying a torch.

him, to guide others, but not himself. The more a man resembles God, the more will his conduct be censured by ignorance, partiality, and pride!

The duke of Guise, in order to please and strengthen his party, endeavoured to establish an inquisition in France. The chancellor, being willing to parry a thrust which he could not entirely avoid, was forced, in May, 1560, to agree to a severer edict than he could have wished, to defeat the design. By this edict, the cognizance of the crime of heresy was taken from the secular judges, and given to the bishops alone. The Calvinists complained of this, because it put them into the hands of their enemies: and although their lordships condemned and burnt so many heretics, that their courts were justly called *chambres ardents*, (burning courts, fire-offices,) yet the zealous Catholics thought them less eligible than an inquisition after the manner of Spain.

Soon after the making of this edict, many families having been ruined by it, admiral Coligny, in August 1560, presented a petition to the king in the names of all the Protestants in France, humbly praying that they might be allowed the free exercise of their religion. The king referred the matter to the parliament, who were to consult about it with the lords of his council. A warm debate ensued, and the Catholics carried it against the Protestants by three voices. It was resolved, that people should be obliged either to conform to the old established church, or to quit the kingdom, with permission to sell their estates. The Protestants argued, that in a point of such importance it would be unreasonable, on account of three voices, to inflame all France with animosity and war; that the method of banishment was impossible to be executed; and that the obliging of those who continued in France to submit to the Romish religion against their consciences, was an absurd attempt, and equal to an impossibility. The chancellor, and the Protestant lords, used every effort to procure a toleration, while the Catholic party urged the necessity of uniformity in religion. At length, two of the bishops owned the necessity of reforming, pleaded strenuously for moderate measures, and proposed the deciding of these controversies in an assembly of the states, assisted by a national council, to be summoned at the latter end of the year. To this proposal the assembly agreed.

The court of Rome having laid it down as an indubitable maxim in church policy, that an inquisition was the only support of the hierarchy, and dreading the consequences of allowing a nation to reform itself, was alarmed at this intelligence, and instantly sent a nuncio into France. His instructions were, to prevent, if possible, the calling of a national council, and to promise the re-assembling of the general council of Trent. The Protestants had been too often dupes to such artifices as these; and being fully convinced of the futility of general councils, they refused to submit to the council of Trent now, for several good reasons. The pope, they said, who assembled the council, was to be judge in his own cause: the council would be chiefly composed of Italian bishops, who were vassals of the pope as a secular prince, and sworn to him as a bishop and head of the church: the legates would pack a majority, and bribe the poor bishops to vote: each article would be first settled at Rome, and then proposed by the legates to the council: the emperor, by advice of the late council of Constance, had given a safe-conduct to John Huss, and to Jerome of Prague; however, when they appeared in the council, and proposed their doubts, the council condemned them to be burnt. The Protestants had reason on their side, when they rejected this method of reforming; for the art of procuring a majority of

votes is the soul of this system of church government. This art consists in the ingenuity of finding out, and in the dexterity of addressing, each man's weak side, his pride or his ignorance, his envy, his gravity, or his avarice; and the possessing of this is the perfection of a legate of Rome.

During these disputes, the king died without issue, December 5, 1560, and his brother, Charles IX. who was in the eleventh year of his age, succeeded him, December 13. The states met at the time proposed. The chancellor opened the session by an unanswerable speech on the ill policy of persecution; he represented the miseries of the Protestants, and proposed an abatement of their sufferings, till their complaints could be heard in a national council. The prince of Conde, and the king of Navarre, were the heads of the Protestant party, the Guises were the heads of their opponents, and the queen-mother, Catherine of Medicis, who had obtained the regency till the king's majority, and who began to dread the power of the Guises, leaned to the Protestants; which was a grand event in their favour. After repeated meetings, and various warm debates, it was agreed, as one side would not submit to a general council, nor the other to a national assembly, that a conference should be held at Poissy, July, 1561, between both parties, and an edict was made, that no person should molest the Protestants, that the imprisoned should be released, and the exiles called home.

The conference at Poissy was held August, 1561, in the presence of the king, the princes of the blood, the nobility, cardinals, prelates, and grantees of both parties. On the Popish side, six cardinals, four bishops, and several dignified clergymen; and on the Protestant, about twelve of the most famous reformed ministers, managed the dispute. Beza, who spoke well, knew the world, had a ready wit, and a deal of learning, displayed all his powers in favour of the Reformation. The Papists reasoned where they could; and where they could not, they railed. The conference ended September 29, where most public disputes have ended, that is, where they began; for great men never enter these lists without a previous determination not to submit to the disgrace of a public defeat.

At the close of the last reign, the ruin of Protestantism seemed inevitable; but now the Reformation turned like a tide, overspread every place, and seemed to roll away all opposition; and in all probability, had it not been for one sad event, it would now have subverted Popery in this kingdom. The king of Navarre, who was now lieutenant-general of France, had hitherto been a zealous Protestant; he had taken incredible pains to support the Reformation, and had assured the Danish ambassador, that in a year's time he would cause the true gospel to be preached throughout France. The Guises caballed with the pope and the king of Spain, and offered to invest the king of Navarre with the kingdom of Sardinia, and to restore to him that part of the kingdom of Navarre which lay in Spain, on condition of his renouncing Protestantism. The lure was tempting; and the king deserted, and even persecuted, the Protestants. But Providence is never at a loss for means to effect its designs. The queen of Navarre, daughter of the last queen, who had hitherto preferred a dance before a sermon, was shocked at the king's conduct, and instantly became a zealous Protestant herself. She met with some unkind treatment, but nothing could shake her resolution: "Had I (said she) the kingdom in my hand, I would throw them into the sea, rather than defile my conscience by going to mass." This courageous profession saved her a deal of trouble and dispute.

Protestants began now to appear more publicly than be



fore. The queen of Navarre caused Beza openly to solemnize a marriage in a noble family, after the Genevan manner. This, which was consummated near the court, emboldened the ministers, and they preached at the countess de Seignu's, guarded by the marshal's provosts. The nobility thought that the common people had as good a right to hear the gospel as themselves, and caused the reformed clergy to preach without the walls of Paris. Their auditors were thirty or forty thousand people, divided into three companies; the women in the middle, surrounded by men on foot, and the latter by men on horseback; and, during the sermon, the governor of Paris placed soldiers to guard the avenues, and to prevent disturbances. The morality of this worship cannot be disputed; for, if God be worshipped in spirit and in truth, the place is indifferent. The expediency of it may be doubted; but in a persecution of forty years, the French Protestants had learnt, that their political masters did not consider how rational, but how formidable, they were.

The Guises, and their associates, being quite dispirited, retired to their estates; and the queen regent, by the chancellor's advice, granted an edict to enable the Protestants to preach in all parts of the kingdom, except in Paris, and in other walled cities. The parliaments of France had then the power of refusing to register royal edicts, and the chancellor had occasion for all his address to prevail over the scruples and ill humour of the parliament to procure the registering of this. He begged leave to say, that the question before them was one of those which had its difficulties, on whatever side it was viewed: that, in the present case, one of two things must be chosen, either to put all the adherents of the new religion to the sword, or to banish them entirely, allowing them to dispose of their effects: that the first point could not be executed, since that party was too strong both in leaders and partisans; and, though it could be done, yet as it was staining the king's youth with the blood of so many of his subjects, perhaps when he came of age he would demand it at the hands of his governors: with regard to the second point, it was as little feasible, and, could it be effected, it would be raising as many desperate enemies as exiles; that to enforce conformity against conscience, as matters stood now, was to lead the people to atheism. The edict at last was passed, January 1562, but the house registered it with this clause, "In consideration of the present juncture of the times; but not approving of the new religion in any manner, and till the king shall otherwise appoint." So hard sat toleration on the minds of Papists!

A minority was a period favourable to the views of the Guises, and this edict was a happy occasion of a pretence for commencing hostilities. The duke, instigated by his mother, went to Vassy, a town adjacent to one of his lordships, and, some of his retinue picking a quarrel with some Protestants, who were hearing a sermon in a barn, he interested himself in it, wounded two hundred, and left sixty dead on the spot, March 1, 1562. This was the first Protestant blood that was shed in civil war.

The news of this affair flew like lightning, and, while the duke was marching to Paris with a thousand horse, the city and the provinces rose in arms. The chancellor was extremely afflicted to see both sides preparing for war, and endeavoured to dissuade them from it. The constable told him, "It did not belong to men of the long robe to give their judgment with relation to war." To which he answered, that "Though he did not bear arms, he knew when they ought to be used." After this they excluded him from the councils of war.

The queen-regent, alarmed at the duke's approach to Paris, threw herself into the hands of the Protestants, and ordered Conde to take up arms, August 1562. War began, and barbarities and cruelties were practised on both sides. The duke of Guise was assassinated, the king of Navarre was killed at a siege, fifty thousand Protestants were slain, and after a year had been spent in these confusions, a peace was concluded, 1563. All that the Protestants obtained was an edict, which excluded the exercise of their religion from cities, and restrained it to their own families.

Peace did not continue long; for the Protestants having received intelligence that the pope, the house of Austria, and the house of Guise, had conspired their ruin, and fearing that the king and the court were inclined to crush them, as their rights were every day infringed by new edicts, took up arms again in their own defence, 1567. The city of Rochelle declared for them, and it served them for an asylum for sixty years. They were assisted by queen Elizabeth of England, and by the German princes, and they obtained, at the conclusion of this second war, 1568, the revocation of all penal edicts, the exercise of their religion in their families, and the grant of six cities for their security.

The pope, the king of Spain, and the Guises, finding that they could not prevail while the wise chancellor retained his influence, formed a cabal against him, and got him removed. He resigned very readily, June 1568, and retired to a country seat, where he spent the remainder of his days. A strange confusion followed in the direction of affairs: one edict allowed liberty, another forbade it, and it was plain to the Protestants that their situation was very delicate and dangerous. The articles of the last peace not having been performed, the Papists every where insulted their liberties; and in three months' time, 2000 Hugonots were murdered, and the murderers went unpunished. War broke out again, 1568. Queen Elizabeth assisted the Protestants with money, the count Palatine helped them with men, the queen of Navarre parted with her rings and jewels to support them, and, the prince of Conde being slain, she declared her son, prince Henry, the head and protector of the Protestant cause, and caused medals to be struck with these words, "A safe Peace, a complete Victory, a glorious Death." Her majesty did every thing in her power for the advancement of the cause of religious liberty, and she used to say, that "liberty of conscience ought to be preferred before honours, dignities, and life itself." She caused the New Testament, the catechism, and the liturgy of Geneva, to be translated and printed at Rochelle. She abolished Popery, and established Protestantism in her own dominions. In her leisure hours, she expressed her zeal by working tapestries with her own hands, in which she represented the monuments of that liberty, which she procured by shaking off the yoke of the pope. One suit consisted of twelve pieces. On each piece was represented some scripture history of deliverance; Israel coming out of Egypt, Joseph's release from prison, or something of the like kind. On the top of each piece were these words, "Where the spirit is, there is liberty;" and in the corners of each were broken chains, fetters, and gibbets. One piece represented a congregation at mass, and a fox, in a friar's habit, officiating as a priest, grinning horribly, and saying, "The Lord be with you." The pieces were fashionable patterns, and dexterously directed the needles of the ladies to help forward the Reformation.

After many negotiations, a peace was concluded, 1570, and the free exercise of religion was allowed in all but walled cities; two cities in every province were assigned to the Protestants; they were to be admitted into all universities.



schools, hospitals, public offices, royal, seignorial, and corporate; and, to render the peace of everlasting duration, a match was proposed between Henry of Navarre and the sister of king Charles. These articles were accepted, the match was agreed to, every man's sword was put up in its sheath, and the queen of Navarre, her son king Henry, the princes of the blood, and the principal Protestants, went to Paris to celebrate the marriage, August. 18, 1572. A few days after the marriage, the admiral, who was one of the principal Protestant leaders, was assassinated, Aug. 22. This alarmed the king of Navarre, and the prince of Conde; but the king and his mother promising to punish the assassin, they were quiet. The next Sunday, being St. Bartholomew's day, August 24, when the bells rang for morning prayers, the duke of Guise, brother of the last, appeared with a great number of soldiers and citizens, and began to murder the Hugonots; the wretched Charles appeared at the windows of his palace, and endeavoured to shoot those who fled, crying to their pursuers, "Kill them! Kill them!" The massacre continued seven days; seven hundred houses were pillaged; five thousand people perished in Paris; neither age, nor sex, nor even women with child, were spared; one butcher boasted to the king, that "he had hewn down a hundred and fifty in one night." The rage ran from Paris to the provinces, where twenty-five thousand more were cruelly slain; the queen of Navarre was poisoned; and during the massacre, the king offered the king of Navarre, and the young prince of Conde, son of the late prince, if they would not renounce Hugonotism, either death, mass, or bastille: for, he said, he would not have one left to reproach him. This bloody affair does not lie between Charles IX. his mother Catherine of Medicis, and the duke of Guise; for the church of Rome, and the court of Spain, by exhibiting public rejoicings on the occasion, have adopted the whole for their own, or, at least, have claimed a large share.

*An Account of the Massacre of Paris; translated from the French of M. Bossuet, bishop of Meaux.*

"In the year 1572, Charles IX. being determined to destroy all the Protestants in France, invited the chief of them to Paris, to be present at the marriage of his sister. Judging it best to begin with the admiral Coligny, he ordered the duke of Guise to find him an assassin. He had not far to seek for one, who, in a house of a confidant of the duke of Guise, chose a window looking into the street, through which the admiral always went home from the Louvre. On the 22d of August, about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, Montrevel, seeing him passing on foot, pretty slowly, shot at him with a musket loaded with two balls, one of which wounded him in the left arm, and the other broke a finger of his right hand. The shot was heard in the tennis-court, where the king was playing with the duke of Guise. Some of his attendants came and told the king. He immediately threw down his racket, and went out quite in a fury, swearing that he would do justice for a crime, which more regarded his own person than the admiral's; he spoke with the same force of expression to the king of Navarre, and the prince of Conde, who came to ask his permission to retire. The ardour with which he declared to them his intention to revenge the assassination, almost quieted their minds.

"In vain was search made for the assassin; he had made his escape on a horse, brought by one of the duke of Guise's servants. The Hugonots did not take fire, as had been expected; the admiral's tranquillity prevented them from being alarmed; he was never angry with any body; but in conver-

sation about the contriver of the murder, he pointed out the duke of Guise, but did not name him. As for the king, the admiral was very far from suspecting him. He suffered his pain, and the incisions that were necessary to be made, with admirable constancy. The very day that he was wounded, though he was far from being out of danger, he saw and conversed with all the lords of the court, with a courage and steadiness that surprised them, expressing an entire indifference about life or death, and declaring that he should die satisfied, provided he could tell the king something of great importance, for his glory, and the welfare of his kingdom. He added, that the affair was of such a nature as could be intrusted to nobody else. This was told the king, who, a little after, came to visit him, with the queen-mother, the duke of Anjou, and the duke of Guise.

"In the private conference which he had with the king, his conversation turned entirely on the war in Flanders, to which he persuaded the king with all possible earnestness. He warned him of the little secrecy observed by his council, in which nothing was said which was not immediately carried to the duke of Alva. He concluded with earnestly recommending to the king the execution of edicts, as the sole means of preserving the kingdom.

"The conversation lasted so long, that the queen-mother, who perceived the admiral speaking with some emotion, and the king in appearance relishing what he was saying, became uneasy at it. She was afraid that so strong a reasoner might influence the king; but that prince rose up without determining on the war in the Low Countries. During the whole conversation, the king called the admiral his father with so profound a dissimulation, that there was nobody but believed he was affected. As he frequently swore that he would do justice upon the contrivers of the assassination, the admiral told him softly, that no long time was necessary for discovering them. After the king had retired, the queen-mother with much uneasiness asked him what the admiral was saying to him with so much earnestness? He was of a harsh temper, and for some time began to speak dryly to that princess. The deed which he was contriving made him still wilder; so that he answered, swearing according to his custom, that the admiral had advised him to reign by himself.

"The Hugonots, in the mean time, assembled at the admiral's house. The vidame of Chartres said without hesitation, that the admiral's wound was only the beginning of the tragedy, and that they should all soon become its bloody conclusion, if they did not speedily leave Paris. But Taligni, far from hearing the vidame, was angry at him for doubting the honest intentions of the king. As for the admiral, whether in fact he did not perceive what was preparing, or chose to die rather than again to plunge his native country into the evils from which it emerged, he raised himself above every thing, and quietly waited the event. His friends, undesignedly, hastened his death. As they were afraid that the populace would rise up against them, and fall upon the admiral, they petitioned the king to have his house guarded. This was a fine pretext for the king, for securing his person; he caused a company of the guards to be placed before the admiral's house; he ordered the Protestant gentlemen to lodge round the admiral, and ordered lodgings to be marked for them. At the same time, the magistrates took the names of all the Hugonots, under pretext of lodging them.

"The king seemed afraid that the duke of Guise might occasion some commotion, and feigned an inclination to secure the king of Navarre's life, by inviting him, as well as the prince of Conde, to shut himself up in the Louvre, with

all the bravest men they had. Thus all the Protestants were in his hands, without a possibility for any of them to escape.

"The vidame was confirmed in his opinion, that there was a plot to destroy them. As the admiral was in a condition to be removed in a litter, he anew insisted on a retreat: but the charm was too strong, or the king's dissimulation too deep. Teligni remained in his blindness; but some of the party, among the rest Montgomery, retired into the Faubourg St. Germain, where those of their religion mostly lodged. All that the vidame said was immediately reported to the queen. This was the 23d of August, the eve of St. Bartholomew. It was feared that the arguments should at last prevail, and it was immediately resolved to put to death all the Hugonots in Paris. Such a massacre was not at first proposed to the king, and none but the chief persons were mentioned; but he answered with an oath, that since he must kill, he intended that not a single Hugonot should remain to upbraid him. So an universal massacre was intended, and it was resolved to be made all over the kingdom. The king of Navarre was excepted; and he owed his safety not so much to his rank, his birth, or his new alliance, as to the impossibility of ascribing his death, like that of the admiral, to the duke of Guise. Not but the king loved him; but that inclination was not strong enough to save him, had he been pressed. As for the prince of Conde, whom the memory of his father rendered odious, his sentence was pronounced; and he had died, had not his brother-in-law, the duke of Nevers, broken the blow, by answering for his submission. The night following was chosen for the execution.

"The alarm rung at the palace, on the great bell used in extraordinary ceremonies, was to serve for a signal. The duke of Guise was not ashamed to undertake the execution. The first crime which he had committed in procuring the assassination of the admiral, was an engagement of him in all the rest. Orders were secretly given to have him obeyed in the city, and also by the military. Arms were carried to the Louvre with as much secrecy as possible. Teligni had information of it, as well as of the private movement made by the military. The king told him, every thing was doing by his orders, to keep the populace, whom the duke of Guise was endeavouring to raise, to their good behaviour. Upon this, Teligni continued quiet, and even hindered his father-in-law from being warned. The night was already far advanced when the duke of Guise began to give his orders. He commanded the mayor and sheriffs, who had been prepared, without acquainting them with particulars, to keep their men in readiness, and to repair to the town-house to get their orders.

"The mayor declared to the men whom he had hired, that the king had resolved to be rid that night of all the Hugonots then in Paris; and that he had given orders at the same time, that they should be treated in the same manner throughout his kingdom; and that therefore they should not fail to fall upon them at the signal. He caused them to put a shirt sleeve upon their left arms, and a white cross in their hats, that they might know each other; and ordered, that at a certain hour lanterns should be lighted in all the windows. The hour of twelve was approaching, and the queen came and struck the last stroke. As she perceived the king grow pale, she said to him, 'Have you not the resolution to rid yourself of men who have so little regard for your authority?' He was nettled, and bid them begin then. The queen left him immediately, and gave the last orders.

"A great mob gathered about the Louvre. The lanterns were lighted. The Hugonots, in surprise, asked what was the matter? They were answered, that it was a rejoicing at the Louvre. Some of them went thither, and were committed to the guard room, whilst the king, terrified at the orders he had given, commanded they should still delay: but he was told there was no longer time for deliberation. The alarm rung at St. Germain de l'Auxerrois, the parish church next the Louvre, and the duke of Guise marched with a great retinue to the admiral's. He awoke at the noise. His first thought was, that the duke of Guise had made an insurrection among the people. Some shots which he heard in his court, made him guess that their aim was at him. He rose out of bed, said his prayers, told his servants, without any emotion, that he plainly perceived he must die, and that they might make their escape as well as they could; for he had no further need of man's assistance.

"Scarce had he ended, when he saw enter, with a drawn sword, a man, who asked if he was the admiral? 'Yes,' (said he,) 'young man;' shewing him his gray hairs: and added, 'Thou oughtest to respect my age; but go on, thou wilt only deprive me of a few minutes.' The assassin then ran the sword through his body, and pierced him with several wounds. The duke of Guise asked if he was dead, and to be assured of it, he wanted to see his dead body; it was thrown out at the window to him. Teligni was killed at the same time.

"At that instant they burst into the adjacent houses, which they filled with slaughter. That whole quarter of the city ran like a rivulet with blood. The count de la Rochefoucault, the marquis de Renel, and other persons of quality, were first butchered. In the Louvre the Hugonots were pulled out of their apartments, and after being knocked on the head, they were thrown out at the windows. The court was full of dead bodies, which the king and the queen looked at, not with horror, but with pleasure! All the streets were now filled with slaughter; neither old men, nor children, nor pregnant women, were spared. Every one glutted his own private revenge under pretext of religion, and many Roman Catholics were killed as well as Hugonots.

"Peter Ramus, a famous professor, was thrown down from a tower of the college of Beauvais, where he was teaching. The jealousy of Charpentier, another professor, occasioned his death. They had disputed with too much heat; Charpentier in defending Aristotle, and Ramus, in attacking him: so that poor man was put to death more as an enemy of the peripatetic philosophy, than of the doctrine of the Roman church. Dionysius Lambinus, another professor, by no means a Hugonot, but odious to Charpentier, was afraid of the like destiny; and though his enemy had spared him, the fright killed him. Several of those the king had proscribed, escaped; notwithstanding his peremptory orders, the duke of Guise saved d'Acier, and some others, to free himself from part of the odium, and shew that his only design was against the admiral.

"Three Montmorencys escaped, though included in the list, because the marshal de Montmorency, their eldest brother, being absent, could not be killed with them. Being a friend or relation of the admiral, was a sufficient reason for being treated like a Hugonot. Marshal de Cosse, because he was one of the politicians, was destined to death, but was saved by the interest of a kinswoman, with whom the duke of Anjou was in love. Biron, who was not reckoned enemy enough to the Hugonots, had died with the rest, had not his office of grand master of the artillery furnished him with opportunity to take shelter in the arsenal, where they

not attack him. He there harboured a great many of the proscribed, and among others, James de Chaumont de Nonpart, a boy of ten years of age, who had escaped by hiding himself under the bodies of his father and eldest brother, who had been assassinated in his sight. As for the vidame, and Montgomery, when they heard the noise in the city, they wanted to pass the river, with those who had followed them, into the Fauxbourg St. Germain, to see what the matter was. Strange! they perceived the king dragging the bodies of the massacred out of the windows of the Louvre. They made their escape in all haste.

"The massacre lasted several days, of which the two or three first were terribly violent. The first night the king sent for the king of Navarre and prince of Conde, to command them to abjure their heresy. The cardinal de Bourbon, and some churchmen, endeavoured to instruct them. The king of Navarre made small resistance. The prince of Conde, at first, urged steadily that his conscience ought not to be forced, and that he could not be persuaded that the king would break the promise he had given; but he soon changed his language, when he heard the king in person giving him, with a terrible oath, these three choices, 'Mass, Death, or the Bastile for life.'"

Would any one, after this, propose passive obedience and non-resistance to French Protestants? or, can we wonder that, abhorring a church which offered to embrace them with hands reeking with the blood of their brethren, they put on their armour again, and commenced a fourth civil war? The late massacre raised up also another party, called Politicians, who proposed to banish the family of Guise from France, to remove the queen-mother and the Italians from the government, and to restore peace to the nation. This faction was headed by Montmorency, who had an eye to the crown. During these troubles the king died, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, 1574. Charles had a lively little genius; he composed a book on hunting, and valued himself on his skill in physiognomy. He thought courage consisted in swearing and taunting at his courtiers. His diversions were hunting, music, women, and wine. His court was a common sewer of luxury and impiety; and, while his favourites were fleecing his people, he employed himself in the making of rhymes. The part he acted in the Bartholomean tragedy, the worst crime that was ever perpetrated in any Christian country, will mark his reign with infamy to the end of time.

Henry the Third, who succeeded his brother Charles, was first despised, and then hated, by all his subjects. He was so proud, that he set rails round his table, and affected the pomp of an eastern king; and so mean, that he often walked in procession with a beggarly brotherhood, with a string of beads in his hand, and a whip at his girdle. He was so credulous, that he took the sacrament with the duke of Guise, and with the cardinal of Lorraine, his brother; and so treacherous, that he caused the assassination of them both, 1588. He boasted of being a chief adviser of the late massacre, and the Protestants abhorred him for it. The Papists hated him for his adherence to the Hugonot house of Bourbon, and for the edicts which he sometimes granted in favour of the Protestants, though his only aim was to weaken the Guises. The ladies held him in execration for his unnatural practices; and the duchess of Montpensier talked of clipping his hair, and of making him a monk. His heavy taxes, which were consumed by his favourites, excited the populace against him; and while his kingdom was covering with carnage and drenching in blood, he was training lap-dogs to mangle, and parrots to prate.

In this reign, 1576, was formed the famous league, which reduced France to the most miserable condition that could be. The chief promoter of it was the duke of Guise. The pretence was, the preservation of the Catholic religion. The chief articles were these: "The defence of the Catholic religion; the establishment of Henry III. on the throne; the maintaining of the liberty of the kingdom, and the assembling of the states. Those who entered into the league, promised to obey such a general as should be chosen for the defence of it; and the whole was confirmed by oath. The weak Henry subscribed it at first, in hopes of subduing the Hugonots; the queen-mother, the Guises, the pope, the king of Spain, many of the clergy, and multitudes of the people, became leaguers. When Henry perceived that Guise was aiming by this league to dethrone him, he favoured the Protestants, and they obtained an edict, 1570, for the free exercise of their religion: but edicts were vain things against the power of the league, and three civil wars raged in their reign.

Guise's pretended zeal for the Romish religion allured the clergy, and France was filled with seditious books and sermons. The preachers of the league were the most furious of all sermon-mongers. They preached up the excellence of the established church, the necessity of the uniformity, the horror of Hugonotism, the merit of killing the tyrant on the throne, (for so they called the king,) the genealogy of the house of Guise, and every thing else that could inflame the madness of party rage. It is not enough to say that these abandoned clergymen disgraced their office: truth obliges us to add, they were protected, and preferred to dignities in the church, both in France and Spain.

The nearer the Guises approached the crown, the more they were inflamed at the sight of it. They obliged the king to forbid the exercise of the Protestant religion. They endeavoured to exclude the king of Navarre, who was now the next heir to the throne, from the succession. They began to act so haughtily, that Henry caused both the duke and the cardinal to be assassinated, 1588. The next year, 1589, he himself was assassinated by a friar. Religion flourishes where nothing else can grow, and the Reformation diffused itself more and more in this reign. The exiles at Geneva filled France with a new translation of the Bible, with books, letters, catechisms, hymns, and preachers; and the people, contrasting the religion of Christ with the religion of Rome, entertained a most serious aversion for the latter.

In the last king ended the family of Valois, and the next heir was Henry IV. of the house of Bourbon, king of Navarre. His majesty had been educated a Protestant, and had been the protector of the party, and the Protestants had reason to expect much from him on his ascending the throne of France: but he had many difficulties to surmount. He could the men, who would not bear a Hugonot subject, bear a Hugonot king? Some of the old faction disputed his title, and all insisted on a Christian king. Henry had for him on the one side almost all the nobility, the whole court of the late king, all Protestant states and princes, and the Hugonot troops: on the other, he had against him the common people, most of the great cities, all the parliaments except two, the greatest part of the clergy, the pope, the king of Spain, and most Catholic states. Four years his majesty deliberated, negotiated, and fought; but could not gain Paris. At length the league set up a king of the house of Guise, and Henry found that the throne was inaccessible to all but Papists; he therefore renounced heresy before Dr. Benoit, a moderate Papist, and professed his conversion to

Popery. Paris opened its gates, 1594; the pope sent an absolution, and Henry became a *most Christian king*!—Every man may rejoice that his virtue is not put to the trial of refusing a crown!

When his majesty got to his palace in Paris, he thought proper to conciliate his new friends by shewing them particular esteem, and played at cards the first evening with a lady of the house of Guise, the most violent leaguer in all the party. His old servants, who had shed rivers of blood to bring the house of Bourbon to the throne, thought themselves neglected. While the Protestants were slighted, and while those who had followed the league were disengaging themselves from it on advantageous conditions, one of the king's old friends said, "We do not envy your killing the fattened calf for the prodigal son, provided you do not sacrifice the obedient son to make the better entertainment for the prodigal. I dread those bargains, in which things are given up, and nothing got but mere words, the words of those who hitherto have had no words at all."

By ascending the throne of France, Henry had risen to the highest degree of wretchedness. He had offered violence to his conscience by embracing Popery, and he had stirred up a general discontent among the French Protestants. The queen of England, and the Protestant states, reproached him bitterly, the league refused to acknowledge him till the pope had absolved him in form, the king of Spain caballed for the crown, several cities held out against him, many of the clergy thought him an hypocrite, and refused to insert his name in the public prayers of the church, the lawyers published libels against him, and Jesuits threatened to assassinate him, and actually attempted to do it. In this delicate and difficult situation, though his majesty manifested the frailty of humanity by renouncing Protestantism, yet he extricated himself and his subjects from the fatal labyrinths in which they were all involved; so that he deservedly acquired, even from his enemies, the epithet of Great, though his friends durst not give him that of Good.

The king had been so well acquainted with the Protestants, that he perfectly knew their principles; and could he have acted as he would, he would have instantly granted them all they wanted. Their enemies had falsely said, that they were enemies to government: but the king knew better; and he also knew that the claims of his family would have been long ago buried in oblivion, had not the Protestants supported them. Marshal Biron had been one chief instrument of bringing him to the throne. The marshal was not a good Hugonot, nor did he profess to be a papist; but he espoused the Protestant party; for he was a man of great sense, and he hated violence in religion; and there were many more of the same cast. Parties, however, ran so high, that precipitance would have lost all; and Henry was obliged to proceed by slow and cautious steps.

The deputies of the reformed churches soon waited on his majesty to congratulate him, and to pray for liberty. The king allowed them to hold a general assembly, and offered them some slight satisfaction: but the hardy veteran Hugonots, who had spent their days in the field, and who knew also that persons, who were of approved fidelity, might venture to give the king their advice without angering him, took the liberty of reminding him, that they would not be paid in compliments for so many signal services. Their ancestors and they had supported his right to the crown, along with their own right to liberty of conscience; and as Providence had granted the one, they expected that the other would not be denied. The king felt the force of these remonstrances, and ventured to allow them to hold provincial assemblies;

after a while, to convene a national synod; and, as soon as he could, he granted them the famous EDICT OF NANTZ.

The Edict of Nantz, which was called perpetual and irrevocable, and which contained ninety-two articles, beside fifty-six secret articles, granted to the Protestants liberty of conscience, and the free exercise of religion; many churches in all parts of France, and judges of their own persuasion; a free access to all places of honour and dignity; great sums of money to pay off their troops; an hundred places as pledges of their future security, and certain funds to maintain both their preachers and their garrisons. The king did not send this edict to be registered in parliament till the pope's legate was gone out of the kingdom, so that it did not get there till the next year. Some of the old party in the house boggled at it very much, and particularly because the Hugonots were hereby qualified for offices and places of trust; but his majesty sent for some of the chiefs to his closet, made them a most pathetic speech on the occasion, and with some difficulty brought them to a compliance. It is easy to conceive that the king might be very pathetic on this occasion; for he had seen and suffered enough to make any man so. The meanest Hugonot soldier could not avoid the pathos, if he related his campaigns. But it is very credible that it was not the pathos of his majesty's language, but the power in his hand, that affected these intolerant souls.

No nation ever made a more noble struggle for recovering liberty of conscience, out of the rapacious hands of the papal priesthood, than the French. And one may venture to defy the most sanguine friend to intolerance to prove, that a free toleration hath in any country, at any period, produced such calamities in society as those which persecution produced in France. After a million of brave men had been destroyed, after nine civil wars, after four pitched battles, after the besieging of several hundred places, after more than three hundred engagements, after poisoning, burning, assassinating, massacring, murdering in every form, France is forced to submit to what her wise chancellor De L'Hospital had at first proposed, A FREE TOLERATION. Most of the zealous leaguers voted for it, because "They had found by experience, (they said,) that violent proceedings in matters of religion prove more destructive than edifying." A noble testimony from enemies' mouths!

France now began to taste the sweets of peace; the king employed himself in making his subjects happy, and the far greater part of his subjects endeavoured to render him so. The Protestants applied themselves to the care of their churches; and as they had at this time a great many able ministers, they flourished and increased the remaining part of this reign. The doctrine of their churches was Calvinism, and their discipline was Presbyterian, after the Genevan plan. Their churches were supplied by able pastors; their universities were adorned with learned and pious professors, such as Casaubon, Daille, and others, whose praises are in all the reformed churches; their provincial and national synods were regularly convened, and their people were well governed. Much pains were taken with the king to alienate his mind from his Protestant subjects: but no motives could influence him. He knew the worth of the men, and he protected them till his death. This great prince was hated by the popish clergy for his lenity, and was stabbed in his coach by the execrable Ravillac, May 14, 1610, whose name inspires one with horror and pain.

Lewis XIII. was not quite nine years of age when he succeeded his father Henry. The first act of the queen-mother, who had the regency during the king's minority, was



confirmation of the Edict of Nantz. Lewis confirmed it again in 1614, at his majority, promising to observe it inviolably. The Protestants deserved a confirmation of their privileges at his hands; for they had taken no part in the civil wars and disturbances, which had troubled his minority. They had been earnestly solicited to intermeddle with government; but they had wisely avoided it.

Lewis was a weak ambitious man; he was jealous of his power to excess, though he did not know wherein it consisted. He was so void of prudence, that he could not help exalting his flatterers into favourites, and his favourites into excessive power. He was so timorous, that his favourites became the objects of his hatred the moment after he had elevated them to authority; and he was so callous, that he never lamented a favourite's death or downfall. By a solemn act of devotion, attended with all the farce of pictures, masses, processions, and festivals, he consecrated his person, his dominions, his crown, and his subjects, to the Virgin Mary, 1638, desiring her to defend his kingdom, and to inspire him with grace to lead a holy life. The Popish clergy adored him for thus sanctifying their superstitions by his example, and he in return lent them his power to punish his Protestant subjects, whom he hated. His panegyrists call him Lewis the Just: but they ought to acknowledge that his majesty did nothing to merit the title, till he found himself dying.

Lewis's prime minister was an artful enterprising clergyman, who, before his elevation, was a country bishop, and, after it, was known by the title of Cardinal de Richlieu: but the most proper title for his eminence is that which some historians give him, of the Jupiter Mactator of France. He was a man of great ability, but of no merit. Had his virtue been as great as his capacity, he ought not to have been intrusted with government, because all cardinals take an oath to the pope; and although an oath does not bind a bad man, yet, as the taking of it gives him credit, so the breach of it ruins all his prospects among those with whom he has taken it.

The Jesuits, who had been banished in 1594 from France, for attempting the life of Henry IV. had been recalled in 1604, and restored to their houses; and one of their society, under pretence of being responsible as an hostage for the whole fraternity, was allowed to attend the king. The Jesuits, by this means, gained the greatest honour and power, and, as they excelled in learning, address, and intrigue, they knew how to obtain the king's ear, and how to improve his credulity to their own advantage.

This dangerous society was first formed in 1534, by Ignatius Loyola, a Spanish deserter, who, being frightened out of the army by a wound, took it in his head to go on pilgrimage, and to form a religious society for the support of the Catholic faith. The popes, who knew how to avail themselves of enthusiasm in church government, directed this grand spring of human action to secular purposes, and, by canonizing the founder, and arranging the order, elevated the society in a few years to a height that astonished all Europe. It was one opinion of the society, that the authority of kings is inferior to that of the people, and that they may be punished by the people in certain cases. It was another maxim with them, that sovereign princes have received from the hand of God a sword to punish heretics. The Jesuits did not invent these doctrines; but they drew such consequences from them as were most prejudicial to the public tranquillity: for, from the conjunction of these two principles, they concluded that an heretical prince ought to be deposed, and that heresy ought to be extirpated by fire and sword, in case it could not be extirpated otherwise. In

conformity to the first of these principles, two kings of France had been murdered successively, under pretext that they were fautors of heretics. The parliament in this reign, 1615, condemned the first as a pernicious tenet, and declared that the authority of monarchs was dependent only on God: but the last principle, that related to the extirpation of heresy, as it flattered the court and the clergy, came into vogue. *Jus divinum* was the test of sound orthodoxy; and this reasoning became popular argumentation: "Princes may put heretics to death; therefore, they ought to put them to death."

Richlieu, who had wriggled himself into power, by publishing a scandalous libel on the Protestants of France, advised the king to establish his authority, by extirpating the intestine evils of the realm. He assured his majesty, that the Hugonots had the power of doing him mischief; and that it was a principle with them, that kings might be deposed by the people. The Protestants replied to his invectives, and exposed the absurdity of his reasoning. Richlieu reasoned thus: John Knox, the Scotch reformer, did not believe the divine authority of kings. Calvin held a correspondence with Knox: therefore Calvin did not believe it. The French reformed church derived its doctrine from Calvin's church of Geneva: therefore the first Hugonots did not believe it. The first Hugonots did not believe it: therefore the present Hugonots do not believe it.—No man who valued the reputation of a man of sense, would have scaled the walls of preferment with such a ridiculous ladder as this!

The king, intoxicated with despotic principles, followed the fatal advice of his minister, and began with his patrimonial province of Bearn, where he caused the Catholic religion to be established, 1620. The Hugonots broke out into violence at this attack on their liberties; whence the king took an opportunity to recover several places from them, and at last made peace with them, on condition of their demolishing all their fortifications, except those of Montauban and Rochelle. Arnoux, the Jesuit, who was a creature of Richlieu's, was at that time confessor to Lewis the Just.

The politic Richlieu invariably pursued his design of rendering his master absolute. By one art he subdued the nobility, by another the parliaments; and, as civil and religious liberty live and die together, he had engines of all sorts to extirpate heresy. He pretended to have formed the design of re-uniting the two churches of Protestants and Catholics. He drew off from the Protestant party the dukes of Sully, Bouillon, Lesdeguières, Rohan, and many of the first quality: for he had the world and its glory to go to market withal, and he had to do with a race of men who were very different from their ancestors. Most of them had either died for their profession, or had fled out of the kingdom, and several of them had submitted to practice mean trades, in foreign countries, for their support: but these were endeavouring to serve God and mammon, and his eminence was a fit casuist for such consciences.

The Protestants had resolved, in a general assembly, to die rather than to submit to the loss of their liberties; but their king was weak, their prime minister was wicked, their clerical enemies were powerful and implacable, and they were obliged to bear those infractions of edicts which their oppressors made every day. At length Richlieu determined to put a period to their hopes, by the taking of Rochelle. The city was besieged both by sea and land, and the efforts of the besieged were at last overcome by famine; for they had lived without bread for thirteen weeks, and of eighteen thousand citizens, there were not above five thousand left,



1625. The strength of the Protestants was broken by this stroke. Montauban agreed now to demolish its works, and the just king confirmed anew the *perpetual* and *irrevocable* Edict of Nantz, as far as it concerned a free exercise of religion.

The cardinal, not content with temporal power, had still another claim on the Protestants, of a spiritual kind. Cautionary towns must be given up to that, and conscience to this. He suffered the edict to be infringed every day, and he was determined not to stop till he had established an uniformity in the church, without the obtaining of which he thought something was wanting to his master's power. The Protestants did all that prudence could suggest. They sent the famous Amyraut to complain to the king of the infraction of their edicts, 1631. Mr. Amyraut was a person proper to go on this business. He had an extreme attachment to the doctrine of passive obedience: this rendered him agreeable to the court; and he had declared for no obedience in matters of conscience; and this made him dear to the Protestants. The synod ordered him not to make his speech to the king kneeling, as the deputies of the former synod had done; but to procure the restoring of the privilege which they formerly enjoyed, of speaking to the king standing, as the other ecclesiastics of the kingdom were allowed to do. The cardinal strove, for a whole fortnight, to make Amyraut submit to this tacit acknowledgment of the clerical character in the Popish clergy, and of the want of it in the reformed ministers. But Amyraut persisted in his claim, and was introduced to the king as the synod had desired. The whole court was charmed with the deputy's talents and deportment. Richlieu had many conferences with him; and if negotiation could have accommodated the dispute between arbitrary power and upright consciences, it would have been settled now. He was treated with the utmost politeness, and dismissed. If he had not the pleasure of reflecting that he had obtained the liberty of his party, he had, however, the peace that arises from a consciousness of having used a proper mean to obtain it. The same mean was tried, some time after, by the inimitable Du Bosc, whom his countrymen called a **PERFECT ORATOR**; but, alas! he was eloquent in vain.

The affairs of the Protestants waxed every day worse and worse. They saw the clouds gathering, and they dreaded the weight of the storm; but they knew not whither to flee. Some fled to England; but no peace was there: Laud, the tyrant of the English church, had a Richlieu's heart without his head; he persecuted them, and, in conjunction with Wren, and other such churchmen, drove them back, to the infinite damage of the manufactures of the kingdom, 1634. It must affect every liberal eye to see such professors as Amyraut, Chappel, and De la Place, such ministers as Mestrezat and Blondel, who would have been an honour to any community, driven to the sad alternative of flying their country, or of violating their consciences. But their time was not yet fully come.

Cardinal Richlieu's hoary head went down to the grave, 1642, without the tears of his master, and with the hatred of all France. The king soon followed him, 1643, complaining, in the words of Job, "My soul is weary of my life." The Protestants had increased greatly in numbers in this reign, though they had lost their power; for they were now computed to exceed two millions. So true it is, that violent measures in religion weaken the church that employs them.

Lewis XIV. was only in the fifth year of his age at the demise of his father. The queen-mother was appointed sole regent during his minority, and cardinal Mazarine, a creature of Richlieu's, was her prime minister. The Edict of Nantz

was confirmed, 1643, by the regent, and again by the king at his majority, 1652. But it was always the cool determination of the minister to follow the late cardinal's plan, and to revoke it as soon as he could, and he strongly impressed the mind of the king with the expediency of it.

Lewis, who was a perfect tool to the Jesuits, followed the advice of Mazarine, of his confessors, and of the clergy about him; and as soon as he took the management of affairs into his own hands, 1661, he made a firm resolution to destroy the Protestants. He tried to weaken them by buying off their great men; and he had but too much success. Some indeed were superior to this state trick; and it was a noble answer which the marquis de Bougy gave, when he was offered a marshal's staff, and any government that he might make choice of, provided he would turn Papist:—Could I be prevailed on (said he) to betray my God for a marshal of France's staff, I might betray my king for a thing of much less consequence; but I will do neither of them, but rejoice to find that my services are acceptable, and that the religion which I profess is the only obstacle to my reward. Was his majesty so little versed in the knowledge of mankind as not to know that saleable virtue is seldom worth buying.

The king used another art, as mean as the former: he exhorted the bishops to take care that the points in controversy betwixt the Catholics and Calvinists should be much insisted on by the clergy in their sermons, especially in those places that were mostly inhabited by the latter, and that a good number of missionaries should be sent among them to convert them to the religion of their ancestors. It should seem, at first view, that the exercise of his majesty's power in this way should be formidable to the Protestants; for, as the king had the nomination of eighteen archbishops, a hundred and nine bishops, and seven hundred and fifty abbots, and as these dignitaries governed the inferior clergy, it is easy to see that all the Popish clergy of France were creatures of the court, and several of them were men of good learning. But the Protestants had no fears on this head: they were excellent scholars, masters of the controversy; hearty in the service; and the mortifications to which they had been long accustomed, had taught them that temperate coolness which is so essential in the investigating and supporting of truth. They published, therefore, unanswerable arguments for their nonconformity. The famous Mr. Claude, pastor of the church at Charenton, near Paris, wrote a Defence of the Reformation, which all the clergy of France could not answer. The bishops, however, answered the Protestants all at once, by procuring the edict which forbade them to print.

The king, in prosecution of his design, excluded the Calvinists from his household, and from all other employments of honour and profit; he ordered all the courts of justice, erected by virtue of the Edict of Nantz, to be abolished, and, in lieu of them, made several laws in favour of the Catholic religion, which debarred from all liberty of abjuring the Catholic doctrine, and restrained the Protestants, who had embraced it, from returning to their former opinions, under severe punishments. He ordered soldiers to be quartered in their houses till they changed their religion. He shut up their churches, and forbade the ministerial function to their clergy; and where his commands were not readily obeyed, he levelled their churches with the ground. At last, Oct. 22, 1685, he revoked the Edict of Nantz, and banished them from the kingdom.

"A thousand dreadful blows (says Mr. Saurin) were struck at our afflicted churches, before that which destroyed them: for our enemies, if I may use such an expression,

content with seeing our ruin, endeavoured to taste it. One while, edicts were published against those who, foreseeing the calamities that threatened our churches, and not having power to prevent them, desired only the sad consolation of not being spectators of their ruin. Another while, August 1609, against those who, through their weakness, had denied their religion, and who, not being able to bear the remorse of their consciences, desired to return to their first profession. One while, May, 1679, our pastors were forbidden to exercise their discipline on those of their flocks who had abjured the truth. Another while, June, 1680, children of seven years of age were allowed to embrace doctrines, which the church of Rome allows are not level to the capacities of adults; June, 1681. A college was suppressed, and then a church shut up, January, 1683. Sometimes we were forbid to convert infidels; and sometimes to confirm those in the truth whom we had instructed from their infancy; and our pastors were forbidden to exercise their pastoral office any longer in one place than three years. Sometimes the printing of our books was prohibited, July, 1685, and sometimes those which we printed were taken away. One while we were not suffered to preach in a church, September, 1685, and another while we were punished for preaching on its ruins, and at length we were forbidden to worship God in public at all. Now, October, 1685, we were banished; then, 1689, we were forbidden to quit the kingdom on pain of death. Here, we saw the glorious rewards of some who betrayed their religion; and there, we beheld others, who had the courage to confess it, a-haling to a dungeon, a scaffold, or a galley. Here, we saw our persecutors drawing on a sledge the dead bodies of those who had expired on the rack. There, we beheld a false friar tormenting a dying man, who was terrified on the one hand with the fear of hell if he should apostatize, and, on the other, with the fear of leaving his children without bread, if he should continue in the faith: yonder they were tearing children from their parents, while the tender parents were shedding more tears for the loss of their souls, than for that of their bodies or lives."

It is impossible to meet with parallel instances of cruelty among the heathens, in their persecutions of the primitive Christians. The bloody butchers, who were sent to them under the name of dragoons, invented a thousand torments to tire their patience, and to force an abjuration from them. "They cast some (says Mr. Claude) into large fires, and took them out when they were half roasted. They hanged others with large ropes under the armpits, and plunged them several times into wells, till they promised to renounce their religion. They tied them like criminals on the rack, and poured wine with a funnel into their mouths, till, being intoxicated, they declared that they consented to turn Catholics. Some they slashed and cut with penknives; others they took by the nose with red-hot tongs, and led them up and down the rooms till they promised to turn Catholics." These cruel proceedings made eight hundred thousand persons quit the kingdom.

If the same actions may proceed from different principles, it must be always a hazardous, and often an unjust attempt, to assign the true motives of men's conduct. But public actions fall under public notice, and they deserve censure or commendation, according to the obvious good or evil which they produce in society. The art of governing requires a superior genius, and a superior genius hides, like a lofty mountain, its summit in the clouds. In some cases a want of capacity, and in others a fund of selfishness, would prevent a subject's comprehension of his prince's projects, and

consequently his approbation of his prince's measures; and for these reasons the cabinets of princes should be the least accessible, and their hearts the most impenetrable parts of their dominions: but when the prince would reduce his projects to practice, and cause his imaginations to become rules of action to his subjects, he ought to give a reason for his conduct; and, if his conduct be rational, he will do so: for, as all law is founded in reason, so reason is its best support. In such a case, the nature of the thing, as well as the respect that is due to the rank of the prince, would require us to be either mute or modest on the motive; and the same reasons would require us to consider the reasonableness, or unreasonableness, of the law; for if it be not reason, it ought not to be law, and nothing can prevent our feeling the good or ill effects of the whole action.

To disfranchise and to banish, to imprison, and to execute sometimes, members of society, are partial evils; but they are also some general benefits, and the excision of a part may be essential to the preservation of the whole. The inflicting of these punishments on the French Protestants might possibly be essential to the safety of the whole nation; or perhaps his majesty might think it essential to monarchy; perhaps the clergy might think it essential to orthodoxy; perhaps the financiers, and the king's mistresses, might think it essential to the making of their fortunes. But we have nothing to do with these private views: the questions are, Was it essential to the general safety and happiness of the kingdom? Was it agreeable to the unalterable dictates of right reason? Was it consistent with the sound approved maxims of civil polity? In these views, we venture to say, that the repeal of the Edict of Nantz, which had been the security of the Protestants, was an action irrational and irreligious, inhuman and ungrateful, perfidious, impolitic, and weak. If respect to religion, and right reason, were to compose a just title for the perpetrator of such a crime, it might call him a most inhuman tyrant; certainly it would not call him a most Christian king.

It was an irrational act; for there was no fitness between the punishment and the supposed crime. The crime was a mental error: but penal laws have no internal operation on the mind. It was irreligious; for religion ends where persecution begins. An action may begin in religion; but when it proceeds to injure a person, it ceases to be religion; it is only a denomination, and a method of acting. It was inhuman; for it caused the most savage cruelties. It was as ungrateful in the house of Bourbon to murder their old supporters, as it was magnanimous in the Protestants, under their severest persecutions, to tell their murderer, they "Thought that blood well employed, which had been spent in supporting the just claim of the house of Bourbon to the throne." It was, to the last degree, perfidious; for the Edict of Nantz had been given by Henry IV. for a PERPETUAL AND IRREVOCABLE decree; it had been confirmed by the succeeding princes, and Lewis XIV. himself had assigned, in the declaration, the loyalty of the Protestants as a reason for the confirmation: "My subjects of the pretended reformed religion (says he) have given me unquestionable proofs of their affection and loyalty. It had been sworn to by the governors and lieutenants-general of the provinces, by the courts of parliament, and by all the officers of the courts of justice. What national perjury! Is it enough to say, as this perjured monarch did, "My grandfather, Henry IV. loved you, and was obliged to you. My father, Lewis XIII. feared you, and wanted your assistance. But I neither love you nor fear you, and do not want your services!" The ill policy of it is confessed on all sides.

Where is the policy of banishing eight hundred thousand people, who declare that a free exercise of religion ought not to injure any man's civil rights, and, on this principle, support the king's claim to the crown, as long as he executes the duty of his office? Where is the policy of doing this, in order to secure a set of men who openly avow these propositions, "The pope is superior to all law: It is right to kill that prince whom the pope excommunicates: If a prince become an Arian, the people ought to depose him?" Where is the policy of banishing men whose doctrines have kept in the kingdom, during the space of two hundred and fifty years, the sum of two hundred and fifty millions of livres, which, at a moderate calculation, would otherwise have gone to Rome for indulgences and annats, and such other trash? Who was the politician, the count d'Avaux, who, while he was ambassador in Holland, from 1685 to 1688, offered to prove that the refugees had carried out of France more than twenty millions of property, and advised the king to recall it, by recalling its owners: or the king, who refused to avail himself of this advice? Who was the politician, the intolerant Lewis, who drove his Protestant soldiers and sailors out of his service; or the benevolent prince of Orange, who, in one year, raised three regiments of French refugee soldiers, commanded by their own officers, and manned three vessels, at the same time, with refugee sailors, to serve the Dutch, while France wanted men to equip her fleets? The Protestants having been for some time excluded from all offices, and not being suffered to enjoy any civil or military employments, had applied themselves either to manufactures, or to the improving of their money in trade: was it policy to banish a Mons. Vincent, who employed more than five hundred workmen? Was policy on the side of that prince, who demolished manufactories; or on the side of those who set them up, by receiving the refugee manufacturers into their kingdoms? Had England derived no more advantage from its hospitality to the refugees than the silk manufacture, 1698, it would have amply repaid the nation.—The memorials of the intendants of the provinces were full of such complaints. The intendant of Rouen said, the refugees had carried away the manufacture of hats. The intendant of Poitiers said, they had taken away the manufacture of druggets. In some provinces the commerce was diminished several millions of livres in a year, and in some half the revenue was sunk. Was it policy in the king to provoke the Protestant states and princes, who had always been his faithful allies against the house of Austria, and at the same time to supply them, with eight hundred thousand new subjects? After all, it was a weak and foolish step; for the Protestants were not extirpated. There remained almost as many in the kingdom as were driven out of it; and even at this day, though now and then a preacher hath been hanged, and now and then a family murdered, yet the opulent province of Languedoc is full of Protestants; the Lutherans have the university of Alsace; neither art nor cruelty can rid the kingdom of them; and some of the greatest ornaments of France have pleaded for a FREE TOLERATION.

The refugees charge their banishment on the clergy of France, and they give very good proof of their assertion; nor do they mistake, when they affirm, that their sufferings are a part of the religion of Rome: for pope Innocent XI. highly approved of this persecution. He wrote a brief to the king, in which he assured him that what he had done against the heretics of his kingdom would be immortalized by the eulogies of the Catholic church. He delivered a discourse in the consistory, May 18, 1689, in which he said, "The most Christian king's zeal and PIETY did wonderfully appear in

extirpating heresy, and in clearing his whole kingdom of it in a very few months. He ordered *Te Deum* to be sung, to give thanks to God for this return of the heretics into the pale of the church; which was accordingly done with great pomp, April 28. If this persecution was clerical policy, it was bad; and if it were the religion of the French clergy, it was worse. In either case the church procured great evil to the state. Lewis XIV. was on the pinnacle of glory at the conclusion of the peace of Nimeguen, 1679; his dominion was, as it were, established all over Europe, and was become an inevitable prejudice to neighbouring nations: but here he began to extirpate what was called heresy, i. e. Protestantism, and here he began to fall, nor has the nation fully recovered its grandeur since.

Protestant powers opened their arms to these venerable exiles. Abbadie, Ancillon, and others, fled to Berlin. Bosuage, Claude, Du Bosc, and many more, found refuge in Holland. The famous Dr. Allix, with numbers of his brethren, came to England. A great many families went to Geneva, among which was that of Saurin.

#### FURTHER PARTICULARS OF THOSE WHO WERE MARTYRED BY THE PAPISTS IN FRANCE.

*Johannes de Cadurco, bachelor of the civil law, burnt at Paris, anno 1593.*

THIS John, for making a sermon or exhortation to his countrymen of Limosine, in France, upon Allhallow-day; and after sitting at a feast where it was propounded, that every one should bring forth some sentence: for that he brought forth this, "Christ shall reign in our hearts;" and did illustrate the same by the scriptures at much length, was thereupon accused, taken, and degraded, and after burned. At his degradation, one of the black friars of Paris preached, taking for his text the words of St Paul, 1 Tim. iv. "The Spirit speaketh, that in the latter days men shall depart from the faith, giving heed to lying spirits, &c."—And in handling that place, either he could not or would not proceed further in the text: Cadurcus cried out to him to proceed, and read further. The friar stood dumb, and could not speak a word.

Then Cadurcus, taking the text, did prosecute the same, as followeth:—"teaching false doctrine in hypocrisy, having their conscience seared as with a hot iron, forbidding to marry, and to eat meats created of God to be eaten with thanksgiving."

*Stephen Brune, husbandman, at Rutiers, 1540.*

Stephen Brune was persecuted by Gaspar Augerius, who, after his confession given of his faith, was adjudged to be burned. Which punishment he endured so firmly, that it was to them a wonder. His adversaries, after his death, commanded to be cried, that none should make any more mention of him, under pain of heresy.

Pantalion adds, That at the place of his burning, called Planuoll, the wind arose, and blew the fire so from him as he stood exhorting the people, that he continued there the space of an hour, scarce touched with any flame; so that all the wood being wasted away, they were compelled to begin the fire again with new faggots and vessels of oil, and such other matter: and yet neither could he with all this be burned.

but stood safe. Then the hangman took a staff, and let drive at his head : to whom the holy martyr said, When I am judged to the fire, do ye beat me with staves like a dog? With that, the hangman with his pike thrust him through the belly, and so threw him down into the fire, and burned his body to ashes, throwing away his ashes afterwards to the wind.

*Aymond de Lauoy, burnt at Bourdeaux, 1543.*

This Aymond preached the gospel at St. Faith's, in Anjou, where he was accused by the parish-priest there, and by other priests, to have taught false doctrine, to the great decay of their gains. Whereupon, when the magistrates of Bourdeaux had given commandment, and had sent out their apparitors to apprehend him; he having intelligence thereof, was willed by his friends to fly, and shift for himself. But he would not, saying, He had rather never have been born than so to do. It was the office of a good shepherd, he said, not to fly in time of peril, but rather to abide the danger, lest the flock be scattered; or else lest, peradventure, in so doing, he should leave some scruple in their minds, thus to think, that he fed them with dreams and fables, contrary to the word of God. Wherefore, beseeching them to move him no more, he told them that he feared not to yield up both body and soul in the quarrel of that truth which he had taught; saying, with St. Paul, "That he was ready not only to be bound for the testimony of Christ, in the city of Bourdeaux, but also to die." Acts 21.

To contract the long story hereof to a brief narration: The summer came, and was in the city three days, during which time Aymondus preached three sermons. The people, in defence of their preacher, flew upon the summer to deliver him out of his hands. But Aymond desired them not to stop his martyrdom, seeing it was the will of God that he should suffer for him: he would not, he said, resist. Then the consuls permitted the summer, and so Aymond was carried to Bourdeaux; where many witnesses, the most part priests, came in against him, with Mr. Riverack also, and his servant; which Riverack had said oftentimes before, that it should cost him a thousand crowns, but he would burn him. Many exceptions he made against his false witnesses; but that would not be taken. All their accusation was, only for denying purgatory. About nine months he remained in prison, in great misery, bewailing exceedingly his former life, although there was no man that could charge him outwardly with any crime.

Then came down letters; whereupon the judges began to proceed to his condemnation, and he had greater fetters put upon him; which he took for a token of his death shortly to follow. After that, he was examined with torments. One of the head presidents came to him, and shaking him by the beard, bade him tell what fellows he had of his religion. To whom he answered, saying, that he had no other fellows, but such as knew and did the will of God his Father, whether they were nobles, merchants, or husbandmen, or of what degree soever they were. In these torments he endured two or three hours, being but of a weak body, with these words comforting himself: This body (said he) once must die, but the spirit shall live: the kingdom of God abideth for ever. In the time of his tormenting, he swooned: afterwards coming to himself again, he said, O Lord, Lord, why hast thou forsaken me? To whom the president said, Nay, wicked Lutheran, thou hast forsaken God. Then said Aymondus, Alas! good masters, why do you thus miserably torment me? O Lord, I beseech thee, forgive them, they know not

what they do. See, said the president, this caitiff, how he prayeth for us. Nevertheless, so constant was he in his pains, that they could not force him to utter one man's name, saying unto them, that he thought to have found more mercy with men; wherefore he prayed God that he might find mercy with him.

On the next Saturday following, sentence of condemnation was given against him.—Then certain friars were appointed to hear his confession; whom he refused, choosing one of his own order, the parish-priest of St. Christopher's, bidding the friars depart from him, for he would confess his sins to the Lord. Do you not see, said he, how I am troubled enough with men, will ye yet trouble me more? Others have had my body, will ye also take from me my soul? Away from me, I pray you. At last, when he could not be suffered to have the parish-priest, he then took a certain Carmelite, bidding the rest to depart; with whom he having long talked, at last did convert him to the truth. Shortly after that, came unto him the judges, Cassanges and Longa, with other counsellors: to whom the said Aymondus began to preach and declare his mind touching the Lord's supper: but Longa, interrupting him, demanded of him thus:

*Judge.* First declare unto us your mind, what you think of purgatory.

*Martyr.* In scripture all these are one, to purge, to cleanse, and to wash. Whereof we read in Isaiah, in the epistles of St. Paul and of St. Peter, "He hath washed you in his blood: Ye are redeemed, not with gold, but with the blood of Christ," &c. And how often do we read, in the epistles of St. Paul, "That we are cleansed by the blood of Christ from our sins," &c.

*Judge.* These epistles are known to every child.

*Martyr.* To every child! nay, I fear you have scarcely read them yourself.

*A Friar.* Mr. Aymond, with one word you may satisfy him, if you will say, That there is a place where the souls are purged after this life.

*Martyr.* That I leave for you to say, if you please. What would you have me damn my own soul, and to say that which I know not?

*Judge.* Dost not thou think, that when thou art dead, thou shalt go to purgatory! and he that died in venial sin, that he shall pass straight into paradise!

*Martyr.* Such trust I have in my God, that the same day when I shall die, I shall enter into paradise.

*Another Judge.* Where is paradise?

*Martyr.* There where the majesty and glory of God is.

*Judge.* The canons do make mention of purgatory; and you in your sermons have used always much to pray for the poor.

*Martyr.* I have preached the word of God, and not the canons.

*Judge.* Dost thou believe in the church?

*Martyr.* I believe as the church regenerated by the blood of Christ, and founded in his word, hath appointed.

*Judge.* What church is that?

*Martyr.* The church is a Greek word, signifying as much as a congregation or assembly: and so I say, that whenever the faithful do congregate together, to the honour of God, and the amplifying the Christian religion, the Holy Ghost is verily with them.

*Judge.* By this it should follow, that there be many churches: and wherever any rustical clowns do assemble together, there must be a church.

*Martyr.* It is no absurd thing to say, that there be many churches or congregations amongst the Christians; and so



speaketh St Paul, "To all the churches which are in Galatia," &c. and yet all these congregations make but one church.

*The Judges.* The church wherein thou believest, is it not the same church which our creed doth call the holy church?

*Martyr.* I believe the same.

*Judge.* And who should be head of that church?

*Martyr.* Jesus Christ.

*Judge.* And not the pope?

*Martyr.* No.

*Judge.* And what is he then?

*Martyr.* A minister, if he be a good man, as other bishops be; of whom St. Paul thus writeth, 1 Cor. 4. "Let a man so esteem us, as ministers and dispensers of the secrets of God," &c.

*Judge.* What, then, dost thou not believe the pope?

*Martyr.* I know not what he is.

*Judge.* Dost thou not believe that he is the successor of Peter?

*Martyr.* If he be like to Peter, and be grounded with Peter upon the true rock of Christ Jesus, so I believe his works and ordinances to be good.

Then the judges, leaving him with the friars, departed from him, counting him as a damned creature. Notwithstanding, Aymondus putting his trust in God, was full of comfort, saying, with St. Paul, Who shall separate me from the love of God? Shall the sword, hunger, or nakedness? No, nothing shall pluck me from him. But rather I have pity of you, said he. And so they departed.

Not long after, he was brought to the place of execution, singing by the way the 114th Psalm; and as he passed by the place where he had before been imprisoned, he called to his prison-fellows, exhorting them to put their confidence in the Lord; and told them, that he had spoken for them, and declared their miseries, unto the president. He thanked, moreover, the keeper, and desired him to be good to his poor prisoners. And so taking his leave of them, and desiring them to pray for him, also giving thanks to the mistress-keeper for her gentleness shewed to him, he proceeded forward to his execution. As he came against the church of St. Andrew, they willed him to ask mercy of God, and of blessed St. Mary, and of St. Justice. I ask mercy, said he, of God and his justice; but the Virgin, blessed St. Mary, I never offended, nor did any thing for which I should ask her mercy. From thence he passed forward to the church of St. Legia, preaching still as he went. Then spake one of the soldiers to the driver, or carter, willing him to drive apace: for here is preaching, said he, enough. To whom said Aymond, "He that is of God, heareth the word of God," &c. In passing by a certain image of our Lady, great offence was taken against him, because he always called upon Christ Jesus only, and made no mention of her. Whereupon he lifted up his voice to God, praying that he would never suffer him to invoke any other save him alone.

Coming to the place where he should suffer, he was tumbled out of the cart upon the ground, testifying to the magistrates, and to the people standing by, that he died for the gospel of Jesus Christ, and for his word. More he would have spoken, but he could not be suffered, by the tumultuous vexing of the officers, crying, "Despatch him! despatch him! Let him not speak!" Then he speaking a few words softly in the ear of a little Carmelite, whom he had converted, was bid to step up to the stage; where the people beginning to give a little audience, thus he said: O Lord, make haste to help me, tarry not, do not despise the works of thy hands. And you, my brethren, that be students and scholars, I

exhort you to study and learn the gospel: for the word of God abideth for ever. Labour to know the will of God, and fear not them that kill the body, but have no power upon your souls. And after that, My flesh (said he) repugneth marvellously against the spirit: but shortly I shall cast it away. My good masters, I beseech ye pray for me. O Lord my God, into thy hands I commend my soul. As he was oft repeating the same, the hangman took and haled him upon the steps in such sort that he strangled him. And thus that blessed saint gave up his life; whose body afterward was consumed with fire.

*Martyrdom of William Husson, an Apothecary, at Roan, anno 1544.*

*William Husson*, apothecary, coming from Blois to Roan, was lodged with a certain widow in the suburbs of the city; who asking her, at what time the council or parliament did rise? she said, at ten o'clock. About which time and hour he went to the palace, and there scattered certain books, concerning Christian doctrine, and the abuse of men's traditions.

Whereat the council was so moved, that they commanded all the gates of the city to be locked, and diligent search to be made in all inns, to find out the author. Then the widow told of the party which was there, who asked of the rising of the council, and shortly upon the same took his horse and rode away. Then were posts sent out through all quarters; so that the said William was taken by the way riding to Dieppe, and brought again to Roan. Who being there examined, declared his faith boldly, and how he came on purpose to disperse those books in Roan, and went to do the like at Dieppe.

The week ensuing he was condemned to be burnt alive. After the sentence given, he was brought in a cart, accompanied by a doctor, a Carmelite friar, before the great church; who putting a torch into his hand, required him to do homage to the image of our Lady: which because he refused to do, his tongue was cut out. The friar then making a sermon, when he spake any thing of the mercies of God, the said William hearkened to him; but when he spake of the mercies of saints, and other dreams, he turned away his head. The friar looking upon the countenance of Husson, lift up his hand to heaven, saying, with great exclamation, That he was damned, and was possessed of a devil.

When the friar had ceased his sermon, this godly Husson had his hands and feet bound behind his back, and with a pulley was lifted up into the air, and when the fire was kindled, he was let down into the flame; where the blessed martyr, with a smiling and cheerful countenance, looked up to heaven, never moving nor stirring, till he let down his head and gave up his spirit. All the people there present were not a little astonished thereat, and were in divers opinions, some saying that he had a devil; others maintained the contrary, saying, if he had a devil, he would have fallen into despair.

This Carmelite friar above-said was called Delanda; who afterwards was converted, and preached the gospel.

*Fourteen Persons burnt at Meaux, anno 1546.*

These fourteen dwelt at Melda, a city in France, ten miles from Paris, where William Briconatus being their bishop, did much good, brought them to the light of the gospel, and reformed the church. Who being strictly examined for the same, relented; but yet these, with many others, remained



constant; who, after the burning of one *James Pavane*, and seeing superstition to grow more and more, began to assemble in Mangin's house, and to set up a church to themselves, after the example of the French church in Strasburg. For their minister they chose Peter Clerk. First, they beginning with twenty or thirty, did grow in a short time to three or four hundred. Whereupon the matter being known to the senate of Paris, the chamber was beset where they were, and they taken. Of whom sixty-two men and women were bound and brought to Paris, singing psalms, especially the 79th. To these it was chiefly objected, that they being laymen, would minister the sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord.

Of these sixty-two, fourteen chiefly did stand fast, which were condemned, and racked, to discover their fellows; but they uttered none: the rest were scourged, and banished the country. These fourteen were sent to sundry monasteries to be converted; but that could not be. Then being sent in a cart to Melda, or Meaux, to be burned; by the way, three miles from Paris, a certain weaver, of Couberon, by chance meeting them, cried to them aloud, bidding them be of good cheer, and to cleave fast unto the Lord; who also was taken, and bound with them in the cart. Coming to the place of execution, which was before Mangin's house, it was told them, That they which would be confessed, should not have their tongues cut out; the others should. Of whom seven there were which, to save their tongues, confessed; other seven would not. Of the first was Stephen Mangin, who having his tongue first cut out, notwithstanding spake so that he might be understood, saying thrice, The Lord's name be blessed. As they were in burning, the people sung psalms. The priests seeing that, would also sing their songs, *O salutaris hostia*, and *Salve Regina*, while the sacrifice of these holy martyrs was finished. Their wives being compelled to see their husbands in torments, were after put in prison; from whence they being promised to be let go, if they would say that their husbands were damned, refused.

*Peter Chapot, burnt at Paris, anno 1540.*

*Peter Chapot* was first a corrector to a printer in Paris: after he had been at Geneva, to do good to the church of Christ, like a good man, he came with books of the holy scripture into France, and dispersed them abroad unto the faithful. Which great zeal of his caused him to be apprehended by John Andre, who was the common promoter to Laset the president, and to the Sorbonists.

This good Chapot being taken and brought before the commissaries, rendered promptly an account of his faith: unto whom he exhibited a supplication, or writing, wherein he learnedly informed the judges to do their office uprightly. Then were three doctors of Sorbonne assigned, Nicholas Clerici, John Picard, and Nicholas Maillard, to dispute with him; who when they could find no advantage, but rather shame, at his hands, they were angry with the judges for setting them to dispute with heretics.

This done, the judges consulting together upon his condemnation, could not agree: so that Chapot as it seemed might have escaped, had not a wicked person, the reporter of the process, sought and wrought his condemnation; which was at length concluded thus: That he should be burned alive, only the cutting out of his tongue was pardoned. The doctor appointed to be at his execution was Maillard, with whom he was greatly incumbered; for this friar called upon him still not to speak to the people: but he desired him that he might pray. Then he bid him pray

to our Lady, and confess her to be his advocate. He confessed that she was a blessed virgin, and recited the Lord's prayer and the creed, and was about to speak of the mass; but Maillard would not let him, making haste to his execution, and said, unless he would say, Ave Maria, he should be burnt alive.

Then Chapot prayed, "O Jesus, son of David, have mercy upon me!" Maillard then bade him say, Jesus Maria; and so he should be strangled. Chapot again excused, that he was so weak that he could not speak. Say, said Maillard, Jesus Maria, or else thou shalt be burnt alive. As Chapot was thus striving with the friar, suddenly, as it happened, Jesus Maria escaped out of his mouth; but he by and by repressing himself, O God, said he, what have I done! pardon me, O Lord; to thee only have I sinned. Then Maillard commanded the cord to be plucked about his neck to strangle him.

After all things done, Maillard, all full of anger, went to the council-house, called *La Chambre Ardante*, (the Fire-office,) declaring what an uproar had happened amongst the people; saying, that he would complain upon the judges, for suffering those heretics to have their tongues. Whereupon immediately a decree was made, that all which were to be burned, unless they recanted at the fire, should have their tongues cut out. Which law was diligently afterward observed.—Ex *Johanne Crispino*, lib. 6.

*Stephen Polliot, burnt at Paris, anno 1546.*

*Stephen Polliot* coming out of Normandy, where he was born, unto Meaux, tarried there not long, but was compelled to fly, and went to a town called Fera, where he was apprehended, and brought to Paris, and there cast into a foul and dark prison. In which prison he was kept in bonds and fetters a long space, where he saw almost no light.

At length, being called for before the senate, and his sentence given to have his tongue cut out, and to be burned alive, his sachel of books hanging about his neck: O Lord, said he, is the world in blindness and darkness still? For he thought, being in prison so long, that the world had been altered from its old darkness to better knowledge. At last the worthy martyr of Jesus Christ, having his books about his neck, was put into the fire, where he with much patience ended this transitory life.

*Octovien Blondel, a merchant of precious stones, burnt at Paris, anno 1548.*

This *Octovien*, as he was a great occupier in all fairs and countries of France, and well known both in court and elsewhere; so was he a man of great integrity, and also a favourer of God's word. Who being at his host's house at Lyons, rebuked the filthy talk and superstitious behaviour, which there he heard and saw. Wherefore the host, bearing him a grudge, chanced to have certain talk with Gabriel of Sacconex, presenteur, concerning the riches, and a sumptuous collar set with rich jewels, of this *Octovien*.

Thus these two consulting together, did suborn a certain person to borrow of him a certain sum of crowns; which because *Octovien* refused to lend, the other caused him to be apprehended for heresy, thinking thereby to make attachment of his goods. But such order was taken by Blondel's friends, that they were frustrated in their purpose. Then Blondel being examined of his faith, gave a plain and full confession of that doctrine which he had learned; for which

he was committed to prison, where he did much good to the prisoners. For some that were in debt, he paid their creditors, and loosed them out. To some he gave meat, to others raiment.

At length, through the importunate persuasions of his parents and friends, he gave over, and changed his confession. Notwithstanding, the presenteur not leaving it so, appealed him up to the high court of Paris. There Octovien being asked again touching his faith, which of his two confessions he would stick to? He being before admonished of his fall, and of the offence given thereby to the faithful, said, He would live and die in his first confession; which he defended to be consonant to the verity of God's word. Which done, he was condemned to be burned; and so haste was made to his execution, lest his friends in the court might come between, and save his life.

*A poor Tailor burnt at Paris, anno 1519.*

Amongst many other godly martyrs that suffered in France, the story of this poor tailor is not the least to be remembered. The story is this: Not long after the coronation of Henry II. the French king, at whose coming into Paris divers good martyrs were there brought out and burned for a spectacle; a certain poor tailor, who then dwelt not far from the king's palace, in the street bearing the name of St. Anthony, was apprehended by a certain officer in the king's house: for that upon a certain holiday he followed his occupation, and did work for his living.

Before he was had to prison, the officer asked him, Why he did labour on the holiday? To whom he answered, That he was a poor man, living only upon his labour; and as for the day, he knew no other but only the Sunday, wherein he might not lawfully work for the necessity of living. Then the officer began to ask him many questions; whereunto the poor tailor did so answer, that soon he was put into prison.

After that, the officer coming into the court to shew what good service he had done for the holy church, declared to certain estates how he had taken a Lutheran working upon a holiday; shewing that he had such answers of him, that he commanded him to prison. When the rumour hereof was raised in the king's chamber, through the motion of them which were about the king, the poor man was sent for to appear, that the king might have the hearing of him.

Whereupon the king's company going out, save only a few of the chiefest peers, the simple tailor was brought in. The king sitting in his chair, commanded Petrus Castellanus, bishop of Mascon, (a man very fit for such inquisitions,) to question with him. The tailor being entered, and nothing appalled at the king's majesty, after his reverence done unto the prince, gave thanks to God, that he had so greatly dignified him, being such a wretch, as to bring him where he might testify his truth before such a mighty prince. Then Castellanus began to reason with him touching the chief matters of religion; whereunto the tailor, without fear or any halting in his speech, so answered for the sincere doctrine and simple truth of God's gospel, as was both convenient to the purpose, and also to his questions aptly and fully correspondent.

Notwithstanding, the nobles there present with cruel taunts and rebukes did what they could to dash him out of countenance. Yet all this terrified him not, but with boldness of heart, and free liberty of speech, he defended his cause, or rather the cause of Christ, neither flattering their persons, nor fearing their threats; which was to them all a

miraculous thing, to behold that simple poor artificer, to stand so firm and bold, answering before a king to those questions propounded against him. Whereat, when the king seemed to muse with himself as one somewhat amazed, and who might soon have been induced at that present to farther knowledge, the bishop and other courtiers seeing the king in such a muse, said he was an obstinate and stubborn person, confirmed in his own opinion, and therefore was not to be marvelled at, but to be sent to the judges, and to be punished; therefore, lest he should trouble the ears of the said Henry the king, he was commanded again to the hands of the officer, that his cause might be informed: and so, within few days after, he was condemned by the high steward of the king's house, to be burned alive. And lest any deep consideration of the excellent fortitude of the poor man might further, peradventure, pierce the king's mind, the cardinals and bishops were ever in the king's ear, telling him, that these Lutherans were nothing else but such as carry vain smoke in their mouths, which being put to the fire would soon vanish. Wherefore the king was appointed himself to be present at his execution; which was sharp and cruel, before the church of Mary the Virgin: where it pleased God to give such strength and courage to his servant in suffering his martyrdom, that the beholding thereof did more astonish the king than all the others did before.—Ex. Joh. Crisp. Ex. Hen. Pantul. lib. 7.

*Thomas Sanpaulinus, burned at Paris, 1551.*

This *Thomas*, a young man of the age of eighteen years, coming from Geneva to Paris, rebuked there a man for swearing; for which cause he being suspected for a Lutheran, was followed and watched whither he went, and was taken, and brought before the council of Paris, and put in prison, where he was racked and miserably tormented, to the intent he should either change his opinion, or confess others of his profession. His torments and rackings were so sore, through the setting on of Maillard, and other Sorbonists, that the sight thereof made Abuertus, one of the council, a cruel and vehement enemy against the gospel, to turn his back and weep. The young man, when he had made the tormentors weary with racking, and yet would utter none, at last was brought to Maulbert-place, in Paris, to be burned: where he being in the fire, was plucked up again upon the gibbet, and asked whether he would turn? To whom he said, that he was in his way towards God, and therefore desired them to let him go. Thus this glorious martyr remaining unshaken, glorified the Lord with a steadfast confession of his truth.

*John Joyer, and his Servant, a young man, burnt at Thoulouse, anno 1552.*

These two coming from Geneva to their country, with certain books, were apprehended by the way, and at length had to Thoulouse, where the master was first condemned. The servant being young, was not so prompt to answer them, but sent them to his master, saying, that he should answer them. When they were brought to the stake, the young man first going up, began to weep. The master, fearing lest he would give up, ran to him, and he was comforted; and they began to sing. As they were in the fire, the master standing upright to the stake, he shifted the fire from him to his servant, being more careful for him than for himself; and when he saw him dead, he bowed down into the flame, and so expired.

*Martial Alba, Petrus Scriba, Bernard Seguire, Charles Faber, and Peter Navihere, all burnt at Lyons, anno 1553.*

These five students, after they had remained in the university of Lausanne a certain time, consulted among themselves, being all Frenchmen, to return home every one to his country, to the intent they might instruct their parents and friends in such knowledge as the Lord had given them. So taking their journey from Lausanne, first they came to Geneva, where they remained a while. From thence they went to Lyons, where they sitting at the table of one that met them by the way, and desired them home to his house, were apprehended, and led to prison; where they continued a whole year. As they were learned, and well exercised in the scriptures, so every one of them exhibited severally a learned confession of his faith; and with great dexterity, through the power of the Lord's Spirit, they confounded the friars with whom they disputed, especially Peter Scribe, or Scrivener, and Seguire.

*Friar.* Thou sayest, friend, in thy confession, that the pope is not supreme head of the church: I will prove the contrary. The pope is successor of St. Peter: *ergo*, he is supreme head of the church.

*Martyr.* I deny, first, your antecedent.

*Friar.* The pope sitteth in the place of St. Peter: *ergo*, he is the successor of St. Peter.

*Martyr.* I will grant neither of both: first, because that he which succeedeth in the room of Peter, ought to preach and teach as Peter did; which thing the pope doth not. Secondly, although he did so preach as Peter did, he might well follow the example of Peter; yet should he not therefore be the head of the church; but a member only of the same. The head of men and angels, whom God hath appointed, is Christ alone, saith St. Paul.

*Friar.* Although Christ be the Head of the whole church militant and triumphant, yet his vicar here in earth is left to supply his room.

*Martyr.* Not so; for the power of his divinity being so great, to fill all things, he needeth no vicar or deputy to supply his absence.

*Then another Friar.* Thou sayest, St. Peter is not the head of the church: I will prove he is. Our Lord said to Peter, "Thou shalt be called Cephas;" which Cephas is as much to say, in Latin, a Head: *ergo*, Peter is head of the church.

*Martyr.* Where find you that interpretation? St. John in his first chapter doth expound it otherwise, "Thou shalt be called Cephas:" that is as much, saith he, as Petrus, or stone.

Then the judge, Vilard, calling for a New Testament, turned to the place, and found it to be so. Whereupon the friar was utterly dashed, and stood mute.

*Friar.* Thou sayest, in thy confession, that we are justified only by faith; I will prove that we are justified by works. By our works we do merit: *ergo*, by works we are justified.

*Martyr.* I deny the antecedent.

*Friar.* St. Paul, Hebrews the last, saith, "Forget not to do good, and to distribute unto others:" *Talibus enim victimis promeretur Deus*: that is, "For by such oblations God is merited." We merit God by our works: *ergo*, we are justified by our works.

*Martyr.* The words of St. Paul in that place be otherwise, and are thus to be translated: *Talibus enim victimis delectatur Deus*: That is, "With such sacrifices God is delighted, or is well-pleased."

Vilard, the judge, turned to the book, and found the place even to be so as the prisoner said. Here the friars were marvellously appalled and troubled in their minds. Of whom one asked them, What he thought of confession?

*Martyr.* Confession is only to be made to God; and that those places which they allege for auricular confession, out of St. James and others, are to be expounded of brotherly reconciliation between one another, and not of confession in the priest's ear. And here again the friars stood, having nothing to say against it.

*A black friar.* Dost thou not believe the body of Christ to be locally and corporally in the sacrament? I will prove the same: Jesus Christ, taking bread, said, "This is my body:" *ergo*, it is truly his body.

*Martyr.* The verb *est* is not to be taken here substantively in its own proper signification, as shewing the nature of a thing in substance, as in philosophy it is wont to be taken; but as noting the property of a thing, signifying, after the manner and phrase of the scripture, where one thing is wont to be called by the name of another, so as the thing is called by the name of the thing signified, &c. So is circumcision called by the name of the covenant, and yet is not the covenant. So the lamb has the name of the passover, yet is not the same. In which two sacraments of the old law, ye see the verb (*est*) to be taken not as shewing the substance of being, but the property of being in the thing that is spoken of: and so likewise in the sacrament of the new law.

*Friar.* The sacraments of the old law, and of the new, do differ greatly; for these give grace, so did not the other.

*Martyr.* Neither the sacrament of the old, nor of the new law, do give grace, but shew him unto us who giveth grace indeed. The minister giveth the sacraments, but Jesus Christ giveth grace by the operation of the Holy Ghost; of whom it is said, "This is he which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost," &c.

*Friar.* The fathers of the old testament, were they not partakers of the same grace and promises with us?

*Martyr.* Yes; for St. Paul saith, that the fathers of the old testament did eat the same spiritual meat, and did partake of the same spiritual drink, with us.

*Friar.* Jesus Christ saith, (John the sixth,) "Your fathers did eat manna in the desert, and are dead." *Ergo*, they were not partakers of the same grace with us, in the new testament.

*Martyr.* Christ here speaketh of them which did not eat that manna with faith, which was a type and figure of bread of life that came from heaven; and not of them which did eat the same with faith, as Moses, Aaron, Joshua, and such others, who, under the shadows of the old testament, did look for Christ to come. For so it is written of Abraham, "That he saw the day of Christ, and rejoiced, not seeing it with his bodily eyes, but with the eyes of faith."

Here the doltish doctor was at a stay, having nothing to say, but, Hear, friend! be not so hot, nor so hasty: tarry awhile, tarry awhile. At length, after his tarrying, he came out:

*Friar.* I will prove that they of the old testament were not partakers of the same grace with us. "The law (saith St. Paul) worketh wrath. And they that are under the law, are under malediction: *ergo*, they of the old law and testament were not partakers of the same grace with us.

*Martyr.* St. Paul here proveth, that no man by the law can be justified, but that all men are under the wrath and curse of God thereby, forso much as no man performeth that which in the law is comprehended: and therefore we have

need every man to run to Christ, to be saved by faith, seeing no man can be saved by the law. For whosoever trusteth to the law, hoping to find justification thereby, and not by Christ only, the same remaineth still until malediction; not because the law is cursed, or the times thereof under the curse, but because of the weakness of our natures, which are not able to perform the law.

*Friar.* St. Paul, Rom. vii. declareth in the old testament to be nothing but anger and threatenings, and in the new testament to be grace and mercy; in these words, where he saith, "Wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" The grace of God by Jesus Christ.

*Martyr.* St. Paul in this place neither meaneth nor speaketh of the difference of times between the old and the new testament, but of the conflict between the flesh and the spirit; so that whereas the flesh is ever rebelling against the spirit, yet the spiritual man, notwithstanding, through the faith of Christ, hath the victory. Furthermore, the true translation of that place hath not *Gratia Dei*, but *Gratias ago Deo, per Jesum Christum*, &c.

Primacius, the official, seeing the friar almost here at a point, set in, and said, Thou lewd heretic, dost thou deny the blessed sacrament?

*Martyr.* No, sir; but I embrace and reverence the sacrament, so as it was instituted by the Lord, and left by his apostles.

*The Official.* Thou deniest the body of Christ to be in the sacrament, and thou callest the sacrament bread.

*Martyr.* The scripture teacheth us to seek the body of Christ in heaven, and not in earth; where we read, Coloss. iii. "If ye be risen with Christ, seek not for the things which are upon the earth; but for the things which are in heaven, where Christ is sitting at the right hand of God," &c. And whereas I affirm the sacrament not to be the body, but bread; speaking of bread remaining in its own substance, herein I do no other but as St. Paul doth, who, 1 Cor. xi. doth call it bread likewise, four or five times together.

*Friar.* Jesus Christ said, that he was the bread of life.

*The Official.* Thou naughty heretic, Jesus Christ said, that he was a vine, a door, &c. where he is to be expounded to speak figuratively; but the words of the sacrament are not so to be expounded.

*Martyr.* Those testimonies which you allege, make more for me than for you.

*The Official.* What sayest thou, lewd heretic? is the bread of the Lord's supper, and the bread that we eat at home, all one? and is there no difference between them?

*Martyr.* In nature and substance there is no difference in quality, but in use there is much difference. For the bread of the Lord's table, though it be of the same nature and substance with the bread that we eat at home, yet when it is applied to be a sacrament, it taketh another quality, and is set before us to seal the promise of our spiritual and eternal life.

Thus they were examined concerning the sacrament of the Lord's body, of purgatory, of confession, the invocation, of free-will, and of the supremacy, &c. Although they proved their cause by good scripture, and refuted their adversaries in reasoning, yet right being overcome by might, sentence was given, and they were burned in the said town of Lyons.

Being set upon the cart, they began to sing psalms. As they passed by the market-place, one of them with a loud voice saluted the people with the words of the last chapter to the Hebrews, "The God of peace, which brought again from death the great Shepherd of the sheep, by the blood of the eternal covenant," &c.

Coming to the place, first the two youngest, one after another, went up upon the heap of wood to the stake, and there were fastened; and so after them the rest. Martial Alba being the eldest, was the last, who likewise being stripped of his clothes, and brought to the stake, desired this petition of the governor, which was, that he might go about his fellows tied at the stake, and kiss them. Which being granted, he went and kissed every one, saying, "Farewell, my brother!" Likewise the other four, following the like example, said to each one, "Farewell, my brother!" With that, fire was commanded to be put unto them. The hangman had tied a rope about all their necks, thinking first to strangle them; but their faces being smeared with fat and brimstone, the rope was burnt before they were strangled. So the blessed martyrs, in the midst of the fire, spake one to another to be of good cheer; and so departed. Ex. Crisp. Pant. &c.

*Petrus Bergerius, at Lyons, anno 1553.*

About the same time, when these five students above specified were apprehended, this *Bergerius* also was taken at Lyons, and with them examined, and made also the like confession with them together, and shortly after them suffered the same martyrdom. He had been before an occupier or merchant of wines. He had a wife and children at Geneva, to whom he wrote sweet and comfortable letters.

In the dungeon with him was a certain thief and malefactor, which had lain there the space of seven or eight months. This thief, for pain and torment, cried out of God, and cursed his parents that begot him, being almost eaten up with lice, miserably handled, and fed with such bread as dogs and horses had refused to eat. So it pleased the goodness of Almighty God, that through the teaching and prayer of this *Bergerius*, he was brought to repentance, and the knowledge of God, learning much comfort and patience by the word of the gospel preached to him. Touching his conversion, he wrote a sweet letter to those five students above mentioned, wherein he praised God for them, and especially for this: *Bergerius* declaring also in the same letter, that the next day after that he had taken hold of the gospel, and framed himself to patience according to the same, the vermin, which before almost devoured him, entirely left him. Furthermore, the alms of good men was so extended towards him, that he was fed with white bread, and that which was very good. Such is the goodness of the Lord toward them that love and seek his truth. The name of this convert was John Chambone. Crisp. Pantal. &c.

*Nicholas Nayle, burnt at Paris, anno 1553.*

This *Nicholas*, a shoemaker, coming to Paris with certain bundles of books, was there apprehended; who stoutly persisting in confessing the truth, was tried with sundry torments, to tell what companions he had besides of his profession, so cruelly, that his body was dissolved almost one joint from another: but so steadfast was he in his silence, that he would express none. As they brought him to the stake, first they put a gag or piece of wood in his mouth, which they bound with cords to the hinder part of his head, so hard, that his mouth on both sides gushed out with blood, and disfigured his face greatly. By the way they passed by an hospital, where they willed him to worship the picture of St. Mary standing at the gate: but he turned his back as well as he could, and would not. For which the blind people were so enraged, that they would have fallen upon him. After he was brought to the fire, they so besmeared his body

with fat and brimstone, that at the first taking of the fire all the skin was parched, and the inward parts not touched. With that, the cords burst which were about his mouth, whereby his voice was heard in the midst of the flame, praising the Lord; and so this blessed martyr departed.—Ex Johan. Crisp.

*Peter Serre, burnt near Thoulouse, anno 1553.*

*Peter Serre* was first a priest, then changing his religion, he went to Geneva, and learned the shoemakers' craft, and so lived. Afterward, upon a singular love, he came to his brother at Thoulouse, to the intent to do him good. His brother had a wife, who was not well pleased with his religion and coming. She in secret council told another woman one of her neighbours, of this; she went to the official, and made him privy to all. The official, thinking it best not to lose time, took counsel with his fellows, laid hands upon this Peter, and brought him before the inquisitor; to whom he made such declaration of his faith, that he seemed to reduce the inquisitor to some feeling of conscience, and began to instruct him in the principles of true religion. Notwithstanding, all this helped not, but that he was condemned by the said chancellor to be degraded, and committed to the secular judge. The judge inquiring of what occupation he was? he said, that of late he was a shoemaker. Whereby the judge understanding that he had been of some other faculty before, required what it was. He said he had been of another faculty before, but he was ashamed to utter it, or to remember it, being the worst and vilest science of all other in the whole world besides. The judge and the people, supposing that he had been some thief or cut-purse, inquired to know what it was: but he for shame and sorrow stopped his mouth, and would not declare it. At last, through their importunate clamour, he was constrained to declare the truth, and said, that he had been a priest! The judge thereupon was so enraged, that he condemned him; first enjoining him in his condemnation to ask the king's forgiveness; then judging him to have his tongue cut out, and so to be burned.

From this sentence he appealed to the parliament of Thoulouse; not that he thought thereby to save his life, but because he was enjoined to ask the king's forgiveness, whom he had never offended. Also, because he was judged to have his tongue cut off, wherewith he wished to praise his God. Notwithstanding, by the sentence of that parliament, he was likewise condemned to be burned, only he was excused from asking forgiveness of the king, and the cutting off of his tongue, provided he would say nothing against their religion.

As he went to burning, he passed by the college of St. Martial, where he was bid to honour the picture of the Virgin standing at the gate; which because he refused, the judge commanded his tongue to be cut out. And so being put to the fire, he stood so quiet, looking up to heaven all the time of burning, as though he had felt nothing; bringing such admiration to the people, that one of the parliament said, It is not the best way to bring the Lutherans to the fire, for that does more hurt than good.—Ex Johan. Crisp.

*William Alençon, bookseller, and a certain sheerman, burnt at Montpellier, 1554.*

This *Alençon* did much good in the provinces of France, by carrying books. Coming to Montpellier, he was there circumvented by false brethren, detected, and laid in prison. In his faith he was firm and constant, to the end of his martyrdom, being burned the 7th of January, 1554.

There was the same time at Montpellier, a certain sheerman, or clothworker, who had been long in prison for religion, but at length, for fear and infirmity, revolted; to whom it was enjoined by the judges to make public recantation, and to be present also at the burning of *Alençon* aforesaid. At the beholding of whose death and constancy, it pleased God to strike into this man such boldness, that he desired the judges, that either he might burn with this *Alençon*, or else be brought again into prison, saying, that he would make no other recantation but so. Wherefore, within three days after he was likewise condemned to the fire, and burned in the town aforesaid.

*Peter du Val, shoemaker, burnt at Nismes, anno 1554.*

At Newmans, in Delphinat, *Peter du Val* sustained sore and grievous rackings and torments; wherewith his body being broken, dissolved, and maimed, yet he notwithstanding bravely abiding all their extremity, would name and utter none. Then was he had to the fire, and there consumed.

*Johannes Filieul, or Filibus, carpenter, and Julianus le Ville, point-maker, burnt at Geneva, anno 1554.*

These two blessed and constant martyrs, as they were going toward Geneva, with one of their sons and a daughter, were apprehended by Gules le Pers; who in the way overtaking them, and most wickedly, like Jadas, pretending great favour to them, and to their religion, which he, as he said, supposed them to be of, with these and many other fair words circumvented and allured them, to confess what was their faith, whither they went with their children, and also that their wives were at Geneva. When they had declared this, the wretched traitor gave a sign to the horsemen; and so were these simple saints of Christ entrapped, and brought to the castle of Nivern. Being in prison, they were examined of many things; whereunto they answered uprightly according to their faith.

First, Touching the sacrament, they affirmed the transubstantiation of the bishop of Rome to be against the article of the Creed, which saith, that Christ is gone up to heaven, and there sitteth at the right hand of God: and therefore the bread and wine must needs remain in their properties, being notwithstanding a sacrament, or a holy sign of the body and blood of the Lord. For like as by bread and wine the body of man is comforted; so the body of Christ crucified, and his blood shed spiritually, hath the like operation in the souls of the believers.

For the mass, they said, it was a thing most superstitious, and mere idolatry. And if we put any part of salvation therein, they said, it was utterly robbing the passing of Christ the Son of God, and that it was not once to be named out of a Christian mouth. Also, that they which say that Peter either was pope, or author of the said mass, are far deceived. And as for turning bread into the body of Christ by the words of consecration, it was an error; forasmuch as God is neither subject to men, nor to the tongues or exorcisms of men. Purgatory they denied to be any, save only the blood of Jesus Christ.

Furthermore, as they would not bereave the saints of God of their due honour, so neither the saints themselves, said they, will be contented to rob God of his honour, only due to him.

As touching confession, their opinion was, that the wounds and eases of conscience belong to no man, but only to God.



After these answers given and written, they were sent to the monastery of Sanpeter, there to be disputed with. That done, the matter came to be debated among the judges, what was to be done with them. Some would have their goods taken by inventory, and them to be banished: but Bergeronius at last caused to be determined, that they should be burned, and first to hear mass.

From that court they appealed to the court of Paris; but the matter there was nothing mended. Where behold the judgment of God: in the mean time, while they were at Paris, the wretched persecutor, Giles le Pers, was suddenly struck mad, and died in a frenzy; which made many men to wonder, and especially the martyrs to be more steadfast.

At last the decree of the sentence was read against them.

1. For speaking against the sacrament; which they denied.
2. For speaking against baptism; which also they denied.
3. For speaking contumeliously against the saints; which they in like manner denied.

After this, the officer, to cause them to recant, put them to extreme torture, which they sustained from after dinner till three o'clock. When all that would not turn them, he sent to them a Dominican friar, a man captious and sophistical, to press them in disputation. But as he could do no hurt unto them, so could they do no good upon him. When the time of their execution did approach, the officer aforesaid put into their hands, being tied, a wooden cross which they took with their teeth, and flung it away; for which the officer commanded both their tongues to be cut off. Wherein appeared another marvellous work of the Lord: for nevertheless that their tongues were taken from them, to the intent they should not speak, yet God gave them utterance, their tongues being cut out, to speak at their death, saying, "We bid sin, the flesh, the world, and the devil, farewell for ever, with whom we shall never have to do hereafter."

Divers other words they spake besides, which the people did hear and note. At last, when the tormentor came to smear them with brimstone and gunpowder, "Go to, (said Filiolus,) salt on, salt on, the rotten flesh." Finally, as the flame came bursting up to their faces, they continued firm in the fire, gave up their lives, and finished their martyrdom.

*Denis Vayre, burnt at Roan, anno 1551.*

In the same year suffered at Roan, *Denis Vayre*, who, first leaving his popish priesthood, went to Geneva, where he learned the art of book-binding, and brought many times books into France. After that, in the reign of king Edward VI. he came to Jersey, and there was minister, and preached. After the death of king Edward, the time not serving him to tarry, thinking to return again to Geneva, he came into Normandy with his books, into a town called Fucille; when he going out to hire a cart, William Langlois, with John Langlois, his brother, came in and stayed his books, and him also who had the custody of them. Denis, although he might have escaped, yet hearing the keeper of his books to be in trouble, came, and presenting himself, was committed; the other was delivered.

First, after two months and a half imprisonment, he was charged to be a spy, because he came out of England. Then from that prison he was removed to the bishop's prison, and then to Roan; where sentence was given, that he should be burned alive, and thrice lifted up, and let down again into the fire. After the sentence given, they threatened him with many terrible torments, unless he would disclose such as he knew of that side. To whom he answered, That the sounder part of all France, and of the senate, was of that

religion; notwithstanding, he would utter no man's name unto them: and as for their torments, he said he valued them not, for if he were killed with racking, then he should not feel the burning of the fire. When they saw he cared so little for their torments, they left that, and proceeded to his burning. And first, they put a cross in his hands, which he would not hold. Then because he, coming by the image of the Virgin Mary, would not adore the same, they cried, "Cut out his tongue." And so they cast him into the fire, where he should be thrice taken up: but the flame went so high, that the hangman, not being able to come near him, cried to the people standing by, to help, and so did the officers with their staves lay upon the people to help their tormentors; but never a man would stir. And this was the end and martyrdom of that blessed Denis.—*Ex Henric. Pantal, l. 10.*

*A Merchant hanged for jesting against Friars.*

There was a rich merchant of Paris, who said in jest to the friars of St. Francis, "You wear a rope about your bodies, because St. Francis once should have been hanged, and the pope redeemed him upon this condition, that all his life after he should wear a rope." Upon this, the Franciscan friars of Paris caused him to be apprehended, and laid in prison, and so judgment passed upon him that he should be hanged: but he, to save his life, was contented to recant, and so did. The friars hearing of his recantation, commended him, saying, If he continued so, he should be saved. And so calling upon the officers, caused them to make haste to the gallows, to hang him up while he was yet in a good way, said they, lest he fall again. And so was this merchant, notwithstanding his recantation, hanged for jesting against the friars.

*Thomas Calbergne, a coverlet-maker, burnt at Tournay, anno 1554.*

This *Thomas* had copied out certain spiritual songs out of a book in Geneva, which he brought with him to Tournay, and lent the same to one of his fellows. This book being espied, he was called for by the justice, and examined of the book, which he said contained nothing but what was agreeing to the scripture, and that he would stand by.

Then he was had to the castle, and after nineteen days was brought to the town-house, and there judged to the fire; whereunto he went cheerfully, singing psalms. As he was in the flame, the warden of the friars stood crying, "Turn, Thomas, Thomas, yet it is time, remember him that came at the last hour." To whom he cried out of the flame with a loud voice, "And I trust to be one of that sort."—And so calling upon the name of the Lord, gave up his spirit.

*Arnold Moniere, and John de Cazes, burnt at Bourdeaux, anno 1556.*

After that *Arnold Moniere* was taken and examined by the justice, and so was laid in prison, *John de Cazes*, resorting to the same town of Bourdeaux, and hearing of him, and being admonished, moreover, that if he went to him he should be appeached of heresy, notwithstanding went to comfort him, and so was also imprisoned. After many examinations, sentence was given upon them to be burned. When the time came of their martyrdom, they were drawn through the dirt upon an hurdle to the place, accompanied by a number of bills, glaves, gunners, and trumpeters. Moreover, although there was no such cause, they being

two simple poor men, yet the magistrates commanded (upon what occasion I know not) all the gates of the city to be shut, and guarded with keepers. When the blessed martyrs were brought and bound to the post, which was before the palace, they, much rejoicing that they were made worthy to suffer for Christ, made confession of their faith, and many exhortations unto the people. But to stop the hearing of these saints, the trumpeters were commanded to sound; which during all the time of their suffering never ceased. The hangman preparing himself first to strangle Cazes, chanced to fall down from the top of the post to the pavement, and brake his head in such sort, that the blood followed in great quantity. Notwithstanding, he recovering himself, went to Moniere, and him he strangled, who patiently rendered up his life. Cazes, who was the stronger of them both, being set on fire before the hangman came, suffered the extremity of the fire with great pains, but greater patience; for as his legs were almost half burnt, yet he endured, crying, "My God! My Father!" and so gave up his life.

And further to note the work of God that followed: when these two mild and martyred saints were almost consumed in the fire to ashes, suddenly, without matter or cause, such a fear fell upon them at the execution, that the justices and the people, notwithstanding that they had the gates locked to them, and were defended with all manner of weapons about them, not knowing wherefore, took to their legs, in such haste flying away, that they over-ran one another. The prior of St. Anthony's fell down, so that a great number went over him. The judge Pontacke, on his mule, with his red robe, flying as the other did, was overthrown with the press, in the street called Poteuin, in such sort that he was fain to be carried to Pichon's house, a widow, and there cried within, "Hide me, save my life, I am dead; I see even the like matter as at the last commotion. My friends, hide my mule, that no man see her nor know her." Briefly, such was the fear which came upon them, that every man shut up his house. After the fear was past, every man asked what the matter was; but none could tell, neither could the enemies of God's truth perceive who was he that put them so to flight and fear, without any semblance of an adversary about them. This story is testified, and to be found both in the volume of French martyrs, printed by John Crispine, lib. 6. also in the book of Dutch martyrs, written by Adrianus.

*Philbert Hamlin, burnt at Bourdeaux, 1557.*

*Philbert Hamlin* first was a priest; then he went to Geneva, where he exercised printing, and sent books abroad. After that, he was made minister at the town of Allenart, in Saintonge, in which and in other places more he did much good in edifying the people. At last he was apprehended at Sainctes Ville, and with him his host, a priest, whom he had instructed in the gospel; and after confession made of his faith, he, with the said priest, was carried to Bourdeaux before the president.—As he was in prison on a Sunday, a priest came in with all his furniture, to say mass in the prison; whom Philbert seeing to be vested, came and plucked his garments from his back with such zeal and vehemency, that the mass-garments, with the chalice and candlesticks, fell down and were broken; saying, "Is it not enough for you to blaspheme God in churches, but you must also pollute the prison with your idolatry?" The jailor hearing of this, in his fury laid upon him with his staff, and also complained of him: whereby he was removed to the common prison, and laid in a low pit, laden with great irons, so that

his legs were swollen withal, and there continued eight days. A little before, he perceiving the priest, his host, to decline from the truth, did what he could to confirm him in the same: but when he knew he had flatly renounced Christ and his word, he said unto him, "O unhappy and more than miserable! is it possible for you to be so foolish, as for saving of a few days which you have to live by the course of nature, so to start away, and to deny the truth! Know you, therefore, that although you have by your foolishness avoided the corporal fire, yet your life shall be never the longer; for you shall die before me, and God shall not give you the grace that it shall be for his cause, and you shall be an example to all apostates." He had no sooner ended his talk, but the priest going out of prison, was slain by two gentlemen who had a quarrel with him. Whereof when master Philbert had heard, he affirmed that he knew of no such thing before, but spake as it pleased God to guide his tongue. Whereupon immediately he made an exhortation to the providence of God: which by the occasion hereof moved the hearts of many, and converted them unto God.

At last, the aforesaid Philbert, after his condemnation, was had to the place of his martyrdom before the palace; and as he was exhorting the people, to the intent his words should not be heard, the trumpets blew without ceasing. And so being fastened to the post, this holy martyr, praying and exhorting the people, was strangled, and his body consumed with fire, on Palm-Sunday eve.

*The Congregation of Paris persecuted, to the number of three or four hundred, at Paris, anno 1558.*

On the 4th of Sept. 1558, a company of the faithful, to the number of three or four hundred, were assembled together at Paris in a certain house, having before it the college of Plessis, in the street of St. James, and behind it the college of Sorbon; who there assembled in the beginning of the night, to the intent to receive the Lord's supper: This was soon discovered by certain priests of Plessis, who gathering together such as were of that faction, came to beset the house, and made an outcry, that the watch might come to take them: so that in a short time almost all the city of Paris was up in armour, thinking some conspiracy to have been in the city. Who then following the noise, and perceiving that they were Lutherans, a great part of them were in extreme rage, furiously seeking to have their blood, and therefore stopped the streets and lanes with carts, and made fires, to see that none should escape. The faithful, although God had given them leisure to finish their administration and prayers with such quietness as they never had better, seeing the suddenness of the thing, were struck in great fear; who then being exhorted by the governors of the congregation, fell to prayer. That done, through the counsel of some who knew the cowardly hearts of the multitude, this order was taken, that the men who had weapons should adventure through the press. Only the women and children remained in the house, and a few men with them, who were less bold than the other, to the number of six or seven score.

Where appeared the admirable power of God in them that went out with weapons, who, notwithstanding that the lanes and passages were stopp'd, and the fires made, did yet all escape, save only one who was beaten down with stones, and so destroyed. Certain that remained in the house with the women, afterward leaped into gardens, where they were stayed till the magistrates came. The women (who were all gentlewomen, or of great wealth, only six or seven excepted,) seeing no other hope, and perceiving the fury of the people,

went up to the windows, crying, Mercy! and shewing their innocent intent, required justice ordinary. Thus as they were enclosed about six or seven hours, at last came Martin, the king's attorney, with force of commissaries and sergeants, who with much ado appeasing the outrage of the people, entered into the house; where he, viewing the women and children, and the other furniture there being prepared for that congregation, perceived testimonies sufficient for their innocency, insomuch that, in considering thereof, for pity of heart his eyes could not refrain from tears. Notwithstanding, proceeding in his office, he had them all to prison within the little castle. I omit here the furious usage of the people by the way, how despitefully they plucked and haled the women, tore their garments, thrust off their heads from their heads, and disfigured their faces with dust and dirt. Neither were they better treated in the prison than they were in the streets; for all the villains and thieves there were let out of their holes and stinking caves, and the poor Christians placed in their rooms.

Besides these manifold wrongs and oppressions done to these poor innocents, followed then (which was worst of all) the cruel and slanderous reports of the friars and priests, who, in their railing sermons, and other talk, cried out on the Lutherans, persuading the people most falsely, that they assembled together to make a banquet in the night, and there putting out the candles, they went together, Jack with Jill, (as they said,) after a filthy and beastly manner. Adding, moreover, to make the lie more likely, that certain nuns also and monks were with them; also that they should conspire against the king, and other like heinous crimes, whatsoever their malice could invent, for defacing of the gospel. With such like malicious reports and slanders Satan went about to extinguish the ancient church of Christ in the primitive times, accusing the innocent Christians then of incest, conspiracy, killing of infants, putting out of candles, and whoredoms, &c.

These sinister rumours and cursed defamations were no sooner given out, but they were as soon received, and spread far, not only to them of the vulgar sort, but also among the states of the court, and even to the king's ears. The cardinal of Lorraine the same time bore a great way in the court, who then procured a certain judge of the castle to come in, declaring to the king, that he found there lying on the floor of the aforesaid house, divers couches and pallets upon which they intended to commit their whoredoms, also much other furniture and preparation appointed for a sumptuous banquet. Wherewith the king was mightily inflamed against them; neither was there any one person who durst contradict it.

Here the enemies began highly to triumph, thinking verily that the gospel, with all the friends thereof, were overthrown for ever. On the other side, no less perplexity and lamentation was among the brethren, sorrowing not so much for themselves, as for the imprisonment of their fellows. Albeit they lost not their courage so altogether, but, as well as they could, they exhorted one another, considering the great favour and providence of God, in delivering them so wonderfully out of the danger. Some comfort they took unto them, consulting together in this order, that first they should humble themselves to God in their own private families; secondly, to stop the evil reports of their holy assemblies, they should write apologies, one to the king, another to the people; thirdly, that letters of consolation should be written and sent to their brethren in prison.

The first apology was written to the king, and conveyed so secretly into his chamber, that it was found and read

openly in the hearing of the king and all his nobles. Wherein the Christians learnedly and discreetly both cleared themselves of those reports, and shewed the malice of their enemies, especially of Satan, who ever from the beginning of the church hath, and still doth, go about to overturn the right ways of the Lord. Declaring further, by manifold examples and continual experience, even from the primitive times, how the church hath ever suffered vexations, and slanderous reports, and defamation, by the malignant adversaries, &c. And lastly, coming to the king, they craved that their cause might not be condemned before it had an indifferent hearing, &c. Nevertheless, this apology to the king served to little purpose; forasmuch as the adversaries soon denied all that was written to the king, making him to believe, that all were but excuses pretended; neither was there any person that durst reply again.

But the other apology to the people did inestimable good, in satisfying the rumours, and defending the true cause of the gospel. Whereupon certain doctors of Sorbon began to write both against the apology and the persons, of whom one was called Demochares, who taking for his foundation, without any proof, that they were all heretics, cried out for justice, with bills, glaives, fire, and sword.

Another Sorbonist, more bloody than the first, not only exclaimed against them for putting out the candles in their detestable concourses and assemblies, but also accused them as men which maintained that there was no God, and denied the divinity and humanity of Christ, the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the flesh, and briefly, all the articles of true religion. And thus he charged them, without any proof, moving both the king and the people, without any form of law, to destroy and cut them in pieces, &c.

The third that wrote against them was Cenalis, bishop of Avranches, who debated the same matter, but with less vehemence than the other; asserting impudently, that their assemblies were to maintain whoredom; complaining of the judges because they were no sharper with them, saying, that their softness was the cause that the number of them so much increased. Among other points of his book, this one thing he disputed with great pleasantry, touching the signs and marks of the true church; first, presupposing this one thing, (which is true,) that the true church of Christ hath its signs by which it may be known from the false church; and thereupon (making no mention at all either of preaching or ministration of sacraments) thus he inferreth, That the church, which was the Catholic church, had bells, by which their assemblies be ordinarily called together; and the other church, which is of the Lutherans, hath claps of harquebusses and pistolets for signs, whereby they, as it is commonly reported, are wont to assemble. Upon this supposal, as upon a sure foundation, he grounding his matter, vaunted and triumphed as one having gotten a great conquest, and made a long *antithesis*, or comparison, by which he would prove, that bells were the marks of the true church. The bells, said he, do sound, the harquebusses do crack or thunder; the bells do give a sweet and melodious tune, the signs of the Lutherans do make a foul noise and terrible; the bells do open heaven, the other do open hell; bells chase away clouds and thunder, the other engender clouds and counterfeit thunder; with many other properties more, which he brought out to prove that the church of Rome is the true church, because it hath those bells! Mark, good reader, the profound reasons and arguments which these doctors had, either to defend their own church, or to impugn the apologies of the Christians!

Briefly, to finish the residue of this story; As the faithful

Christians were thus occupied in writing their apologies, and in comforting their brethren in prison with their letters, the adversaries again with their faction were not idle, but sought all means possible to hasten forward the execution, giving diligent attendance about the prison and other open places, to satisfy their uncharitable desire with the death of them whose religion they hated.

Finally, the 17th day of September, commission was directed out by the king, and certain presidents and counsellors appointed to oversee the execution of the matter. Upon which divers of the poor afflicted gospellers were brought forth to their judgment and martyrdom, and burnt alive.

Henricus Pantal. lib. 11. partly touching this persecution of the Parisians, referreth the time thereof to the year of our Saviour 1557, which the French chronicles do assign to the year 1558; and addeth, moreover, That the Germans being the same time in a certain colloquy at Worms, divers learned men resorted thither from Geneva and other quarters, desiring of the princes and Protestants there, that they, by their ambassadors sent to the French king, would become suitors unto him for the innocent prisoners; who for the cause abovesaid were detained in bands at Paris. By the means of whose intercession, saith he, and especially that the French king was then at war (as God provided) with Philip king of Spain, a great part of the captives were rescued and delivered; although certain of the said number were executed before the coming of the German ambassadors.

*Nicholas Clinet, burnt at Paris, anno 1558.*

Of this godly company thus brought to judgment and to martyrdom, the first was *Nicholas Clinet*, of the age of sixty years, who first being a schoolmaster, at Solutonge, where he was born, was there pursued, and had his image burned. From thence he came to Paris, where for his godly conversation he was made one of the elders or governors of the church. For his age he was suspected by the judges to be a minister, and therefore was set to dispute against the chief of the Sorbonists, and namely, Maillard; whom he did so confute, both by the scriptures, and also their own Sorbonical divinity, (wherein he had been well exercised and expert,) in the presence of the lieutenant Civil, that the said lieutenant confessed, that he never heard a man better learned, and of more intelligence.

*Taurin Gravelle, a lawyer, burnt at Paris.*

*Taurin Gravelle* first was a student of the law at Thou-louse; after that he was made an advocate in the court of Paris; lastly, for his godliness he was ordained an elder to the said congregation, with Clinet above mentioned. This Taurin having in his hands the keeping of a certain house, of one master Barthonier, his kinsman, and seeing the congregation destitute of room, received them into the said house. And when he perceived the house to be compassed with enemies, although he might have escaped with the rest; yet he would not, to the intent he might answer for the fact, in receiving the said assembly into the house. The constancy of this man was invincible, in sustaining his conflicts with the Sorbonists. With Dr. Maillard especially he was of old acquaintance, whom he did know so well even from his youth upward, that whensoever the said doctor would open his mouth to speak against the saints for their nightly assemblies, he again did reproach him with such filthy acts, and Sodomitical practices, that neither they which heard

could abide it, neither yet could he deny it, being so notorious that almost all the children in the streets did know it; and yet that Sorbonical doctor shamed not to impeach good men of whoredom, for their godly assemblies in the night; whose life was as far from all chastity, as their holy assemblies were clear from all impurity.

*Philip de Luns, gentlewoman, burnt at Paris.*

Next unto Clinet and Gravelle abovesaid, was brought out Mrs. *Philip*, gentlewoman, of the age of twenty-three years. She came first from Gascoigne, with her husband, (who was lord of Graveron,) unto Paris, there to join herself to the church of God, where her husband also had been an elder, who in the month of May before was taken with an ague, and died; his widow ceased not to serve the Lord in his church, and was taken in the house with the people abovementioned.

Many conflicts she had with the judges and the Sorbonists, namely, Maillard; but she always sent him away with the same reproach as the other did before, and bade him, Avant, Sodomite! saying, she would not answer one word to such a villain. To the judges her answer was this, That she had learned the faith which she confessed in the word of God, and in the same would live and die. And being demanded, whether the body of Christ was in the sacrament? How is that possible, said she, to be the body of Christ, to whom all power is given, and which is exalted above all heavens, when we see the mice and rats, apes and monkeys, play with it, and tear it in pieces? Her petition to them was, that seeing they had taken her sister from her, yet they would let her have a Bible or Testament to comfort herself. Her wicked neighbours, although they could not impeach her conversation with any scandal, yet many things they laid to her charge; as, that there was much singing of psalms in her house, and twice or thrice an infinite number of persons were seen to come out of her house. Also, when her husband was in dying, no priest was called for; neither was it known where he was buried; neither did they ever hear any word of their intent to be baptized, (for it was baptized in the church of the Lord.) Among other her neighbours that came against her, two there were dwelling at St. Germaine in the suburbs, between whom rose a strife, wherein one of them stabbed the other with a knife.

The death of this gentlewoman was the more hastened by the lord-keeper of the seal, Bertrand, cardinal of Sens, and his son-in-law, the marquis of Trauc, to have the confiscation of her goods.

These three holy martyrs above-recited, were condemned September 27th, by the process of the commissioners and the lieutenant Civil; and then being put in a chapel together, certain doctors were sent to them; but their valiant constancy remained unmoveable. After that, they were had out of their prison, and sent every one in a dung-cart to the place of punishment. Clinet ever grieved by the way, protesting, that he said or maintained nothing but the verity of God. And being asked by a doctor, Whether he would believe St. Austin, touching certain matters? he said, Yea; and that he had said nothing but which he would prove by his authority.

The gentlewoman seeing a priest come to confess her, said, That she had confessed unto God, and had received of him remission: other absolution she found none in scripture. And when certain counsellors did urge her to take in her hands the wooden cross, according to the custom of them that go to their death, alleging how Christ commanded every

one to bear his cross: she answered, My lords, you make me in very deed to bear my cross, condemning me unjustly, and putting me to death in the quarrel of my Lord Jesus Christ, who willeth us to bear our cross, but no such cross as you speak of.

Gravelle looked with a smiling countenance, and shewed a cheerful colour, declaring how little he cared for his condemnation. And being asked by his friends to what death he was condemned; I see well, said he, that I am condemned to death, but to what death or torment I regard not. And coming from the chapel, when he perceived they went about to cut out his tongue, unless he would recant; he said, That was not so contained in the arrest, and therefore he was unwilling to submit unto it. But afterward perceiving the same to be so agreed by the court, he offered his tongue willingly to be cut out, and instantly after spake plainly these words, "I pray you, pray to God for me!"

The gentlewoman also being required to give her tongue, did likewise, with these words, "Seeing I do not stick to give my body, shall I stick to give my tongue! No, no." And so these three having their tongues cut out, were brought to Malbert-place. The constancy of Gravelle was admirable, casting up his sighs and groans to heaven, declaring thereby his ardent affection in praying to God. Clinet was somewhat more sad than the other, by reason of the feebleness of nature and his age. But the gentlewoman yet surmounted all the rest in constancy, who neither changed countenance nor colour, being of an excellent beauty.

After the death of her husband, she used to go in a mourning weed, after the manner of the country. But the same day, going to her burning, she put on her French hood, and decked herself in her best array, as going to a new marriage, the same day to be joined to her spouse, Jesus Christ. And thus the three, with singular constancy, were burned; Gravelle and Clinet were burned alive; Philip, the gentlewoman, was strangled, after her feet and face had been scorched a little; and so she ended her martyrdom.

*Nicholas Cene, and Peter Gabart, burnt at Paris, anno 1558.*

Of the same company was also *Nicholas Cene*, a physician, brother to Philip Cene, (who was martyred at Dijon,) and *Peter Gabart*; which two, about five or six days after the other three before, were brought forth to their death, on the 2d of October.

*Nicholas Cene* was but newly come to Paris the same day, when he was advertised of the assembly which was then collected in the street of St. James; and as he desired nothing more than to hear the word of God, came thither, even as he was, booted, and was also with them apprehended, sustaining the cause of God's holy gospel unto death.

The other was *Peter Gabart*, a solicitor of processes, about thirty years of age, whose constancy did much comfort the prisoners. He was put among a number of scholars in the little castle. Who, when he heard to pass the time in talking of philosophy: No, no, said he, let us forget these worldly matters, and learn to sustain the heavenly cause of our God, which lie here in the defence of the kingdom of Jesus Christ our Saviour. And so he began to instruct them how to answer to every point of Christian doctrine so well, as if he had done no other thing in all his life but only studied divinity; and yet was he but very simply learned. Then was he sent from them apart to another prison, full of stench and vermin; where he ceased not to sing psalms, that the other might well hear him. He had a nephew in a prison by, being but a child, of whom he asked what he had

said to the judges? He said, that he was constrained to do reverence to a crucifix painted. O thou naughty boy, said he; have I not taught thee the commandments of God? Knowest thou not how it is written, "Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image," &c. And so began to expound to him the commandments: whereunto he gave good attention.

In their examinations, many questions were propounded by the doctors and friars, touching matters both of religion, and also to know of them what gentlemen and gentlewomen were there present at the ministration of the sacrament. Whereunto they answered in such sort, as was both sufficient for defence of their own cause, and also to save their other brethren from blame, saying that they would live and die in what they had said and maintained.

When the time of their execution was come, they perceived that the judges had intended, that if they would recant they should be strangled; if not, they should burn alive, and then tongues be cut out. Which torments they being content to suffer for our Saviour Jesus Christ, offered their tongues willingly to the hangman to be cut out. Gabart began a little to sigh, for that he might no more praise the Lord with his tongue; whom then Cene did comfort. Then were they drawn out of prison, in the dung-cart, to the suburbs of St. Germaine; whom the people in rage and malice followed with cruel injuries and blasphemies, as though they would have done the execution themselves upon them, instead of the hangman. The cruelty of their death was such as hath not often been seen: for they were holden long in the air over a small fire, and their lower parts burnt off, before that the higher parts were much harmed with the fire. Nevertheless, these blessed saints ceased not in all these torments to turn up their eyes to heaven, and to shew forth testimonies of their faith and constancy.

In the same fire many Testaments and Bibles the same time also were burnt.

*Frederic Danvile and Francis Rebezies, burnt at Paris, anno 1558.*

Mention was made above of certain young scholars and students, which were in the little castle with Peter Gabart; of which number of scholars were these two, *Frederic Danvile* and *Francis Rebezies*, neither of them being past twenty years of age. How valiantly they behaved themselves in those tender years, sustaining the quarrel of our Lord Jesus Christ, what confession they made, what conflicts they had, disputing with the doctors of Sorbon, their own letters left in writing do record: the effect whereof briefly to touch is this; and first, touching *Frederic Danvile*:

This lieutenant criminal, who before was half suspected, but now thinking to prove himself a right Catholic, and to recover his estimation again, came to him, beginning with these words of scripture, "Whosoever denieth me before men, him will I deny before my Father," &c. That done, he asked him what he thought of the sacrament? To whom *Frederic* answered, That if he should think Christ Jesus to be between the priest's hands after the sacramental words, as they call them, then should he believe a thing contrary to the holy scripture, and to the creed, which saith, "That he sitteth on the right hand of the Father;" also to the testimony of the angels, which spake both of the ascending of Christ, and his coming down again, Acts i. After this, he questioned with him touching the invocation of saints, purgatory, &c. Whereunto he answered so, that he rather did astonish the enemies than satisfy them.



Furthermore, the 12th of September, the said Frederic again was brought before Benedictus Jacobin, and his companion, a Sorbonist, called Noster Magister, who thus began to argue with him :

*Doctor.* What think you to be the true church? the church of the Protestants, or the church of Paris?

*Martyr.* I recognize that to be the true church where the gospel is truly preached, and the sacraments rightly ministered, so as they be left by Jesus Christ and his apostles.

*Doctor.* And is the church of Geneva, think you, such a one as you speak of?

*Martyr.* I so judge it to be.

*Doctor.* And what if I do prove the contrary, will you believe me?

*Martyr.* Yea, if you shall prove it by the scripture.

*Doctor.* Or will you believe St. Austin, and other holy doctors innumerable?

*Martyr.* Yea, so they dissent not from the scripture and the word of God.

*Doctor.* By the authority of St. Austin, the church is there where is the succession of bishops. Whereunto I frame this argument: There is the church where is the perpetual succession of bishops. In the church of Paris is such succession of bishops: *ergo* the church of Paris is the true church.

*Martyr.* To your major I answer, That if St. Austin mean the succession of such as are true bishops indeed, which truly preach the gospel, and rightly administer the sacraments, such bishops I suppose to be at Geneva, where the gospel is truly preached, and the sacraments duly ministered, and not in the church of Paris. But if otherwise, St. Austin mean the succession of false bishops, such as neither preach nor minister according to God's word, so is the same in no wise to be granted.

#### *The Examination of Francis Rebezies.*

*Rebezies* had three sundry examinations: the first with the lieutenant Civil; the second with the presidents, and counsellors; the third with the friars. First, the lieutenant inquiring of his name, country, and parents, asked whether he was at the communion? whether he received with them the bread and wine? and whether he was a servitor to Mr. Nicholas Cene, senior of the congregation? Whereunto he said, Yea. Also, whether he was a distributor of the tokens whereby they were let in that came? That he denied. Then he was brought into the council-chamber, before two presidents, and twenty-five counsellors; who, after other questions about his country and parents, demanded whether he was taken with them in the house? He answered, Yea. What had he to do there? To hear the word of God, and to receive with them. Who brought him thither? Himself. Whom there he knew? No man. How he durst or would enter, knowing no person there? Truth it was, said he, that he knew there two or three. Who were they? Mr. Gravelle, Clinet, and John Sansot, feigning that name of himself. Whether he knew the preacher? That he denied. Whether he allowed the act there done to be good? Yea. Whether he did not better like to resort unto their beautiful temples to hear mass? or whether he did not take the mass to be an holy thing, and ordained of God? He answered again contrary, believing that it was a great blasphemy against God, and a service set up by the devil. Whether he did not acknowledge purgatory? Yea, that purgatory which is the death and passion of Christ, which taketh away the sins of the world. The death of Christ is the principal,

said they: but thou must also believe another. Alas, said he, can we never content ourselves with the simplicity of the gospel, but man always will be putting to something of his own brain? In so many places of the scripture we see the blood of Jesus Christ to be sufficient, as John i. Rev. v. Heb. ix. Isa. xliii. where the Lord himself saith, "That it is he, who for his own sake putteth away our iniquities," &c. As St. Paul also saith, "That God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself," &c. And contrary, when they objected the words of the parable, Matt. v. "Thou shalt not come out, till thou hast paid the last farthing." To this he answered, that the words of that parable had no such relation, but to matters civil: and this word *until*, meaneth there as much as to say, never.—After that, he was charged there by one for reading the books of Calvin, Bucer, and Bullinger. The president asked, if he were not afraid to be burned, as were the other before, and to bring his parents into such dishonour? He answered, that he knew well, "That all which would live godly in Christ Jesus should suffer persecution;" and that to him, either to live or to die were advantage in the Lord. And as touching his parents, Christ, said he, deth premonish, "That whosoever loveth father or mother more than him, is not worthy to be his," &c. Jesus Maria! said the president; what youth is this now-a-days, which cast themselves so headlong into the fire!—And so was he commanded away.

Thirdly, he was brought before Benet, master of the doctors of Sorbon, and another called Jacobine, the 14th of October; where, as he chancing to speak of the Lord, the doctor began thus to object as followeth:

*Doctor.* See how you, and all such as are of your company, simply name the Lord, without putting to the pronoun, *our*. So may the devils well call the Lord, and tremble before his face.

*Martyr.* The devils call the Lord in such sort as the Pharisees did, when they brought the adulteress before him, and called him Master; yet neither attended they to his doctrine, nor intended to be his disciples; whose cause I trust is nothing like to ours, which know and confess, as we speak, him to be the true Lord with all our heart, so as true Christians ought to do.

*Doctor.* I know well you hold the church to be where the word is truly preached, and the sacraments sincerely ministered, according as they are left by Christ and his apostles.

*Martyr.* That do I believe, and in that will I live and die.

*Doctor.* Do you not believe, that whosoever is without that church cannot obtain remission of his sins?

*Martyr.* Whosoever doth separate himself from that church, to make either sect, party, or division, cannot obtain as you say.

*Doctor.* Now let us consider two churches, the one wherein the word is rightly preached, and the sacraments administered accordingly as they be left unto us: the other, wherein the word and sacraments be used contrarily.—Which of these two ought we to believe?

*Martyr.* The first.

*Doctor.* Well said. Next is now to speak of the gifts given to the said church; as the power of the keys, confession for remission of sins, after we be confessed to a priest. Also we must believe the seven sacraments in the same church, truly administered, as they be here in the churches of Paris, where the sacrament of the altar is ministered, and the gospel truly preached.

*Martyr.* Sir, now you begin to halt; as for my part, I do not receive in the church more than two sacraments, which be instituted in the same for the whole assembly of Chris-

tians. And as to the power of the keys, and your confession, I believe that, for remission of our sins, we ought to go to none other but only to God, as we read 1 John i. "If we confess our sins, God is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness." Also in the prophet David, Psalm xix. and xxxii. "I have opened my sin unto thee," &c.

After this, about October 22d, the said Rebezies and Frederic Danville were brought up to a chamber in the castle to be racked, to the intent they should utter the rest of the congregation. In which chamber they found three counsellors, who thus began with them: Lift up thy hand; thou shalt swear by the passion of Jesus Christ, whose image here thou seest. Whereupon Rebezies answered, Monsieur, I swear to you by the passion of Christ, which is written in my heart. Why dost thou not swear to us, said the counsellors, as we say unto thee? Because, said he, it is a great blasphemy against the Lord. Then the counsellors read their depositions; and first beginning with Rebezies, said, Wilt thou not tell us the truth, what companions thou knowest to be of this assembly? Rebezies named, as he did before, Cravelle, Clinet, (who were already burnt,) and John Sansot. To whom they said, that the court had ordained, that if he would give no other answer but so, he should be put to the torture or rack. And so he was commanded to be stripped to his shirt, having a cross put in his hand, being bid to commend himself to God and the Virgin Mary; but he neither would receive the cross, nor commend himself to the Virgin Mary, saying, that God was able enough to guard him, and to save him out of the lion's mouth; and so being drawn and stretched in the air, began to cry, "Come, Lord, and shew thy strength, that man do not prevail," &c. But they cried, Tell truth, Francis, and thou shalt be let down. Nevertheless, he continued still in his invocation, and prayed to the Lord, so that they could have no other word but that. And after they had thus long tormented him, the counsellors said, Wilt thou say nothing else? I have nothing else, said he, to say. And so they commanded him to be loosed, and be put by the fire-side; who being loosed, said to them, Do you handle thus the poor servants of God? And the like was done to Frederic Danville also, his companion, of whom they could have no other answer (who at the same time was also very sick) but as of the other. So mightily did God assist and strengthen these his faithful servants, as ever he did any else.

These steadfast and true martyrs of Christ, after they had returned from the torture unto their fellow-prisoners, ceased not to thank and praise the Lord for his assistance. Frederic did sigh oftentimes; and being asked by his fellows, why he did so? he said, it was not for the evil that he had suffered, but for the evils that he knew they should suffer afterward. Notwithstanding, said he, be strong, brethren, and be not afraid, assuring yourselves of the aid of God, which hath succoured us, and also will comfort you.

Rebezies with the rack was so drawn and stretched, that one of his shoulders was higher than the other, and his neck drawn on the one side, so that he could not move himself; and therefore desiring his brethren to lay him upon his bed, there he wrote his confession, which hitherto we have followed. When the night came, they rejoiced together, and comforted themselves with meditation of the life to come, and contempt of this world, singing psalms together till it was day. Rebezies cried twice or thrice together, Away from me, Satan. Frederic being in bed with him, asked why he cried, and whether Satan would stop him of his course?

Rebezies said, that Satan set before him his parents; but, by the grace of God, said he, he shall do nothing against me.

The day next following they were brought once or twice before the counsellors, and required to shew what companions they had more of the said assembly. Which when they would not declare, the sentence was read against them, that they should be brought in a dung-cart to Maulbert-place, and there, having a ball in their mouths, be tied each one to his post, and afterwards be strangled, and so be burned into ashes.

Afterward came the friars and doctors, Demochares, Maillard, and others, to confess them, and offering to them a cross to kiss; which they refused. Then Demochares by force made Rebezies to kiss it, whether he would or no, crying to them, moreover, that they should believe in the sacrament. What, said Frederic, will ye have us to pluck Christ Jesus out from the right hand of his Father? Demochares said, that so many of their opinion had suffered death before, and yet none of them all ever did any miracles, as the apostles and other holy martyrs did. Frederic asked them, if they required any miracle? No, said they, and so stood mute, save only that Demochares prayed them to consider well what they had said unto them. Maillard also added, that he would engage his soul to be damned, but it was true. Frederic made answer, that he knew it was contrary.

At last, being brought to the place of execution, a cross again was offered them; which they refused. Then a priest standing by, bade them believe in the Virgin Mary. Let God, said they, reign alone. The people standing by, Ah, mischievous Lutheran! said they: Nay, a true Christian I am, said he.

When they were tied to the stakes, after their prayers made, and they were bid to be despatched, one of them comforting the other, said, "Be strong, my brother, be strong: Satan, away from us." As they were thus exhorting, one standing by said, These Lutherans do call upon Satan. One John Morrel (who afterward died a martyr) then standing by at liberty, answered, I pray you let us hear what they say, and we shall hear them invoke the name of God. Whereupon the people listened better unto them, to hearken, as well as they could, what they said; they crying still as much as their mouths, being stopped, could utter, "Assist us, O Lord!" And so they rendering up their spirits to the hands of the Lord, did consummate their valiant martyrdom. —Ex Crispino, lib. 6.

*Benet Romain, a mercer or haberdasher, burnt at Draguignan, in Provence, anno 1558.*

This lamentable story of Benet Romain is described at large among other French martyrs, by John Crispine, printer. The brief recital whereof here followeth: This Benet having wife and children at Geneva, to get his living used to go about the country with certain mercy wares: understanding also, among other things, how to dress corals.—As he was coming towards Marsile, and passed by the town of Draguignan, he met with one of the like faculty, named Lanteaume Blanc. Who being desirous to have of his corals, and could not agree for the price, also knowing that he was of Geneva, went to a counsellor of the court of Aix, (being then at Draguignan,) whose name was De Lauris, son-in-law to Miners, lord of Opede, a great persecutor.

This Lauris consulting with the aforesaid Blanc, and pretending to buy certain of his coral, which he saw to be very fair, and knowing also that he had to the worth of three hundred

dred crowns, soon after his departing from him he sent to the officer of the town, to attach the said Benet, as one being the greatest Lutheran in the world. Thus when he was arrested for the king's prisoner, Blanc and his fellows, who sought nothing but only the prey, were ready to seize on his goods, and likewise of the other two men whom he hired to bear his merchandise. Then were these three poor men separated asunder, and Romain examined before the consuls, and the king's advocate, and other counsellors: Where he kept his Easter? whether he received at the same Easter? Whether he was confessed before, and fasted the Lent? Also he was bid to say his Pater Noster, the Creed, and Ave Maria; which two first he did, but denied to say Ave Maria. Then was he asked for worshipping of saints, women saints and men saints, and when he heard mass? He said he would worship none but God alone. Mass he heard none these four years, nor ever would.

Whereupon he was, with iron chains upon his legs, confined in a privy. Laurus thus having his will upon the poor man, sent for the lieutenant, named Anthony Revest, told him what he had done, and willed him to see the prisoner. The lieutenant, being angry that he did so usurp his office denied to go with him to the prisoner, excusing the filthy savour of the place. Notwithstanding, the same day the lieutenant with another went to the prison, and caused the said Romain to come before him: of whom he inquired many things, of his dwelling, of his name and age, his wife and children, of his faculty, and cause of his coming, also of his religion, and all such points thereto belonging. Unto whom he answered again simply and truly in all respects, as lay in his conscience; and thereunto being required, because he could not write, he put to his mark. After this confession being thrice made, and his answers taken, certain faithful brethren of that place found means to come to him, and counselled him, that seeing he had sufficiently already made confession of his faith, he would seek means to escape out from his enemies, who sought nothing but his death, and shewed unto him what he should say unto the lieutenant: but he refused so to do, being willing there to render account of his faith, and contented to die for the same.

The fame of his constancy being known in the town, judge Barbosi, a man blind and ignorant, and no less deformed, came to see him, and asked, What, do they believe (said he) in any God in Geneva? Romain, looking upon him, What art thou, said he, that so wretchedly dost blaspheme? I am, said he, the ordinary judge of this place. And who hath put thee, said Romain, such a gross and deformed person, in such an office? Thinkest thou that we be infidels, and no Christians? And if the devils themselves do confess a God, suppose you that they of Geneva do deny their God? No, no; we believe in God, we invoke his name, and repose all our trust in him, &c. Barbosi took such grief with this, departing from Romain, that he ceased not to pursue him to death.

The lieutenant then being much urged, and much called upon, and also threatened by this Barbosi, and others, prepared to proceed in judgment against him, taking to him such judges and advocates as the order there required. There was the same time an observant friar, who had there preached all the Lent. He being very eager and diligent to have the poor Christian burned, and seeing the judges intent about the business to set the matter forward, said he would go and say mass by the Holy Ghost, to illuminate their intents, to have the said Romain condemned and burned alive at a little fire. Moreover, he procured Caval and Cavalieri, the consuls, to threaten the lieutenant, that they would com-

plain of him to the high court of parliament, if he would not after that sort condemn him to be burnt. In the mean time the faithful Christians of the said town, fearing lest by his racking, danger might happen to the brethren, sent to Romain again several instructions and means how he might be aided, such as should not be against God. But when the lieutenant came, the poor man forgot his instructions: so simple he was, and ignorant of the subtleties of this world.

When the time came that the judges were set, and the process should be read, Barbosi, with others whom the friar had procured, had agreed before that he should be fired alive, and put to the rack, to disclose his fellows, and afterwards gagged, that he might not speak and infect the residue. On the other part, one there was of the advocates (although a man wholly superstitious,) who seeing the rage of the other, gave contrary advice, saying, that he should be sent home again; for that he was a town-dweller of Geneva, neither had taught there any kind of doctrine, nor brought any books, neither had they any informations against him: and that which he had spoken, was a thing constrained by his oath, forced by the justice. And as touching his opinion, it was no other but as other young men did follow, which were either of the one part or of the other; and, therefore, that there remained no more, but only the lieutenant to give his verdict, &c.

Thus much being spoken, and also because the lieutenant was before suspected, and the time of dinner drew near, they arose for that time, deferring the matter to another season. The friar observant in this, mean while was not idle, inciting still the consuls and the people; who at the ringing of a bell being assembled together, with the official and the priests, in a great rout came crying to the lieutenant to burn the heretic, or else they would fire him, and all his family; and in like wise did the same to the other judges and advocates. The official moreover added, that if it were not better seen into than so, the Lutherans would take such courage, and so shut up their church doors that no man should enter in. Then, because the lieutenant would not take to him other judges after their minds, in all haste the people contributed together, that at their own charge the matter should be pursued at the parliament of Aix; and so compelled the lieutenant to bring the process into judgment, every man crying, "To the fire, to the fire, that he may be burned!"

The lieutenant being not able any otherwise to appease the people, promised to bring the matter to the high court of Aix; and so he did. They hearing the information of the cause, commanded the lieutenant and the other judges to deal no further therein, but to send up the process and prisoner unto them. This went greatly against the minds of them of Draguignan, which would fain have had him condemned there. Whereupon Barbosi was sent out to the parliament of Aix, where he so practised and laboured the matter, that the cause was sent down again to the lieutenant, and he enjoined to take unto him such ancient advocates as their old order required, and to certify them again within eight days.

And so Romain, by the sentence of those old judges, was condemned to be burned alive, if he turned not; if he did, then to be strangled; and, before the execution, to be put upon the rack, to the intent he should disclose the rest of his company. From which sentence Romain then appealed, saying, that he was no heretic. Whereupon he was carried unto Aix, singing the commandments as he passed by the town of Draguignan; which, when the king's advocate did see, looking out of his window, he said unto him, That he

was one of them that concluded his death, but desired God to forgive him. Romain answered again, God will judge us all in the last day of judgment. After he was come to Aix, he was brought before the counsellors, before whom he remained no less constant and firm than before. Then was a friar sent; who being three hours with him, and could not remove him, came out to the lords, and said that he was damned. By reason whereof, the sentence given before, of his condemnation, was confirmed, and he sent back again from whence he came.

At his return again from Aix, the consuls of Draguignan sent abroad by parishes to the curates, that they should signify to their parishioners the day of his death, to the end that they should come; also caused to be cried through the town, by the sound of a trumpet, that all good Christians should bring wood to the great market-place, to burn the Lutheran.

The day being come, which was Saturday, the 16th of May, the poor servant of God first was brought to the rack or torture, where, at his first entry, were brought before him the cords, irons, and weights, to terrify him.—Then, said they, he must utter his accomplices and renounce his religion, or else he should be burned alive. He answered, with a firm heart, that he had no other accomplices nor companions, neither would he hold any other faith but that which Jesus Christ did preach by his apostles. Then was he demanded of his fellows taken with him, whether they did hold the faith of Rome, or whether he did ever communicate with them, or did know them in the town, or in the province, to be of his faith? He said, No. Likewise, what he had to do in that town? He said, to sell his coral. Also, who gave him counsel to appeal? God, he said, by his Spirit.

Upon this, he was put upon the gin or rack, where he being torn most outrageously, ceased not still to cry unto God, that he would have pity on him for the love of Jesus Christ his Son. Then was he commanded to call to the Virgin Mary; but he would not. Whereupon his torture was renewed afresh, in such cruel sort, that they thought they had left him for dead. For which they sent him to the barbers, and finding that he could endure no longer, they were afraid lest he should expire, and hastened to bring him to the fire. So after they had assayed him by priests and friars as much as they could, to make him revolt, they helped the hangman to bear him, all broken and dismembered as he was, unto the heap of wood, where they tied him to a chain of iron, which was let down upon the faggots. Romain seeing himself to be alone lying upon the wood, began to pray to God; whereat the friars being moved, ran to him again to cause him to say Ave Maria; which when he would not do, they were so furious, that they plucked and tore his beard. In all these anguishes, the meek saint of God had recourse still to God in his prayers, beseeching him to give him patience. Then left they him lying as dead; but so soon as they descended from the wood, he began to pray to God again, in such sort as one would have thought that he had felt no hurt. Then another great friar, supposing to do more with him than the rest, came up to the wood unto him, to admonish him. Romain thought at first that he had been a faithful Christian, by his gentle speech; but afterwards when he urged him to pray to the Virgin Mary, he desired him to depart, and let him alone in peace. As soon as he was departed, Romain lifted up his head and his eyes on high, praying God to assist him in his great trial. Then a certain father, a warden, to bring the people in more hatred, cried out, and said, "He blasphemeth, he blasphemeth, he speaketh against the blessed Virgin Mary!" Whereat Barbosi

cried, Stop his mouth; let him be gagged. The people cried, To the fire, let him be burned. Then the hangman set fire to the straw and little sticks that were about, which were soon in a flame; Romain still remaining hanging in the air till he died, and was burned all his nether parts well near, when he was seen to lift up his head to heaven, moving his lips without any cry. And so this blessed saint rendered his spirit to God.

Of this assembly there were divers judgments and reports. Some said, that if good men had been about him, it had gone better with him; and that those priests and monks which were about him, were whoremasters, and infamous. Others said that he had wrong, and that an hundred of that company there were which more deserved death than he, especially among them which condemned him. Others went away marvelling, and disputing of his death and doctrine. And thus was the course finished to this valiant and thrice blessed martyr and servant of the Lord Jesus the Son of God.—Ex Crisp. lib. 6, page 902.

*Francis Civaux, burnt at Dijon, anno 1558.*

This *Francis Civaux* was secretary to the French ambassador here in England in queen Mary's time; who afterwards being desirous to hear the word of God, went to Geneva. Also he was placed to be secretary to the senate or council of Geneva; where he continued about the space of a year, having then certain business to come to Dijon.

There was at the same time a priest, that preached at Dijon such doctrine whereat the said Francis being worthily offended, came friendly unto the priest, and reasoned with him touching his doctrine, shewing by the scriptures how and where he had erred. The priest excused himself, that he was not so well instructed to dispute; that he would bring him the next day to a certain learned man, whom he knew there in the town, and desired the said Francis to go with him to breakfast, where he would be glad to hear them two in conference together. Whereunto when Francis had consented, the priest went to the Jacobin friars, where the matter was thus contrived, that at the breakfast-time Francis there unawares should be apprehended.

When the next day came, the priest brought Francis, according to his appointment, to a Jacobin friar, who pretending much fair friendship unto him, as one glad and desirous of his company, besought him to take a breakfast with him the next morrow, and there they would enter conference together. With this also Francis was content; and, to prepare himself the better to that conflict, sat up almost all the night writing with his fellow. The next morrow, as Francis, with his fellow, were preparing themselves toward the breakfast, the Jacobin in the mean time went to the justice of the town, to admonish him to be ready at the time and place appointed. Thus, as the Jacobin was standing at the justice's door, the companion of Francis, seeing the friar there stand, began to mistrust with himself, and told Francis, willing him to beware of the friar; moreover, the same night Francis had in his dream, that the friar should commit him to the justice. But he, either not caring for his dream, or else not much minding the danger, committed himself to the hand of God, and went. As they were together disputing in the convent of the Jacobins, Francis, thus betrayed by the priests, was apprehended by the officers, carried to prison, and within seven days after, being Saturday before the nativity of our Lord, was brought to the place of execution, where first he was strangled, and then burned.—Ex scripto testimonio Genevensis.



*Thomas Moutard, at Valenciennes, anno 1559.*

In the town of Valenciennes, in the month of October, 1559, suffered *Thomas Moutard*; who first being converted from a disorderly life to the knowledge of the gospel, is to us a spectacle of God's great mercy. This Moutard was attached for certain words spoken to a priest, saying thus, That his god of the host was nothing more but abomination, which abused the people of God. These words were taken first as spoken in his drunkenness. But the next day after, when the same words were repeated to him again, to know whether he would abide by the words there uttered, or not; he said, Yea: for it is an abuse (said he) to seek Jesus Christ any other where than in heaven, sitting in the glory and at the right hand of God his Father; and in this he was ready to live and die. His process being made, he was condemned to be burned alive. But as he was carried from the town-house to the place of punishment, he was observed to rejoice at that great honour which God had called him unto. The hangman hastened as much as was possible to bind and despatch him. The martyr, in the midst of the flaming fire, lifting up his eyes unto heaven, cried to the Lord, that he would have mercy on his soul; and so, in great integrity of faith and perseverance, he rendered up his life to God.—Ex Johan. Crisp. lib. 6.

#### SOME ACCOUNT OF THE SPANISH AND ITALIAN MARTYRS.

*Franciscus san Romanus, burnt at Burges, in Spain.*

ANNO 1540, this *Francis* was sent by certain Spanish merchants of Antwerp, to Bremen, to take up money to be paid by certain merchants there. Where he being at a sermon, hearing master Jacobus, prior sometime of the Austin friars of Antwerp, preach, was so touched, through the marvellous working of God's Spirit, at the hearing thereof, though he had no perfect understanding of the Dutch tongue, that not only he understood all that was there said, but also coming to the preacher, and accompanying him home, (all his other worldly business set apart,) there recited the whole contents of his sermon every word (as they said which heard the said minister of Bremen preach) in perfect form and order as he had preached. After this little taste, and happy beginning, he proceeded further, searching and conferring with learned men, that in short space he was grown to great towardness and ripe knowledge in the word of life. The minister marvelling at the sudden change of the man, and also seeing the vehemency of his zeal joined withal, began to exhort him how to temper himself with circumspection and discretion, still more and more instructing him in the word and knowledge of the gospel; which he so greedily received, as one that could never be satisfied. And so he remained with the minister three days together, committing his worldly business, and message that he was sent for, unto his fellow which came with him. Thus being inflamed with another desire, he ceased to seek for temporal trifles, seeking rather for such French or Dutch books which he could get to read; and again, read the same so diligently, that partly by the reading thereof, partly by master Jacobus, and also, by master Maccabeus, who was there the same time, he was able in short time to judge in the chief articles of our religion: insomuch, that he took upon him to write letters

unto his countrymen, the merchants of Antwerp. In which letters first he gave thanks to God for the knowledge of his holy word which he had received; secondly, he bewailed the great cruelty and gross blindness of his countrymen, desiring God to open their eyes and ears, to see and understand the word of their salvation; thirdly, he promised shortly to come to them at Antwerp, to confer with them touching the grace of God, which he had received; fourthly, declared to them his purpose in going also to Spain, intending there likewise to impart to his parents and other friends at Burges, the wholesome doctrine which the Lord had bestowed upon him.

Besides this, he addressed other letters also to Charles the emperor, opening to him the calamitous and miserable state of Christ's church; desiring him to tender the quietness thereof, especially that he would reform the miserable corruption of the church of Spain, &c. Over and besides all this, he wrote there a catechism, and divers other treatises, in the Spanish tongue. And all this he did in one month's space!

In the mean time, the Spanish merchants of Antwerp, understanding by his letters both this change of religion, and also his purpose of coming to Antwerp, sent him letters again, pretending outwardly much good will, but secretly practising his destruction. For at the day appointed of his coming, certain friars were set ready to receive him, which took him coming down from his horse, rifled his books, had him into a merchant's house near hand, where they examined him; with whom he again disputed mightily. And when they found him not agreeing to their faith, they bound him hand and foot, crying out upon him, and calling him Lutheran, and burnt his books before his face, threatening to burn himself also. At this disputation in the house, divers Spaniards were present, which made the friars more bold. Being demanded to shew of what faith and religion he was: My faith, said he, is to confess and preach Christ Jesus only, and him crucified, which is the true faith of the universal church of Christ; but this faith and doctrine you have corrupted, taking another abominable kind of life, and by your impiety have brought the most part of the world into most miserable blindness. And, to explain his faith to them more expressly, he recited all the articles of the creed.

Then the friars asked, Whether he believed the bishop of Rome to be Christ's vicar, and head of the church, having all the treasures of the church in his own power, being able to bind and loose; also to make new articles, and abolish the old, at his will, &c.? Hereunto Francis answered again, That he believed none of all this; but contrary did affirm, that the pope was Antichrist, born of the devil, being the enemy of Jesus Christ, transferring to himself God's honour, and which, moreover, being incited by the devil, turned all things upside down, and corrupted the sincerity of Christ's religion, partly by his false pretences beguiling, partly by his extreme cruelty destroying, the poor flock of Christ, &c. With the like boldness he uttered his mind likewise against the mass and purgatory.

The friars could suffer him to speak, till he came to the pope, and began to speak against his dignity, and their profit; then could they abide no longer, but thundered against him words full of cruelty and terror. As they were burning of his books, and began also to cast the New Testament into the fire, Francis seeing that, began to thunder out against them. The Spaniards then supposing him not to be in his right senses, conveyed him into a tower six miles distant from Antwerp, where he was detained in a deep dungeon, with much misery, during the space of eight months.



In the time of his imprisonment many grave and discreet persons came to visit him, exhorting him that he would change his opinion, and speak more modestly. Francis answered again, that he maintained no opinion erroneous or heretical; and if he seemed to be somewhat vehement with the friars, that was not to be ascribed to him, so much as to their own importunity; hereafter he would frame himself more temperately. Whereupon the Spaniards thinking him better come to himself, discharged him out of prison; which was about the time when the emperor was in his council of Ratisbon, anno 1541.

San Romanus being thus freed out of prison, came to Antwerp, where he remained about twenty days. From thence he went to Louvain, unto a certain friend of his, named Franciscus Dryander, (who also afterward died a martyr,) with whom he had much conference about divers matters of religion; who gave him counsel not to alter the state of his vocation, being called to be a merchant, which state he might exercise with a safe conscience, and do much good. And as touching religion, his counsel was, That he should say or do nothing for favour of men, whereby the glory of God should be diminished; but so, that he required notwithstanding in the same a sound and right judgment, conformed to the rule of God's word, lest it might chance to him as it doth to many, who being carried with an inconsiderate zeal, leave their vocations, and while they think to do good and to edify, they destroy and do harm, and cast themselves needlessly into danger. It is God, said he, that hath the care of his church, and will stir up faithful ministers for the same; neither doth he care for such, who rashly intrude themselves into that function without any calling.

This advertisement of Dryander, Francis did willingly accept, promising hereafter to moderate himself more considerably; but this promise was shortly broken, as you shall hear. For passing from Dryander, he went to Ratisbon, and there having time and opportunity convenient to speak to the emperor, he stepped boldly unto him, beseeching him to deliver his country and subjects of Spain from false religion, and to restore again the sincerity of Christ's doctrine, declaring and protesting that the princes and Protestants of Germany were in the truer part, and that the religion of Spain, being drowned in ignorance and blindness, was greatly dissonant from the true and perfect word of God, with many other words pertaining to the same effect. The emperor all this while gave him gentle hearing, signifying that he would consider the matter, and so do therein as he trusted should be for the best. This quiet answer of the emperor ministered to him no little encouragement; and although he might perceive there in the city many examples to the contrary, yet all that discouraged him not; but he went the second, and also the third time, unto the emperor, who quietly again so answered him as before. And yet this our Francis, not satisfied in his mind, sought with great ardency the fourth time to speak to the emperor; but he was repulsed by certain of the Spaniards about the emperor, who incontinent, without all further hearing or advising the cause, would have thrown him headlong into the Danube, had not the emperor staid them, and willed him to be judged by the laws of the empire. By which commandment of the emperor he was reserved and detained with other malefactors in bands, till the emperor took his voyage into Africa.

Then Francis, with other captives, following the court, after that the emperor was come into Spain, was there delivered to the inquisitors; by whom he was laid in a dark prison under the ground. Oft and many times he was called for to examination, where he suffered great injuries and con-

tumelies; but ever remained in his conscience firm and unmoveable. The articles whereupon he stood, and for which he was condemned, were these:

"That life and salvation in the sight of God come to no man in his own strength, works, or merits, but only by the free mercy of God, in the blood and sacrifice of his Son our Mediator.

"That the sacrifice of the mass, which the papists do account available for the remission of sin, both to the quick and the dead, is horrible blasphemy.

"That auricular confession, with numbering up of sins, that satisfaction, purgatory, pardons, invocation of saints, and worshipping of images, are mere blasphemy against the living God.

"Item, That the blood of Christ is profaned and injured in the same aforesaid."

After the inquisitors perceived, that by no means he could be reclaimed from his assertions, they proceeded at last to the sentence, condemning him to be burned for an heretic. Many other malefactors were brought also with him to the place of execution; but all they were pardoned and dismissed; he only for the gospel being odious to the whole world, was taken and burned.

As he was led to the place of suffering, they put upon him a mitre of paper, painted full of devils, after the Spanish guise. Furthermore, as he was brought out of the city gate to be burned, there stood a wooden cross by the way, whereunto Francis was required to do homage; which he refused, answering, That the manner of Christians is not to worship wood; and that he was, he said, a Christian. Hereupon arose great clamour among the vulgar people, for that he denied to worship the wooden cross. But this was turned incontinent into a miracle: such was the blind rudeness of that people, that they did impute this to the divine virtue, as given to the cross from heaven, for that it would not suffer itself to be worshipped by an heretic; and immediately, for the opinion of that great miracle, the multitude with their swords did hew it in pieces, every man thinking himself happy that might carry away some chip or fragment of the said cross.

When he was come to the place where he should suffer, the friars were busy about him to have him recant; but he continued firm.—As he was laid upon the heap of wood, and the fire kindled about him, he began a little at the feeling of the fire to lift up his head toward heaven; which when the inquisitors perceived, hoping that he would recant his doctrine, they caused him to be taken from the fire. But when they perceived nothing less in him, the adversaries being frustrate of their expectation, willed him to be thrown in again; and so was this good man immediately despatched, and thus hurried to his heavenly rest.

After that the martyrdom of this blessed man was thus consummated, the inquisitors proclaimed openly, that he was damned in hell, and that none should pray for him; yea, and that all were heretics whosoever doubted of his damnation. Nevertheless, certain of the emperor's soldiers gathered of his ashes. Also the English ambassador procured a portion of his bones to be brought unto him, knowing right well that he died a martyr.—Yet this could not be so secretly done, but it came to the ears of the inquisitors, and of the emperor. Wherefore the soldiers going in great danger of life, were committed to prison. Neither did the ambassador himself escape clear from the danger of the pope's scourge; for he was upon the same sequestered from the court, and commanded to be absent for a space.

*Another Martyr.*

There was one about the year 1559, who coming from Geneva to Sicily, upon zeal to do good, was at last laid hand on; and being condemned the same time to the fire, as he should take his death, was offered there of the hangman to be strangled, having the cord ready about his neck; but he, notwithstanding, refused the same, and said, that he would feel the fire. And so endured he, singing with all his might unto the Lord, till he was bereaved both of speech and life, in the midst of the flame: such was the admirable constancy and fortitude of that valiant soldier of Christ, as is witnessed to me by him, which being there present the same time, did both then see that which he doth testify, and also now doth testify that he then saw.

*N. Encenas, otherwise called Dryander, burnt at Rome, anno 1546.*

This *Encenas*, or *Dryander*, a Spaniard, born at Burges, was brother to *Franciscus Encenas*, the learned man so oft before mentioned, and was also the teacher or instructor in knowledge of religion to *Diazius*, a godly martyr. He was sent by his superstitious parents, being young, unto Rome; who there, after long continuance, growing up in age and knowledge, but especially being instructed by the Lord in the truth of his word, after he was known to dislike the pope's doctrine, and the impure doings at Rome, was apprehended and taken by certain of his own countrymen, and some of his own household friends, at Rome, at the same time when he was preparing to take his journey to his brother, *Francis Encenas*, in Germany.

Thus he, being betrayed and taken, was brought before the cardinals, and there committed to close prison: Afterwards he was brought forth to give testimony of his doctrine, which he in the presence of the cardinals, and in the face of all the pope's retinue, boldly and constantly defended. So that not only the cardinals, but especially the Spaniards, being therewith offended, cried out upon him, that he should be burned. The cardinals first, before the sentence of death should be given, came to him, offering, if he would take it, (after the manner of the Spaniards,) the badge of reconciliation, which hath the name of *Sanbenit's Cloth*, made in form of a mantle, going both before him and behind him, with signs of the red cross. But *Encenas*, still constant in the profession of truth, denied to receive any other condition or badge, but only the badge of the Lord, which was to seal the doctrine of his religion with the testimony of his blood. At last the matter was brought to that issue, that the faithful servant and witness of Christ was judged and condemned to the fire; where he, in the sight of the cardinals, and in the face of the pretended apostolic see, gave up his life for the testimony of the gospel.

And forsomuch as mention hath been made, both in this story, and many other before, of *Franciscus Encenas*, his brother, here is not to be omitted, how the said *Francis*, being a man of notable learning as ever was any in Spain, being in the emperor's court at Brussels, offered unto the emperor *Charles V.* the New Testament of Christ translated into Spanish. For which he was cast into prison: where he remained in sorrowful captivity and calamity the space of fifteen months, looking for nothing more than present death. At last, through the marvellous providence of Almighty God, the first day of February, 1545, at eight of the clock after supper, he found the doors of the prison standing open, and

he secretly was moved in his mind to take the occasion offered, and to shift for himself; and so he issuing out of the prison, without any hasty pace, but going as leisurely as he could, escaped from thence, and went straight to Germany.

*Faninus, burnt at Ferrara, anno 1550.*

*Faninus*, born in Faventia, a town in Italy, through the reading of godly books translated into the Italian tongue, having no perfect skill in the Latin, was converted from great blindness to the wholesome knowledge of Christ; wherein he took such a sweetness, and so grew up in the meditation of the same, that he was able in a short time to instruct others. Neither was there any diligence lacking in him to communicate that abroad which he had received of the Lord; being so persuaded in his mind, that a man, receiving by the Spirit of God the knowledge and illumination of his truth, ought in no case to hide the same in silence, as a candle under a bushel; and, therefore, being occupied diligently in that behalf, although he used not publicly to preach, but by private conference to teach, he was at length by the pope's clients espied, apprehended, and committed to prison. He remained not long in prison; for by the earnest persuasions and prayers of his wife, his children, and other friends, he was so overcome, that he relapsed, and so was dismissed shortly out of prison.

After this it was not long but he fell into horrible perturbation of mind, insomuch, that unless the great mercy of God had kept him up, he had fallen into utter desperation, for slipping from the truth, and preferring the love of his friends and kindred before the service of Jesus Christ, whom he so earnestly before had professed. This wound went so deep into his heart, that he could in no case be quieted, before he had fully fixed and determined in his mind to adventure his life more faithfully in the service of the Lord.

Whereupon he being thus inflamed with zeal of spirit, went about all the country of Romania, publicly preaching the pure doctrine of the gospel, not without great fruit and effect, in places as he went.

As he was thus labouring, it so fell out that he was apprehended again, anno 1547, in a place called *Bagnacavallo*, where also he was condemned to be burned. But he said his hour was not yet come, and the same to be but the beginning of his doctrine. And so it was: for shortly after he was removed unto Ferrara, where he was detained two years. At last the inquisitors condemned him to death, anno 1549; and yet his time being not come, he remained after that to the month of September, 1550. In the mean time, many faithful and good men came to visit him; for which the pope commanded him to be enclosed in straiter custody; wherein he suffered great torments the space of eighteen months, and yet had suffered greater if the Dominican friars might have got him in their house, as they wished. Thus *Faninus*, removed from prison to prison, many times changed his place, but never altered his constancy.

At length he was brought into a prison, where divers great lords, captains, and noble personages, were there committed for stirring up commotions and factions (as the country of Italy is full of such;) who at first hearing him speak, began to set him at nought, and to deride him; supposing that it was but a melancholy humour that troubled his brain; and such as seemed more sage amongst them, began to exhort him to leave his opinion, and to live with men as other men do, and not to vex his mind, but to suspend his judgment till the matter were decided in the general council.

To whom Faninus again, first giving them thanks for their friendly good-wills wherewith they seemed to respect his well-doing, modestly and quietly declared unto them, how the doctrine which he professed was no humour nor opinion of man's brain, but the pure truth of God, founded in his word, and revealed to men in the gospel of Jesus Christ, and especially now in these days restored: which truth he had fully determined in his mind never to deny, to believe the lying fancies of men. And as in his soul, which was redeemed by the blood of the Son of God, he was free from all bondage; so likewise, as touching councils, he looked for no other sentence nor authority, he said, but that only which he knew to be declared to us by Christ Jesus in his gospel, which both he preached with his word, and confirmed with his blood, &c. With these, and such other words, he so moved their minds, that they were clean altered unto a new kind of life, having him now in admiration, whom they had before in derision, and accounted him for an holy person. To whom he proceeded still to preach the word of grace, declaring and confessing himself to be a miserable sinner; but by the faith of the Lord Jesus, and through the grace only of him, he was fully persuaded and well assured his sins to be forgiven: like as all their sins also shall be remitted to them through their faith only in Christ, they believing his gospel.

There were others also besides these, who having used before a more delicate kind of life, could not abide the sharpness and the hardness of the prison. These also received such comfort by the said Faninus, that not only they were quietly contented, but also rejoiced in their captivity; by the occasion whereof they had received and learned a better liberty than ever they knew before.

When the imprisonment of this Faninus was known to his parents and kinsfolk, his wife and sister came to him with weeping persuasions, to move him to consider and care for his poor family. To whom he answered again, That his Lord and Master had commanded him not to deny him for looking to his family; and that it was enough for them that he had once, for their sakes, fallen into that cowardliness which they knew. Wherefore he desired them to depart in peace, and solicit him no more therein; for his end, he said, he knew to draw near; and so he commended them unto the Lord.

About the same time died pope Paul III. and after him succeeded Julius III. who then sent letters and commandment that Faninus should be executed. Whereof when one of the magistrate's officers brought him word the next day, he rejoiced, and gave the messenger thanks, and began to preach a long sermon to them that were about him, on the felicity of the life to come. Then the messenger exhorted him, that in case he would change his opinion, he should both save his life and enjoy that to come. Another asked him, in what case he should leave his little children and his wife, or what stay should they be at, he so leaving them? wherefore he desired him to have respect both to himself and to them.—Faninus answered, That he had left them with an overseer, who would see unto them sufficiently. And being asked, who he was? The Lord Jesus Christ, said he; a faithful keeper of all that is committed to him.

After that the messenger was thus departed from Faninus, all full of tears and sorrow, the next day following he was removed into the common prison, and delivered to the secular magistrate. Who in all his ways, his words, his gestures, and countenance, declared such constancy of faith, such modesty of manners, and tranquillity of mind, that they which before were incensed against him, thinking him rather to

have a devil, began now favourably to hearken to him, and to commend him. With such grace and sweetness he talked, ever speaking of the word of God, that divers of the magistrates' wives in hearing him could not abstain from weeping. The executioner also wept himself. One of the public scribes then came to him, and said, that if he would relent from his opinion, the pope's pleasure was, that he should be saved. But that he refused. This was marvellous, that he having but small skill in the Latin, yet recited so many and sundry places of the scripture without book, and that so truly and promptly, as though he had studied nothing else. One seeing him so merry going to his death, asked, Why he was so merry at his death, seeing Christ himself sweat blood and water before his passion? Christ, said he, sustained in his body all the sorrows and conflicts with hell and death due to us: by whose suffering we are delivered from sorrow and fear of them all. Finally, early in the morning he was brought forth where he should suffer. Who, after his prayers most earnestly made unto the Lord, meekly and patiently gave himself to the stake; where, with a cord drawn about his neck, he was secretly strangled by the hangman, in the city of Ferrara, three hours before day, to the intent the people should not see him, nor hear him speak: and after that, about dinner time, his body in the same place was burned.

*Dominicus de Basana, hanged at Placentia, anno 1550.*

The same year that the aforesaid Faninus suffered in Ferrara, Dominicus also suffered in the city of Placentia. This Dominicus was citizen in Basana, and followed the wars of Charles the emperor, in Germany, where he received the first taste of Christ's gospel; wherein he increased more and more, by conferring and reasoning with learned men, so that in short time he was able to instruct many. And so he did, working and travelling in the church, till at length, in the year 1550, he coming to the city of Naples, there preached the word, and from thence proceeded to Placentia, preaching there likewise unto the people, of true confession, of purgatory, and of pardons. Furthermore, on the next day, he treated of true faith and good works, how far they are necessary to salvation, promising moreover the next day to speak of Antichrist, and to paint him out in his colours. When the hour came that he should begin his sermon, the magistrate of the city commanded him to come down from the chair in the market-place, and delivered him to the officers. Dominicus was willing and ready to obey the commandment, saying, that he did much marvel that the devil could suffer him so long in that kind of exercise. From thence he was led to the bishop's chancellor, and asked whether he was a priest, and how he was placed in that function? He answered, that he was no priest of the pope, but of Jesus Christ, by whom he was lawfully called to that office. Then was he demanded, whether he would renounce his doctrine? He answered, that he maintained no doctrine of his own, but only the doctrine of Christ, which also he was ready to seal with his blood; and also gave hearty thanks to God, who so accepted him as worthy to glorify his name with his martyrdom. Upon this he was committed to a filthy and stinking prison, where, after he had remained a few months, he was exhorted divers times to revoke; otherwise he should suffer. But still he remained firm in his doctrine. Whereupon, when the time came assigned for his punishment, he was brought to the market-place where he preached, and there was hanged; who most heartily praying for his enemies, finished his days in this miserable and wretched world.

*Galeazius Trecius, burned at the city called Laus Pompeia, in Italy, anno 1551.*

Santangelo is a certain fortress or castle in Italy, within Lombardy, not far from the city called Laus Pompeia, belonging also to the same diocese. In this fort of Santangelo was an house of Augustine friars, to which used much to resort a certain friar of the same order, dwelling at Pavia, named Maianardus, a man expert in the study of scripture, and of a godly conversation. By this Maianardus, divers, not only of the friars, but also of other townsmen, were reduced to the love and knowledge of God's word, and to the detestation of the pope's abuses. Among whom was also this Galeazius, a gentleman of a good calling, wealthy, and very beneficial to the poor; who first by conference with the friars, and also with his brother-in-law, began to conceive some light in God's truth, and afterwards was confirmed more by Cælius Secundus Curio, who then being driven by persecution, came from Pavia to the said place of Santangelo. In process of time, as this Galeazius increased in judgment and zeal, in setting forward the wholesome word of God's grace; as a light shining in darkness, he could not so lie hid, but at last, in the year of our Lord 1551, certain were sent from the forenamed city of Laus Pompeia, to lay hands upon him, and brought him to the bishop's palace; where he was kept in bonds, having under him but only a pad of straw. Although his wife sent unto him a good feather bed, with sheets, to lie on, yet the bishop's chaplains and officers unjustly kept it from him, dividing the prey among themselves.

When the time came that he should be examined, he was thrice brought before the commissioners, where he rendered reasons of his faith, answering to their interrogatories with such evidence of scripture, and constancy of mind, that he was an admiration to them that heard him. Not long after, through the importunate persuasions of his kinsfolks and friends, and other cold gospellers, laying many considerations before his eyes, he was brought at length to assent to certain points of the pope's doctrine. But yet the mercy of God, which began with him, so left him not, but brought him again to such repentance and bemoaning of this fact, that he became afterward (according to the example of Peter, St. Cyprian, and others) double-wise more valiant in defence of Christ's quarrel; neither did he ever desire any thing more than occasion to be offered to recover again, by confession, that which he had lost before by denial: affirming, that he never felt more joy of heart than at the time of his examinations, where he stood thrice to the confession of the truth; and contrary, that he never tasted more sorrow in all his life, than when he slipped afterwards from the same by dissimulation. Declaring, moreover, to his brethren, that death was much more sweet unto him, with testimony of the verity, than life with the least denial of truth, and loss of a good conscience. Thus Galeazius, mourning for his fall into prison, after he heard of his friends, that nothing was yet so far past but that he might recover himself again, and that his infirmity was not prejudicial, but rather a furtherance to God's glory, and an admonition to himself to stand more strongly hereafter, took thereby exceeding comfort.

Furthermore, so comfortable was he after that, that they which talked with him continued all the day without meat or drink, and would also have tarried all the night following, if they might have been suffered.

Galeazius thus continued in the prison, looking for occasion to recover himself again from his fall, it fol-

lowed in short time that the inquisitors and priests repaired

to him again in the prison, supposing that he would confirm now that which before he had granted to them, and required him so to do. Galeazius, denying all that he had granted to them before, returned again to the defence of his former doctrine, with much more boldness of spirit confessing Christ, as he did before, and detested images, affirming and proving that God only is to be worshipped, and that in spirit and verity; also that there is no Mediator but Christ alone, and that he only and sufficiently by his suffering hath taken away the sins of the whole world; and that all they which depart hence in this faith, are ascertained of everlasting life; they which do not, are under everlasting damnation; with such other like matter, which was repugnant utterly to the pope's proceedings. With this confession made, as his mind was greatly refreshed, so the adversaries went away as much appalled; who, at last perceiving that he in no case could be reclaimed, caused him to be committed to the secular judge, to be burned.

Thus Galeazius early in the morning being brought out of prison to the market-place, there was left standing bound to the stake till noon, as a gazing-stock for all men to look upon. In which mean time many came about him, exhorting him to recant, and not so to cast away his life, whereas with ten words speaking he might save it: if he cared not for his life, nor for his country where he should live, nor for his goods and possessions, which should be confiscate, yet he should somewhat respect his wife, whom he loved so well, and his young children: at least he should consider his own soul. This counsel they gave, who more esteemed the commodities of this present life, than any true soul's health in the life to come. But to conclude: nothing could stir the settled mind of this valiant martyr; wherefore fire was commanded at last to be put to the dry wood about him; where-with he was shortly consumed, without any noise or crying, save only these words heard in the middle of the flame, "Lord Jesus!" This was anno 1551, November 24.

Touching the story of this blessed martyr, this by the way is given for a memorandum: That a little before this Galeazius should be burned, there was a controversy between the mayor of the city and the bishop's clergy, for the expenses of the wood that should go to his burning; he hearing thereof, sent word to both parties to agree, for he himself of his own goods, would see the cost of that matter discharged.

Another note, moreover, here is to be added: that while Galeazius was in captivity, certain of the papists perceiving that Galeazius had great goods and possessions, practised with his wife, under colour to release her husband, that she would lay out a sum of money to be sent to the wife of the chief lord of Milan, called Ferraras Gonzaga, to the end that she should entreat both with her husband and with the senate, for Galeazius's life. Which money, when they had thus juggled into their hands, Galeazius notwithstanding was burned; and so was the silly woman robbed and defeated, both of her husband, and also of her money.

*Dr. John Mollius, a gray friar, and a certain Weaver of Perusium, burnt at Rome, anno 1553.*

Johannes Mollius Montilcinus, being but twelve years old, with his brother, Augustinus, was set by his parents in the house of the gray friars, where he in short time, having a fresh good understanding, far excelled his fellows in all tongues and liberal sciences. So growing up to the age of eighteen, he was ordained priest, and sang his first mass. After that, he was sent to Ferrara to study, where he so



profited in the space of six years, that he was assigned by Vigerius, general of that order, to be doctor, and then reader in divinity; who then, with his sophistry, opposed himself as an utter enemy against the gospel. From thence he went to Brivia, and the next year following to Milan, where he read or professed openly. Again, from thence he was taken by Franciscus Sfortia, and brought to the university of Pavia, there openly to profess philosophy. Here he remained four years. After that, he was called to the university of Bononia, by Laurentius Spatha, general of the order, where he was occupied in reading the books of Aristotle de Anima.

In the mean time, God wrought in his soul such light of his word, and of true religion, that he waxing weary of professing philosophy, began secretly to expound the epistle of St. Paul to the Romans, to a few; which being known, his auditors increased so fast, that he was compelled to read openly in the temple. Whereas the number of his audience daily augmented, so the eager fervency of their minds so mightily increased withal, that every man almost came with his pen and ink to write, and great diligence was bestowed how to come betime to take up the first places where they might best hear; which was about the year of our Lord 1538. There was the same time at Bononia, one Cornelius, an arrogant babbler, who envying the doings of Johannes, took upon him, at the request of cardinal Campejus, to expound the said epistle of St. Paul, confuting and disproving the explanation of the said John, and extolling the pope with all his traditions. Contrary, John extolled and commended only Christ, and his merits, to the people. But the purpose of Cornelius came to small effect: for the auditors which first came unto him, began by degrees to fall from him, and the concourse of the other man's auditors more and more increased.

Which when Cornelius perceived, he persuaded Campejus, that unless he provided that man to be de-patched, the estimation of the church of Rome would thereby greatly decay. But when they could not openly bring their purpose about, secretly this way was devised: that Cornelius and Johannes should come to open disputation; which disputation endured till three of the clock after midnight. At length, when neither part could agree, John was bid to return home to his house; who, as he was come down to the lower steps, where the place was more strait, so that his friends could not come to rescue him, (although by drawing their swords they declared their good wills,) was there taken and laid fast in prison. When the day came, such tumult and stir was in the whole city, that Cornelius was driven to hide himself. Also Campejus, the cardinal, with the bishop there, were both condemned by the students. The next day the bishop of Bononia sent his chancellor to John in the prison, to signify unto him, that either he must recant, or else burn. But he being of a bold and cheerful spirit, would in no wise be brought to recant. This one thing grieved him, that he should be condemned, his cause not being heard.

In the mean season, Laurentius Spatha, above-mentioned, being general of that order, in most speedy wise posted up to Rome, and there so acted with the cardinal St. Crucis, the proctor in the court of Rome for the gray friars, that the pope wrote down his letters to Campejus, that he should deliver the said John out of prison, so that he, notwithstanding, within three months after, should personally appear at Rome. Thus the thirtieth day of his imprisonment he was delivered; who, but for the coming of the pope's letters, had been burned within three days after. Moreover, with the said Mollivus, Cornelius was also cited to make his appearance likewise at Rome, and there was detained in prison by

the cardinal St. Crucis till his cause should be decided. The friends of Mollivus gave him counsel not to go to Rome, and offered him money to go to Germany; but he would not, saying, that the gospel must also be preached at Rome.

After he was come to Rome, and appeared before pope Paul III. he desired that the cause, being so weighty, might come to public hearing; but that could not be obtained. Then was he commanded to write his mind in articles, and to bring his proofs; which he diligently performed, treating of original sin, justification by faith, free-will, purgatory, and other such like; proving the true doctrine by the authority of scripture, and of ancient fathers; and so exhibited the same to the bishop of Rome. Upon this, certain cardinals and bishops were assigned to have the cause in hearing; who disputed with him three days, and could not feel that which he had proved. At last, answer was made unto him thus: that it was truth which he affirmed, nevertheless the same was not meet for this present time, for that it could not be taught or published without the detriment of the apostolic see; wherefore he should abstain hereafter from the epistles of St. Paul, and so return again safe to Bononia, and there profess philosophy.

Thus as he was returned to Bononia, and all men there were desirous to know of his case, how he sped at Rome, openly in the pulpit he declared all things in order as they were done, and gave God thanks.

Herewith Campejus being more offended than before, obtained of the pope that the general of the order should remove the said John Mollivus from Bononia, and place him some other where. So Mollivus from thence was sent to Naples, and there was appointed reader and preacher in the monastery of St. Laurence. But Petrus, the viceroy there, not abiding his doctrine, so nearly sought his death, that he had much ado to escape with life. And so departing from thence, he went wandering in Italy from place to place, preaching Christ wheresoever he came. Not long after this, when cardinal Campejus was dead, he was called again unto Bononia by a good abbot, named De Grassis, anno 1543, where he renewed again the reading of St. Paul's epistles after a secret sort, as he did before; but that could not be long undiscovered.—Whereupon, by the means of cardinal di Capo, and by Bonaventura, the general, he was apprehended the second time, and brought to Faventia, and there laid in a filthy and stinking prison; where he continued four years, no man having leave once to come to him. During which time he wrote a Commentary upon the Books of Moses; but that labour, by the malignity of the adversaries, was suppressed. At length, through the intercession of the earl Petilianus, and of the aforesaid good abbot, De Grassis, he was again delivered, and sent to Ravenna, where he made his abode a few months with the abbot, and S. Vitale, and there again taught the gospel of Christ as before; and whensoever he spake of the name of Jesus, his eyes dropped tears; for he was fraught with a mighty fervency of God's Holy Spirit.

In process of time, when this abbot was dead, his sureties began to be weary of their bond, and so was he again now the third time cast into prison by the pope's legates. There were then four men of great authority, who being stirred up by God, had pity upon him, and bailed him out of prison. Of whom one of the said sureties took the said Mollivus home, to instruct his children in the doctrine of religion and good letters. Furthermore, at the fame of this man such a concourse of people came to see him, that the adversaries began to consult with themselves to kill him, lest his doctrine should disperse further abroad, to the detriment of the church.



Rome. Whereupon commandment was sent to the pope's legate, to lay hands upon him, and send him up fast bound to Rome. Where again now the fourth time he was imprisoned in the castle of Rome, and there continued eighteen months, being greatly assaulted, sometimes with flattering promises, sometimes with terrible threats, to give over his opinion: but his building could not be shaken, for it was grounded upon a sure rock.

Thus Dr. Mollius, being constant in the defence of Christ's gospel, was brought, with certain other men, (who were also apprehended for religion,) into the temple of St. Mary, called De Minerva, the 5th day of September, 1553, either then to revoke or to be burned. There sat upon them six cardinals in high seats, besides the judge; before whom preached a Dominican friar, with cruelty inveighing against the poor prisoners, incensed the cardinals, with all the vehemency he might, to their condemnation. The poor men stood holding a burning taper in their hands: of whom some for fear of death revolted. But this Dr. Mollius, with a Weaver, of Perusium, remained firm. Then Mollius began an earnest sermon in the Italian tongue, wherein he confirmed the articles of the faith by the sacred scriptures, declaring also that the pope was not the successor of Peter, but Antichrist, and that his secretaries do figure the Whore of Babylon. Moreover, he cited them up to the tribunal seat of Christ, and threw away the burning taper from him. Whereupon they being replenished with anger, condemned him, with the Weaver, to the fire, and commanded them to be had away. So were they carried immediately to the field called Florianum, where they remained cheerful and constant. First, the Weaver was hanged; Mollius then, willing the hangman to execute his office likewise upon him, began to exhort the people to beware of idolatry, and to have no other saviours but Christ alone; for he only is the Mediator between God and man. And so was he also hanged, commending his soul to God, and afterward laid in the fire and burned.

*Pomponius Algerius, burnt at Rome, 1555.*

*Pomponius Algerius*, born in Capua, a young man of great learning, was student in the university of Padua, where he, not able to conceal and keep close the verity of Christ's gospel, which he learned by the heavenly teaching of God's grace, ceased not, both by doctrine and example of life, to inform as many as he could in the same doctrine, and to bring them to Christ. For which he was accused of heresy to pope Paul IV. who sending immediately to the magistrates of Venice, caused him to be apprehended at Padua, and carried to Venice; where he was long detained in prison and bonds, till at last the pope commanded the magistrates there to send him up bound unto Rome; which the Venetians soon accomplished. After he was brought to Rome, manifold persuasions and allurements were made use of to remove this virtuous and blessed young man from his opinions. But when no worldly persuasions could prevail against the operation of God's Spirit in him, then was he adjudged to be burned alive; which death most constantly he sustained, to the great admiration of all that beheld him.

*Divers that suffered in the kingdom of Naples.*

*At Naples, anno 1560.*

After pope Julius III. came Marcellus II. After him succeeded pope Paul IV. This Paul being dead, followed pope Pius IV. who being advanced to that room, began hot persecution in all the territories of the church of Rome, against those which were suspected for Lutherans.

Whereupon ensued great trouble and persecution in the kingdom of Naples, in such cruel sort, that many noblemen, with their wives, and others, are reported there to be slain.—Vide Pantal. lib. 11.

*Eighty-eight Martyrs in one day, with one butcherly knife, slain like sheep; 160 others also condemned, at Calabria, anno 1560.*

In Calabria likewise the same time suffered a blessed number of Christ's well-beloved saints, both old and young, put together in one house, even eighty-eight persons; all which, one after another, were taken out of the house, and so being laid upon the butcher's stall, like the sheep in the shambles, with one bloody knife were all killed in order: a spectacle most tragical for all posterity to remember, and almost incredible to believe. Wherefore, for the more credit of the matter, lest we should seem either light of credit to believe what is not true, or rashly to commit to pen things without due proof and authority, we have here annexed a piece of an epistle written by Mr. Simon Florellius, preacher of God's word at the city of Clavenna, among the Rhetians, unto a certain friend of his, named Gulielmus Gratalorus, an Italian, and doctor of physick in the university of Basil; which Gratalorus translated into the Latin tongue, and it is to be found in the 11th book of Pantal. page 337, the English whereof is this, as followeth:

*The end of a certain Letter of Mr. Simon Florellius, written in Italian, concerning a lamentable slaughter of eighty-eight Christian saints in Calabria.*

'As concerning news, I have nothing to write, but only that I send you a copy of certain letters, imprinted either at Rome or at Venice, concerning the martyrdom or persecution in two several towns of Calabria, eight Italian miles from the borders of Consentia, the one called St. Sixtus, within two miles of Montalte, under the seigniorship of the duke of Montalte; the other called Guardia, situated upon the sea-coast, and twelve miles from St. Sixtus. The which two towns are utterly destroyed, and eight hundred of the inhabitants there, or, as some write from the city of Rome, no less than a full thousand. He that wrote the letter, was servant to Ascanius Carracciolus. The country and people there I well knew to take the first original of their good doctrine and honest life from the Waldenses; for before my departure from Geneva, at their request, I sent them two schoolmasters and two preachers. The last year the two preachers were martyred, the one at Rome, named *Johannes Aloisius Pascalis*, a citizen of Cünium; the other at Messina, named *James Bovell*; both of Piedmont. This year the residue of that godly fellowship were martyred in the same place. I trust this good seed sown in Italy will bring forth good and plentiful fruit.'

Now followeth the copy of the letters sent from Montalte, a town in Calabria, eight miles distant from Consentia, bearing date the 11th of June, 1560. The writer of which letters, as ye may perceive, was one of them which call themselves Catholics, and followers of the pope:

*A Copy of a Letter sent from Montalte, in Calabria, by a Romanist, to a certain friend of his in Rome, containing news of the persecution of Christ's people in Calabria, by the new pope, Pius IV.*

"Hitherto, most noble lord, I have certified you what here daily hath been done about these heretics. Now cometh next to signify unto your lordship the horrible judgment be

gun this present day, being the 11th of June, to be executed very early in the morning against the Lutherans; which when I think upon, I verily quake and tremble. And truly the manner of their putting to death, was to be compared to the slaughter of calves and sheep. For they being all thrust up in one house together, as in a sheep-fold, the executioner cometh in, and amongst them taketh one and blindfoldeth him with a muffler about his eyes, and so leadeth him forth to a larger place near adjoining, where he commandeth him to keel down; which being so done, he cutteth his throat, and leaving him half dead, and taking his butcher's knife and muffler, all of gore blood, which the Italians call *benda*, cometh again to the rest, and so leading one after another, he despatcheth them all, which were to the number of *eighty-eight*! This spectacle to behold, how doleful and horrible it was, I leave to your lordship's judgment: for, to write of it, I myself cannot choose but weep; neither was there any of the beholders there present, which seeing one to die, could abide to behold the death of another. But so humbly and patiently they went to death, as is almost incredible to believe. Some of them, as they were in dying, affirmed, that they believed even as we do. Notwithstanding, the most part of them died in the same their obstinate opinions. All the aged persons went to death more cheerfully; the younger were more timorous. I tremble and shake even to remember how the executioner held his bloody knife between his teeth, with the bloody muffler in his hand, and his arms all in gore blood up to the elbows, going to the fold, and taking every one of them, one after another, by the hand, and so despatching them all, no otherwise than doth a butcher kill his calves and sheep!

"It is moreover appointed, (and the carts be come already,) that all those so put to death should be quartered, and so conveyed in the carts to the hithermost parts of Calabria, where they shall be hanged upon poles in the highways and other places, even in the confines of the same country: unless the pope's holiness, and the lord viceroy of Naples, shall give in commandment to the lord marquis of Buccianus, governor of the said province, to stay his hand, and go no further, he will proceed with the rack and torture, examining all other, and so increase the number in such sort, that he will nigh despatch them all.

"This day it is also determined, that an hundred of the more ancient women should appear to be examined and racked, and after to be put to death, that the mixture may be perfect, for so many men so many women. And thus have you that I can say of this justice. Now it is about two of the clock in the afternoon: shortly we shall hear what some of them said, when they went to execution.—There be certain of them so obstinate, that they will not look upon the crucifix; nor be confessed to the priest; and they shall be burned alive.

"The heretics that be apprehended and condemned, are to the number of 1600; but as yet no more but these aforesaid eighty-eight are already executed. This people have their original from the valley named Angrogna, near to Subaudia, and in Calabria are called Ultramontani. In the kingdom of Naples, there are four other places of the same people, of whom, whether they live well or no, as yet we know not; for they are but simple people, ignorant, without learning, wood-gatherers, and husbandmen; but, as I hear, much devout and religious, giving themselves to die for religion's sake.—From Montalte the 11th of June."

Here, moreover, is to be noted, that the aforesaid marquis Buccianus, above specified, had a son or brother, unto whom

the said new pope (Pius IV. belike) is reported to have promised a cardinalship at Rome, if all the Lutherans were extirpated and rooted out in that province. And like enough that the same was the cause of his butcherly persecution and effusion of Christian blood, in the said country of Calabria, beyond Naples, in Italy.

Besides those godly Italian martyrs in the table above contained, many others also have suffered in the same country of Italy, of whom some before have been specified, and some omitted. But many more there are, whose names we know not.

Next after this lamentable slaughter of Calabria, I shall insert the tragical persecution and horrible murder of the faithful flock of Christ, inhabiting Merindol in France, and the towns adjacent, in the time of Francis I. the French king. The furious cruelty of which miserable persecution, although it cannot be set forth too much at large, yet because we will not be tiresome, we have made the following abridgment.

*A notable History of the PERSECUTION and DESTRUCTION of the PEOPLE of MERINDOL and CARRIERS, in the Country of PROvence; where not a few persons, but whole villages and townships, with the most part of all the aforesaid country, both men, women, and children, were put to all kind of cruelty, and suffered martyrdom, for the profession of the gospel.*

THEY that write of the origin of this people, say, that about three hundred years ago, they came out of the country of Piedmont to inhabit Provence, in certain villages destroyed by wars, and other desert places; wherein they used such labour and diligence, that they had abundance of corn, wine, oil, honey, almonds, with other fruits and commodities of the earth, and much cattle. Before they came thither, Merindol was a barren desert, and not inhabited. But these good people, (in whom God always had reserved some little seed of piety) being dispersed and separated from the society of men, were compelled to dwell with beasts in that waste and wild desert, which, notwithstanding, through the blessing of God, and their great labour and travail, became exceedingly fruitful. Notwithstanding, the world in the mean time so detested and abhorred them, and with all shameful rebukes and contumelies railed against them in such spiteful manner, that it seemed they were not worthy that the earth should bear them. For they of a long continuance and custom had refused the bishop of Rome's authority, and observed ever a more perfect kind of doctrine than others, delivered unto them from the father to the son, ever since the year of our Lord 1200.

For this cause they were often accused and complained of to the king, as rebels, and contemnors and despisers of the magistrates.—Wherefore they were called by divers names, according to the countries and places where they dwelt. For in the country about Lyons, they were called the Poor People of Lyons; in the borders of Sarmatia and Livonia, and other countries towards the north, they were called Lollards; in Flanders and Artois, Turelupins, of a desert where wolves did haunt; in Dauphine, with great despite, they were called Chagnards, because they lived in places open to the sun, and without house or harbour; but most commonly they were called Waldos, of Waldo, who first instructed them in the word of God; which name continued until the name of Lutherans came up, which above all others was most hated and abhorred.

Notwithstanding, in all these most spiteful contumelies and slanders, the people dwelling at the foot of the Alps, and also in Merindol and Cabriers, and the quarters thereabout, always lived so godly, so uprightly and justly, that in all their life and conversation there appeared to be in them a great fear of God. That little light of true knowledge which God had given them, they laboured by all means to kindle and increase daily more and more, sparing no charges, whether it were to procure books of the holy scripture, or to instruct such as were of the best and most towards wits in learning and godliness; or else to send them into other countries, yea, even to the farthest parts of the earth, where they had heard that any light of the gospel began to shine.

For in the year 1530, understanding that the gospel was preached in certain towns of Germany and Switzerland, they sent thither two learned men, that is, Georgius Maurellus, born in Dauphine, a godly preacher of their own, and whom they had at their own charges brought up in learning, and Petrus Latomus, a Burgundian, to confer with the wise and learned ministers of the churches there, in the doctrine of the gospel, and to know the whole form and manner which those churches used in the service and worshipping of God: and particularly to have their advice also upon certain points which they were not resolved in. These two, after great conference had with the chiefest in the church of God; namely, which Oecolampadius, at Basil; at Strasburg, with Bucer and Capito; and at Berne, with Bartholdus Hallerus; as they were returning through Burgundy homeward, Petrus Latomus was taken at Dijon, and cast into prison. Maurellus escaped, and returned alone to Merindol, with the books and letters which he brought with him from the churches of Germany; and declared to his brethren all the points of his commission, and opened unto them, how many and great errors they were in, into which their old ministers, whom they called *barbes*, (that is to say, uncles,) had brought them, leading them from the right way of true religion. These *barbes* were their ministers, for lack of better, until they came to more knowledge; who instructed them most commonly by night abroad in caves and quarries, for fear of persecution.

When the people heard this, they were moved with such a zeal to have their churches reformed, that they sent for the most ancient brethren, and the chiefest in knowledge and experience of all Calabria and Apulla, to consult with them touching the reformation of the church.

This matter was so handled, that it stirred up the bishops, priests, and monks, in all Provence, with great rage against them.—Amongst others, there was one cruel wretch, called Jo. de Roma, a monk, who obtaining a commission to examine those that were suspected to be of the Waldos or Lutheran profession, forthwith ceased not to afflict the faithful with all kind of cruelty that he could devise or imagine. Amongst other most horrible torments, this was one which he most delighted in, and most commonly practised: he filled boots with boiling grease, and put them upon their legs, tying them backward to a form, with their legs hanging down over a small fire, and so he examined them. Thus he tormented very many, and in the end most cruelly put them to death.

The first whom he thus tormented, were Michelottus Serra and W. Melius, and a number more.

Wherefore Francis, the French king, being informed of this strange and outrageous cruelty of this hellish monk, sent to the high court of parliament of Provence, that with he should be apprehended, and by form of process,

and order of law, he should be condemned, and advertisement sent unto him with all speed of his condemnation. The monk being advertised hereof by his friends, conveyed himself to Avignon, where he thought to enjoy the spoilings, which he, like a notorious thief, had gotten by fraud and extortion from the poor Christians. But shortly after, he which he had so shamefully spoiled others, was spoiled of all together by his own household servants. Whereupon shortly after he fell sick of a most horrible disease, strange and unknown to any physician. So extreme were the pains and torments wherewith he was continually vexed in all his body, that no ointment, no fomentation, nor any thing else, could ease him one minute. Neither was there any man that could tarry near about him, nor yet would any one of his own friends come near to him, so great was the stench that came from him. For which cause he was carried from the Jacobins to an hospital, there to be kept. But the stench and infection so increased, that no man there durst come near him; no, nor he himself was able to abide the horrible stench that issued from his body, full of ulcers and sores, and swarming with vermin, and so rotten, that the flesh fell away from the bones by piecemeal.

Whilst he was in these torments and anguish, he cried out oftentimes in great rage, O, who will deliver me! who will kill and rid me out of these intolerable pains, which I know I suffer for the evils and oppressions that I have done to the poor men! And he himself went about divers times to destroy himself; but he had not the power. In these horrible torments, and anguish, and fearful despair, this blasphemous and most cruel homicide most miserably ended his unhappy days and cursed life, as a spectacle to all persecutors, receiving a just reward of his cruelty by the just judgment of God. When he was dead, there was no man that would come near him to bury; but a young novice, newly come to his order, instead of a more honourable sepulture, caught hold with a hook upon his stinking carrion, and drew him into a hole hard by, which was made for him.

After the death of this cruel monster, the bishop of Aix, by his official, Perionet, continued the persecution, and put a great multitude of them in prison; of whom some, by force of torments, revolted from the truth; the others which continued constant, after he had condemned them of heresy, were put into the hands of the ordinary judge, (which at that time was one Merianus, a cruel persecutor,) who without any form of process, or order of law, such as the official had pronounced to be heretics, he put to death with most cruel torments; but shortly after he received a just reward of his cruelty in like manner.

After the death of the good president Cusinetus, the lord of Revest, being chief president of the parliament of Aix, put many of the faithful to death. Who afterwards being put out of his office, returned to his house of Revest, where he was stricken with such an horrible sickness, that, for the fury and madness which he was in, his wife, or any that were about him, durst not come near him; and so he, dying in his fury and rage, was justly plagued for his unmerciful and cruel dealing.

After him succeeded Bartholomeus Chassaneus, likewise a pestilent persecutor, whom God at length struck with a fearful and sudden death. In the time of this tyrant, those ten persons of Merindol, representatives of the whole, were cited personally to appear before the king's attorney. But they, hearing that the court had determined to burn them without any further process, or order of law, durst not appear at the day appointed. For which cause the court awarded a cruel sentence against Merindol, and condemned all the inhabitant

to be burned, both men and women, sparing none, no, not the little children and infants; the town to be razed, and their houses beaten to the ground; also the trees to be cut down, as well olive-trees as all others, and nothing to be left, to the intent it should never be inhabited again, but remain as a desert or wilderness.

This bloody decree seemed so strange and wonderful, that in every place throughout all Provence there was great reasoning and disputation concerning the same, especially among the advocates and men of learning and understanding; in-somuch, that many durst boldly and openly say, that they greatly marvelled how that court of parliament could be so mad, or so bewitched, to give out such an arrest, so manifestly injurious and unjust, and contrary to all right and reason, yea, to all sense of humanity; also contrary to the solemn oath which all such as are received to office in courts of parliament are accustomed to make; that is to say, to judge justly and uprightly, according to the law of God, and the just ordinances and laws of the realm, so that God thereby might be honoured, and every man's right regarded, without respect of persons.

Some of the advocates, or lawyers, defending the said arrest to be just and right, said, That in case of Lutheranism, the judges are not bound to observe either right or reason, law or ordinance; and that the judges cannot fail or do amiss, whatsoever judgment they do give, so that it tend to the ruin and extirpation of all such as are suspected to be Lutherans.

To this the other lawyers and learned men answered, That upon their sayings it would ensue, that the judges should now altogether follow the same manner and form in proceeding against the Christians accused to be Lutherans, which the gospel witnesseth that the priests, scribes, and pharisees, followed in pursuing and persecuting, and finally condemning, our Lord Jesus Christ.

By these and such other like talks, the said arrest was published throughout the country, and there was no assembly or banquet where it was not disputed or talked of: and, namely, within twelve days after the arrest was given out, there was a great banquet in the town of Aix; at which banquet was present M. Bartholomew Chassanee, president, and many counsellors, and other noble personages and men of authority. There was also the archbishop of Arles, and the bishop of Aix, with divers ladies and gentlewomen, among whom was one which was commonly reported to be the bishop of Aix's concubine. They were scarce well seated at the table, but she began thus to talk: My lord president, will you not execute the arrest which is given out of late against the Lutherans of Merindol? The president answered nothing, feigning that he heard her not. Then a certain gentleman asked of her, what arrest that was? She recited it in manner and form as it was given out, forgetting nothing, as if she had a long time studied to commit the same to memory. Whereunto they which were at the banquet gave diligent ear, without any word speaking, until she had ended her tale.

Then the lord Alenc, a man fearing God, and of great understanding, said unto her, Gentlewoman, you have learned this tale either of some who would have it so, or else it is given out by some parliament of women. Then the lord of Senas, an ancient counsellor, said unto him, No, no, my lord of Alenc, it is no tale which you have heard this gentlewoman tell; for it is an arrest given out by a whole senate, and you ought not thus to speak, except you would call the court of Provence a parliament of women. Then the lord of Alenc began to excuse himself, with protestation that he

would not speak any thing to blemish the authority of that sovereign court; notwithstanding, he could not believe all that which the said gentlewoman had told, that is to say, that all the inhabitants of Merindol were condemned to die by the arrest of the said court of parliament of Provence, and especially the women, and little children, and infants; and the town to be razed, for the fault of ten or twelve persons, who did not appear before the said court at the day appointed. And the lord Beavieu also answered, that he believed not the said court to have given out any such arrest; for that (said he) were a thing most unreasonable, and such as the very Turks, and the greatest tyrants in the world, would judge to be a thing most detestable: and said further, that he had known a long time many of Merindol, who seemed unto him to be men of great honesty; and my lord president, said he, can certify us well what is done in this matter; for we ought not to give credit unto women's tales.

Then the president, Chassanee, and the counsellors, parted aside, and the gentlewomen went on the other part. The archbishop of Arles, the bishop of Aix, and divers abbots, priors, and others, assembled themselves together, to consult how this arrest might be executed with all speed, intending to raise a new persecution, greater than that of John, the Jacobine monk of Rome; for otherwise, said they, our state and honour is like to decay: we shall be reprov'd, contemned, and derided, by all men. And if none should thus vaunt and set themselves against us, but these peasants, and such like, it were but a small matter; but many doctors of divinity, and men of the religious order, divers senators and advocates, many wise and well learned men, also a great part of the nobility, if we may so say, and that of great renown, yea, even of the chiefest peers in all Europe, begin to condemn and despise us, counting us to be no true pastors of the church; so that except we see this mischief, and provide for remedy betime, it is greatly to be feared, lest not only we shall be compelled to forsake our dignities, possessions, and livings, which we now wealthily enjoy, but also the church, being spoiled of her pastors and guides, shall hereafter come to miserable ruin, and utter desolation. This matter, therefore, now requireth great diligence and circumspection, and that with all celerity.

Then the archbishop of Arles, nor forgetting his Spanish subtleties and policies, gave his advice as followeth: Against the nobility, said he, we must take heed that we attempt nothing rashly, but rather we must seek all the means we can how to please them; for they are our shield, our fortress, and defence. And although we know that many of them do speak and think evil of us, and that they are of these new gospellers, yet may we not reprove or exasperate them in any case; but seeing they are too much bent against us already, we must rather seek how to win and make them our friends again by gifts and presents: and by this policy we shall live in safety under their protection. But if we enterprise any thing against them, sure we are to gain nothing thereby, as we are by experience already sufficiently taught.

It is well said, (said the bishop of Aix,) but I can shew you a good remedy for this disease: we must go about with all our endeavour, and power, and policy, and all the friends we can make, sparing no charges, but spending our goods, wealth, and treasure, to make such a slaughter of the Merindolian and rustical peasants, that none shall be so bold hereafter, whosoever they be, yea, although they be of the blood royal, once to open their mouths against us, or the ecclesiastical state. And to bring this matter to pass, we have no better way than to withdraw ourselves to Avignon, in which city we shall find many bishops, abbots, and



famous men, which will with us employ their whole endeavour to maintain and uphold the majesty of our holy mother the church.

This counsel was well liked by them all. Whereupon the said archbishop of Arles, and the bishop of Aix, went with all speed to Avignon, there to assemble out of hand the bishops and other men of authority and credit, to treat of this matter.

After dinner all these reverend prelates assembled together again; but they suffered neither friar nor monk to be amongst them, except he were an abbot. In this assembly they made a general composition, confirmed with an oath, that every man should endeavour himself, that the said arrest of Merindol should be executed with all expedition, every man offering to furnish out men of war, according to his ability. The charge whereof was given to the bishop of Aix, and to the president of the canons, to solicit the matter, and to persuade by all means possible the presidents and counsellors of the said court of parliament, without fear or doubt, to execute the said arrest, with drums, ensigus displayed, artillery, and all kind of furniture of war.

This conspiracy being concluded and determined, the bishop of Aix departed from Avignon, to go into Aix, to perform the charge which was given to him. Notwithstanding, they desired him to be, the next day after the council was holden, at a banquet which should be made at the house of the bishop of Rieux. To this banquet such as were known to be the fairest and most beautiful women in all Avignon were called, to refresh and solace these good prelates, after the great pains and travel which they had taken for our holy mother the church. After they had dined, they fell to dancing, playing at dice, and such other pastimes as are commonly wont to be frequented at the banquets and feasts of these holy prelates. After this they walked abroad to solace themselves, and to pass the time till supper.

As they passed through the streets, every one leading his minion upon his arm, they saw a man which sold bawdy images and pictures, with filthy rhymes and ballads annexed to the same, to move and stir up the people to whoredom and knavery. All these goodly pictures were bought up by the bishops; which were as many as a mule could well carry.— And if there were any obscure sentence, or hard to understand, in those rhymes or ballads, the same these learned prelates did readily expound, and laughed pleasantly thereat. In the same place, as they walked along, there was a bookseller which had set out to sale certain Bibles in French and Latin, with divers other books; which when the prelates beheld, they were greatly moved thereat, and said unto him, Darest thou be so hardy to set out such merchandise to sell here in this town? Dost thou not know that such books are forbidden? The bookseller answered, Is not the holy Bible as good as these goodly pictures, which you have bought for these gentlewomen? He had scarce spoken these words, but the bishop of Aix said, I renounce my part of paradise, if this fellow be not a Lutheran. Let him be taken, (said he,) and examined what he is. And immediately the bookseller was taken and carried into prison, and spitefully handled: for a company of knaves and ruffians, which waited upon the prelates, began to cry out, "A Lutheran, a Lutheran! to the fire with him! to the fire with him!" and one gave him a blow with his fist, another pulled him by the hair, and others by the beard, in such sort that the poor man was imbrued with blood before he came to prison. The morrow after he was brought before the judges in the presence of the bishops, where he was examined in this form and to this effect:

Hast thou not set forth to sale the Bible and the New Testament in French? The prisoner answered, that he had so done. And being demanded, whether he understood, or knew not, that it was forbidden throughout all Christendom, to print or sell the Bible in any other language than in Latin? He answered, That he knew the contrary, and that he had sold many Bibles in the French tongue, with the emperor's privilege, and many others, printed at Lyons; also New Testaments imprinted by the king's privilege. Furthermore he said, That he knew no nation throughout all Christendom, which had not the holy Scriptures in their vulgar tongue; and afterward with a bold courage thus he spake unto them: O you inhabitants of Avignon! are you alone in all Christendom those men which do despise and abhor the Testament of the heavenly Father? Will ye forbid and hide that which Jesus Christ hath commanded to be revealed and published? Do you not know that our Lord Jesus Christ gave power unto his apostles to speak all manner of tongues, to this end, that his holy gospel should be taught unto all creatures in every language? And why do you not forbid those books and pictures, which are full of filthiness and abomination, to move and stir up the people to whoredom and to uncleanness, and to provoke God's vengeance and great indignation upon you all? What greater blasphemy can there be, than to forbid God's most holy books, which he ordained to instruct the ignorant, and to reduce and bring again into the way such as are gone astray? What cruelty is this, to take away from poor souls their nourishment and sustenance? But, my lords, you shall give an heavy account, which call sweet sour, and sour sweet, which maintain abominable and detestable books and pictures, and reject that which is holy.

Then the bishop of Aix, and the other bishops, began to rage and gnash their teeth against this poor prisoner. What need you, said they, any more examination? Let him be sent straight unto the fire, without any more words. But the judge, Laberius, and certain others, were not of that mind, neither found they sufficient cause why to put him to death, but went about to have him put to his fine, and to make him confess and acknowledge the bishop of Aix, and other his companions, to be the true pastors of the church. But the bookseller answered, That he could not do it with a good conscience, forasmuch as he did see before his eyes that these bishops maintained filthy books, and abominable pictures, rejecting and refusing the holy books of God; and therefore he judged them rather to be the priests of Bacchus and Venus, than the true pastors of the church of Christ.

Whereupon he was immediately condemned to be burned, and the sentence was executed the very same day. And for a sign or token of the cause of his condemnation, he carried two Bibles hanging about his neck, the one before and the other behind him: but this poor man had also the word of God in his heart, and in his mouth, and ceased not continually by the way, until he came to the place of execution, to exhort and admonish the people to read the holy scriptures: insomuch, that divers were thereby moved to seek after the truth. The prelates seeing a great dissension among the people of Avignon, and that many murmured and gruded against them for the death of this good man, and also for the dishonour which they had done unto the holy Testament of God, minding to put the people in a fear, they proceeded the next day to make a proclamation by the sound of a trumpet throughout the whole town and country of Venice, That all such as had any books in the French tongue, treating upon the holy scriptures, should bring them forth, and deliver them into the hands of the commissioners



appointed for that purpose; contrariwise, they which had any such books found about them should be put to death.

Then after that these prelates had taken advice to raise great persecution in Venice, the bishop of Aix returned to prosecute the execution of the arrest against Merindol; labouring earnestly with the president, Cassaneus, to that effect; declaring unto him the good-will of the prelates of Avignon and Provence, and the great affection they bare both to him and his, with many fair promises, if he would put the arrest in execution. The president answered him, that it was no small matter to put the arrest of Merindol in execution; also, that the said arrest was given out more to keep the Lutherans in fear, (which were a great number in Provence,) than to execute it in effect as it was contained in the said arrest: moreover, he said, that the arrest of Merindol was not definite, and that the laws and statutes of the realm did not permit the execution thereof without further process. Then, said the bishop, if there be either law or statute which hinders you, we can set it aside. The president answered, it were a great sin to shed innocent blood. Then said the bishop, The blood of them of Merindol be upon us, and upon our successors. Then said the president, I am very well assured, that if the arrest of Merindol be put in execution, the king will not be well pleased to have such destruction made of his subjects. Then said the bishop, Although the king at the first do think it evil done, we will so bring it to pass, that within a short space he shall think it well done; for we have the cardinals on our side, and especially the most reverend cardinal of Tournon, who will take upon him the defence of our cause, and we can do him no greater pleasure than utterly to root out these Lutherans, so that if we have any need of his counsel or aid, we shall be well assured of him: and is not he the principal, the most excellent and prudent adversary of the Lutherans, which is in all Christendom?

By this, and such other talk, the bishop of Aix persuaded the president and counsellors of the court of parliament, to put the said arrest in execution, and by this means, through the authority of the said court, the drum was sounded throughout all Provence, the captains were prepared with their ensigns displayed, and a great number of footmen and horsemen began to set forward, and marched out of the town of Aix in order of battle, well horsed and furnished, against Merindol, to execute the arrest. The inhabitants of Merindol being advertised thereof, and seeing nothing but present death to be at hand, with great lamentation commended themselves, and their cause unto God by prayer, making themselves ready to be murdered and slain, as sheep led unto the butchery.

Whilst they were in this grievous distress, piteously mourning and lamenting together, the father with the son, the daughter with the mother, the wife with the husband, suddenly there was news brought unto them, that the army was retired, and no man knew at that time how, or by what means; yet notwithstanding afterwards it was known, that the lord of Alenc, a wise man, and learned in the scriptures, and in the civil law, being moved with great zeal and love of justice, declared unto the president, Cassaneus, that he ought not so to proceed against the inhabitants of Merindol by force of arms, contrary to all form and order of justice, without judgment or condemnation, or without making any difference between the guilty and the innocent. By these and such like demonstrations, the president was persuaded, and immediately called back his commission which he had given out, and caused the army to retire, the which was already come near unto Merindol, even within a mile and a half.

Then the Merindolians, understanding that the army was retired, gave thanks unto God, comforting one another, with admonition and exhortation, always to have the fear of God before their eyes, to be obedient to his holy commandments, subject to his most holy will, and every man to submit himself unto his providence, patiently looking for the hope of the blessed, that is to say, the true life, and the everlasting riches; having always before their eyes for example our Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, who hath entered into his glory by many tribulations. Thus the Merindolians prepared themselves to endure and abide all the afflictions that it should please God to lay upon them: and such was their answer to all those that either pitied or else sought their destruction. Whereupon the noise was so great, as well of the arrest as of the enterprise of the execution, and also of the patience and constancy of the Merindolians, that it was not hidden or kept secret from king Francis, a king of noble courage and great judgment; who gave commandment unto the noble and virtuous lord monsieur de Langeay, who then was his lieutenant in Turin, a city in Piedmont, that he should diligently inquire and search out the truth of all this matter. Whereupon the said monsieur de Langeay sent unto Provence two men of fame and estimation, giving them in charge to bring unto him the copy of the arrest, and diligently to inquire out all that followed thereupon; and likewise to make diligent inquisition of the life and manners of the Merindolians, and others which were persecuted in the country of Provence.

These deputies brought the copy of the arrest, and of all that happened thereupon, unto the said monsieur de Langeay, declaring unto him the great injuries, pollings, extortions, exactions, tyrannies, and cruelties, which the judges, as well secular as ecclesiastical, used against them of Merindol, and others. As touching the behaviour and disposition of those which were persecuted, they reported, that the most part of the men of Provence affirmed them to be men given to great labour and travel; and that about 200 years past, as it is reported, they came out of the country of Piedmont to dwell in Provence, and took to tillage, and to inhabit many hamlets and villages destroyed by the wars, and other desert and waste places; which they had so well occupied, that now there was great store of wines; oil, honey, and cattle, wherewith strangers were greatly relieved and helped. Besides that, before they came into the country to dwell, the place of Merindol was taxed but at four crowns, which before the last destruction paid yearly unto the lord for taxes and tillage above three hundred and fifty crowns, besides other charges.

The like was also reported of Lormarin, and divers other places of Provence, whereas there was nothing but robbery before they came to inhabit there, so that none could pass that way but in great danger. Moreover, they of the country of Provence affirmed, that the inhabitants of Merindol, and the other that were persecuted, were peaceable and quiet people, beloved of all their neighbours, men of good behaviour, constant in keeping of their promise and paying of their debts, without traversing or pleading at the law; that they were also charitable men, giving alms, relieving the poor, and suffered none amongst them to lack, or to be in necessity; also they gave alms to strangers, and to the poor passengers, harbouring, nourishing, and helping them in all their necessities, according to their power. Moreover, that they were known by this, throughout all the country of Provence, that they would not swear, nor name the saints easily be brought to take an oath, except it were by commandment, or making some solemn covenant. They

known by this, that they could never be moved nor provoked to talk of any dishonest matters; but in what company soever they came, where they heard any wanton talk, swearing, or blasphemy, to the dishonour of God, they straightway departed out of that company. Also they said, that they never saw them go to their business, but first they made their prayers. The said people of Provence further affirmed, that when they came to any fairs or markets, or came to their cities by any occasion, they never in a manner were seen in their churches; and if they were, when they prayed they turned away their faces from the images, and neither offered candles to them, nor kissed their feet. Neither would they worship the relics of saints, nor once look upon them. And, moreover, if they passed by any cross or image of the crucifix, or any other saint, by the way as they went, they would do no reverence unto them. Also the priests did testify, that they never caused them to say any masses, neither dirges, neither yet *De Profundis*, neither would they take any holy water; and if it were carried home unto their houses, they would not once say, God a mercy! yea, they seemed utterly to abhor it. To go on pilgrimage, to make any vows to saints, to buy pardons or remission of sins with money, yea, though it might be gotten for an half-penny, they thought it not lawful. Likewise, when it thundered or lightened they would not cross themselves, but casting up their eyes unto heaven, fetch deep sighs. Some of them would kneel down and pray, without blessing themselves with the sign of the cross, or taking of holy water. Also they were never seen to offer or cast into the bason, any thing for the maintenance of lights, brotherhoods, churches, or to give any offering either for the quick or the dead. But if any were in affliction or poverty, those they relieved to the utmost of their ability, and thought nothing too much.

This was the whole tenor of the report made unto monsieur de Langeay, touching the life and behaviour of the inhabitants of Merindol, and the other which was persecuted; also as touching the arrest, and that which ensued thereon. Of all those things the said monsieur de Langeay, according to the charge that was given him, advertised the king; who understanding these things, as a good prince, moved with mercy and pity, sent letters of grace and pardon, not only for those which were condemned for lack of appearance, but also for all the rest of the country of Provence, which were accused and suspected in like case; expressly charging and commanding the said parliament, that they should not hereafter proceed so rigorously as they had done before, against this people: but if there were any that could be found or proved, by sufficient information, to have swerved from the Christian religion, that then he should have good demonstration made unto him by the word of God, both out of the Old and New Testament: and so, as well by the gentleness as by the rigour of the same, he should be reduced again unto the church of Christ. Declaring also, that the king's pleasure was, that all such as should be convicted of heresy in manner aforesaid, should abjure; forbidding also all manner of persons, of what estate or condition soever they were, to attempt any thing against them of Merindol, or other that were persecuted, by any other manner of means, or to molest or trouble them in person or goods; revoking and annulling all manner of sentences and condemnations, of what edges soever they were, and commanding to set at liberty prisoners which either were accused or suspected of heresim.

In virtue of these letters they were now permitted to their cause, and to say what they could in defence

thereof. Whereupon they made a confession of their faith, the effect whereof you shall see in the end of the story.

On the other part, the bishop of Aix and Cavaillon pursued still the execution of the arrest of Merindol. Then it was ordained by the court of parliament, That according to the king's letters, John Durand, counsellor of the court of parliament, with a secretary, and the bishop of Cavaillon, with a doctor of divinity, should go into Merindol, and there declare unto the inhabitants the errors and heresies which they knew to be contained in their confession, and make them apparent by good and sufficient information; and having so convicted them by the word of God, they should make them to renounce and abjure the said heresies; and if the Merindolians did refuse to abjure, then they should make relation thereof, that the court might appoint how they should further proceed. After this decree was made, the bishop of Cavaillon would not tarry until the time which was appointed by the court for the execution of this matter; but he himself, with a doctor of divinity, came to Merindol to make them to abjure. Unto whom the Merindolians answered, That he enterprised against the authority of parliament, and that it was against his commission so to do. Notwithstanding, he was very earnest with them that they should abjure, and promised them, if they would so do, to take them under his wings and protection, even as the hen doth her chickens, and that they should be no more robbed or spoiled. Then they required, That he would declare unto them what they should abjure. The bishop answered, That the matter needed no disputation, and that he required but only a general abjuration of all errors, which would be no damage or prejudice to them; for he himself would not stick to make the like abjuration. The Merindolians answered him again, That they would do nothing contrary to the decree and ordinance of the court, or the king's letters, wherein he commanded, that first the errors should be declared unto them whereof they were accused; wherefore they were resolved to understand what those errors and heresies were, that being informed thereof by the word of God, they might satisfy the king's letters, otherwise it were but hypocrisy and dissimulation to do as he required them. And if he could make it to appear unto them, by good and sufficient information, that they had holden any errors and heresies, or should be convicted thereupon by the word of God, they would willingly abjure; or if in their confession there were any word contrary to the scriptures, they would revoke the same.

Then the bishop of Cavaillon was marvellously angry, and would hear no word spoken of any demonstration to be made by the word of God; but in a fury cursed and gave him to the devil who first invented that means. Then the doctor of divinity, whom the bishop brought thither, demanded what articles they were that were presented by the inhabitants of Merindol? for the bishop of Cavaillon had not yet shewed them unto him. Then the bishop of Cavaillon delivered the doctor the confession; which after he had read, the bishop of Cavaillon said, What! will you any more witness or declaration? this is full of heresy. Then they of Merindol demanded, In what point?—Whereupon the bishop knew not what to answer. Then the doctor demanded to have time to look upon the articles of the confession, and to consider whether they were against the scriptures, or no. Thus the bishop departed, being very sore grieved that he could not bring his purpose to pass.

After eight days the bishop sent for this doctor, to understand how he might order himself to make their heresies appear which were in the said confession. Whereunto the

doctor answered, That he was never so much abashed ; for when he had beholden the articles of the confession, and the authorities of the scriptures that were there alleged for the confirmation thereof, he had found that those articles were wholly agreeable and according to the holy scriptures ; and that he had not learned so much in the scriptures all the days of his life, as he had in those eight days, in looking upon those articles, and the authorities therein alleged.

Within a while after, the bishop of Aix solicited master John Durandus, counsellor of the court of the parliament of Provence, to execute the commission which was given him ; that is, to go into the place of Merindol, together with the secretary of the said court, and there, in the presence of the bishop of Cavaillon, accompanied by a doctor of divinity, to declare the errors and heresies which the bishops pretended the inhabitants of Merindol to be infected and entangled withal, and, according to their duty, to make it appear by the word of God, and so being convicted, to make them abjure and renounce the said heresies. Whereupon the said counsellor, Durandus, certified the day that he would be present at Merindol, to the end and purpose that none of the inhabitants should be absent. At the day appointed, the said counsellor, Durandus, the bishop of Cavaillon, a doctor of divinity, and a secretary, came unto Merindol, where were also present divers gentlemen, and men of understanding of all sorts, to see this commission executed. Then they of Merindol were advertised, that they should not appear all at once ; but that they should keep themselves apart, and appear as they should be called, in such order and number as should be appointed unto them. After that Durandus, the bishop of Cavaillon, the doctor of divinity, and the secretary, were set in the place where justice was accustomed to be kept, there was called forth the bailiff of Merindol, with Romane and Maynard, syndics ; Cabrie and Palenc, ancients of Merindol ; and Bruneral, under-bailiff. After they had presented themselves with all due reverence, the counsellor, Durandus, spake thus unto them :

" You are not ignorant that, by the arrest given out by the high court of Provence, you were all condemned to be burned, both men, women, and children ; your houses also to be beaten down, and your town to be razed, and made desolate, &c. as is more largely contained in the said arrest. Notwithstanding, it hath pleased the king our most gracious prince, to send his letters unto the said court, commanding that the said arrest should not so rigorously proceed against you ; but if it could by sufficient information be proved that you, or any of you, had swerved from the true religion, demonstration should be made thereof unto you by the word of God, whereby you might be reduced again to the flock of Christ. Wherefore it was determined in the said court of parliament, that the bishop of Cavaillon, with a doctor of divinity, should in my presence declare unto you the errors and heresies wherewith they say you are infected ; and after good demonstration made by the word of God, you should publicly and solemnly renounce and abjure the said heresies ; and in so doing should obtain the grace and pardon contained in the king's letters : Wherefore shew yourselves this day, that you be obedient unto God, the king, and the magistrates." When he had thus spoken, " What answer you (said he) to that which I have propounded ?"

Then Andrew Maynard, the bailiff, desired that they would grant them an advocate, to answer according to the instructions which they would give him, forso much as they were men unlearned, and knew not how to answer as in such a case was requisite. The counsellor answered, That he would hear their answer neither by advocate nor by writing, but

would hear them answer in their own persons. Notwithstanding, he would give them leave to go apart and talk together, but not to ask any counsel, but only among themselves ; and then to answer one after another. Upon this determination, the bailiff and the two syndics, with other two ancient men, talked together awhile, and determined that the two syndics should speak first, and after them the bailiff, and then the two ancient men, every man according as God should give them grace ; and by and by presented themselves. Whereat the counsellor, Durandus, was greatly abashed, to see that they had decreed and determined so speedily. Then Michelin Maynard began to answer, desiring the counsellor and the bishop, with the other assistants, to pardon him, if that he answered over rudely, having regard that they were poor, rude, and ignorant men.

We are greatly bound, saith he, to give God thanks, that, besides other his benefits bestowed upon us, he hath now delivered us from these great assaults, and that it hath pleased him to touch the heart of our noble king, that our cause might be treated with justice, and not by violence. In like manner are we also bound to pray for our noble king, who, following the example of Samuel and Daniel, hath not disdained to look upon the cause of his poor subjects. Also, we render thanks unto the lords of the parliament, in that it hath pleased them to minister justice according to the king's commandment. Finally, we thank you, my lord Durandus, commissioner in this present cause, that it hath pleased you in so few words to declare unto us the manner and order how we ought to proceed. And for my part, I greatly desire to understand and know the heresy and errors whereof I am accused : and whereas they shall make it appear unto me, that I have holden any errors or heresies, I am contented to amend the same, as it shall be ordained and provided by you.

After him answered Jenon Romane, the other syndic, a very ancient farther, approving all that which his fellow before had said.

Then Andrew Maynard, the bailiff, answered, saying, That God had given to these two syndics the grace to answer so well, that it was not necessary for him to say or add any more thereunto. Notwithstanding, it seemed good that their answers were put in writing, which was not done by the secretary, that had done nothing else but mock and jeer at all that had been said : wherefore he required the commissioner to look unto the matter.

Then the commissioner was very angry, and sharply rebuked his secretary, commanding him to sit nearer, and to write their answers word for word, and he himself with a singular memory repeated their answers, and oftentimes asked if it were not so. The said answers being thus put in writing, the commissioner asked the bailiff, if he had any more to answer ; saying, that he had done him great pleasure to shew him his secretary's fault, willing him to speak boldly what he thought good for the defence of their cause.

Then the bailiff said, Forsomuch as it hath pleased you to give me audience and liberty to speak my mind freely : I say, moreover, that it seemeth unto me, that there is no due form of process in this judgment ; for there is no party here that doth accuse us. If we had an accuser present, which, according to the rule of the scripture, either should prove by good demonstration, out of the Old and New Testament, that whereof we are accused, or, if he were not able, should suffer punishment due unto such as are heretics ; I think he would be as greatly troubled to maintain his accusations, as we to answer unto the same.

After that the bailiff had made this answer, John Palenc,

one of the ancients of Merindol, said, That he approved all that had been said by the syndics, and that he was able to say no more than had been said by them before. The commissioner said unto him, You are, I see, a very ancient man, and you have not lived so long, but that you have something to answer for your part in defence of your cause. And the said Palenc answered, Seeing that it is your pleasure that I should say something, It seemeth unto me impossible that, say what we can, we should have either victory or advantage; for our judges be our enemies.

Then John Bruneral, under-bailiff of Merindol, answered, That he would very fain know the authority of the counsellor, Durandus, commissioner in this cause; forasmuch as the said counsellor had given them to understand, that he had authority of the high court to make them abjure their errors, which should be found by good and sufficient information, and to give them, so doing, the pardon contained in the king's letters, and quit them of all punishment and condemnation. But the said commissioner did not give them to understand, that if it could not be found, by good and sufficient information, that they were in error, he had any power or authority to quit and absolve them of the said sentence and condemnation; wherefore it seemed that it should be more advantage for the said Merindolians, if it should appear that they were heretics, than to be found to live according to the doctrine of the gospel. For this cause he required, that it would please the said commissioner to make declaration thereof; concluding, that if it did not appear, by good and sufficient information against them, that they had swerved from the faith, or if there were no accuser that would come forth against them, they ought to be fully absolved, without being any more troubled, either in body or goods.

These things were thus in debating, from seven of the clock in the morning until eleven. Then the commissioner dismissed them till after dinner. At one of the clock at afternoon, they were called for again, and demanded whether they would say any thing else touching that which was propounded in the morning by the said commissioner? They answered, No. Then said the commissioner, What do you conclude for your defence? The two syndics answered, We conclude, that it would please you to declare unto us the errors and heresies whereof we are accused. Then the commissioner asked the bishop of Cavaillon, what information he had against them? The bishop spake unto him in his ear, and would not answer aloud. This talk in the ear continued almost half an hour, so that the commissioner, and all other that stood thereby, were weary thereof. In the end the commissioner said unto them, That the bishop of Cavaillon had told him, that it was not needful to make it apparent by information; for such was the common report. Hereunto they answered, That they required the causes and reasons, alleged by the bishop of Cavaillon against them, should be put in writing. The bishop was earnest to the contrary, and would have nothing that either he said or alleged to be put in writing. Then John Bruneral required the commissioner, That at the least he would put in writing, that the bishop would speak nothing against them that they could understand; and that he would not speak before the commissioner, but only in his ear. The bishop, on the contrary part, defended that he would not be named in process. There was great disputation upon this matter, and continued long. Then the commissioner asked the Merindolians, if they had the articles of their confession, which they had presented to the high court of parliament? Then they required, that their confession might be read, that by the reading thereof they might understand whether it were the doctrine which

they held, and the confession which they had presented, or no. Then the confession was read publicly before them; which they did allow and acknowledge to be theirs. This done, the commissioner asked the doctor, If he did find in the said confession any heretical opinions, whereof he could make demonstration by the word of God, either out of the Old or New Testament? Then spake the doctor in Latin a good while. After he had made an end, Andrew Maynard, the bailiff, desired the commissioner, according as he had propounded, to make the errors and heresies that they were accused of, apparent unto them by good information, or at the least to mark those articles of their confession, which the bishop and the doctor pretended to be heretical; requiring him also to put in register the refusal as well of the bishop as of the doctor, of whom the one spake in his ear, and the other in Latin, so that they of Merindol could not understand one word. Then the commissioner promised them to put in writing all that should make for their cause. And, moreover, he said that it was not needful to call the rest of the Merindolians, if there was no more to be said to them than had been said to those which were already called. And this is the sum of all that was done in the afternoon.

After this, the inhabitants of Merindol were in rest and quietness for a space, inasmuch, that every man feared to go about to trouble them, seeing those which persecuted them did receive nothing but shame and confusion; as it did manifestly appear, not only by the sudden death of the president, Chassanee, but also many other of the chiefest counsellors of the parliament of Provence, whose horrible end terrified many, but especially the strange and fearful example of that bloody tyrant, John de Roma, set out as a spectacle to all persecutors; whereof we have spoken before.

Thus the Lord repressing the rage of the adversaries for a time, stayed the violence and execution of that cruel sentence of arrest given out by the parliament of Provence against the Merindolians, until John Miniers, an exceeding bloody tyrant, began a new persecution. This Miniers, being lord of Opede, near to Merindol, first began to vex the poor Christians, by pilling and polling, by oppression and extortion, getting from them what he could to enlarge his seigniorie or lordship, which before was very small. For this cause, he put five or six of his own tenants into a cistern under the ground, and closing it up, there he kept them till they died for hunger, pretending that they were Lutherans and Waldoyes, to have their goods and possessions. By this, and such other practices, this wretch was advanced in short space to great wealth and dignity, and so at length became not only the chief president of the high court of parliament, but also the king's lieutenant-general in the country of Provence, in the absence of the lord Griegnan, then being at the council of Worms, in Germany. Now, therefore, seeing no opportunity to be lacking to accomplish his devilish enterprise, he employed all his power, riches, and authority, not only to confirm and revive that cruel arrest given out before by the court of parliament, but also, as a right minister of Satan, he exceedingly increased the cruelty thereof, which was already so great, that it seemed there could nothing more be added thereunto. And to bring this mischief to pass, he forged a most impudent lie, giving the king to understand, that they of Merindol, and all the country near about, to the number of twelve or fifteen thousand, were in the field in armour, with their ensigns displayed, intending to take the town of Marseilles, and make it one of the cantons of the Switzers; and to stay this enterprise, he said, it was necessary to execute the arrest *manu militari*: and by this means he obtained the king's letters patent, through the help of the



cardinal of Tournon, commanding the sentence to be executed against the Merindolians, notwithstanding the king had before revoked the said sentence, and given strict commandment that it should in no wise be executed, as is before mentioned.

After this, he gathered all the king's army, which was then in Provence, ready to go against the English, and took up all besides that were able to bear armour, in the chiefest towns of Provence, and joined them with the army which the pope's legate had levied for that purpose in Avignon, and all the country of Venice, and employed the same to the destruction of Merindol, Cabriers, and other towns and villages, to the number of two and twenty, giving commission to his soldiers to spoil, ransack, burn, and to destroy all together, and to kill man, woman, and child, without all mercy, sparing none;—no otherwise than the infidels and cruel Turks have dealt with the Christians.

For as the Papists and Turks are alike in their religion, so are the said Papists like, or rather exceed them in all kinds of cruelty that can be devised. But this arch-tyrant, before he came to Merindol, ransacked and burnt certain towns, namely, La Roch, St. Stephens, Ville Lautre, Lormarin, La Motte, Cabrierettes, St. Martin, Pipin, and other places, notwithstanding that the arrest extended but only to Merindol; where the most of the poor inhabitants were slain and murdered without any resistance; women and maidens ravished; women with child, and little infants, born and to be born, were also most cruelly murdered; the breasts of many women cut off, who gave suck to their children, which looking for suck at their mothers' breasts (being dead before) died also for hunger. There was never any such cruelty and tyranny seen before.

The Merindolians seeing all on a flaming fire round about them, left their houses, and fled into the woods, and remained all that night at the village of Sanfales, and thereabouts, in wonderful fear and perplexity; for the bishop of Cavailon, deputed to the bishop of Rome's legate, had appointed certain captains to go and slay them. The next day they went a little further, hiding themselves in woods; for there was danger on every side, and Miniers had commanded, under pain of death, that no man should aid them by any means, but that they should be slain without pity or mercy, wheresoever they were found. The same proclamation was of force also in the bishop of Rome's dominions thereby; and it was said, that the bishops of that country did find a great part of the army. Wherefore they went a tedious and painful journey, carrying their children upon their shoulders, and in their arms, and in their swaddling-clothes, and many of them also being great with child were constrained so to do. And when they were come to the place appointed, thither was already restored a great number which had lost their goods, and saved themselves by flight.

Not long after it was shewed them, how that Miniers was coming with all his power to exterminate them. This was in the evening, and because they should go through rough and cumbersome places, and hard to pass by, they all thought it most expedient for their safeguard to leave behind them all the women and children, with a few others, and among them also certain ministers of the church; the residue were appointed to go to the town of Mussi. And this did they upon hope that the enemy would shew mercy to the multitude of women and children, being destitute of all succour. No tongue can express what sorrow, what tears, what sighing, what lamentation, there was at that woeful departing! when they were compelled to be thus separated asunder, the husband from his dear wife, the father from his sweet babes

and tender infants, the one never like to see the other again alive! Notwithstanding, after the ministers had ended their ordinary sermons, with evening prayers and exhortation, the men departed that night, to avoid a greater inconvenience.

When they had gone all the night long, and had passed over the great hill of Librou, they might see many villages and farms set on fire. Miniers, in the mean time, had divided his army into two parts, marching himself with one towards the town of Merindol; and having knowledge by spies whether the Merindolians were fled, he sendeth the other part to set upon them, and to shew their accustomed cruelty upon them. Yet before they came to the place where they were, some of Miniers' army, either of good-will, or moved with pity, privily conveyed themselves away, and came unto them, to give them warning, that their enemies were coming; and one of them from the top of an high rock, where he thought that the Merindolians were underneath, casteth down two stones, and afterwards, although he could not see them, he called unto them, that they should immediately fly from thence. But the enemies suddenly came upon them, finding them all assembled together at prayers, and spoiled them of all that they had, pulling off their garments from their backs; some they ravished, some they whipped and scourged, and some they sold away like cattle, practising what cruelty and villany soever they could devise against them. The women were in number about five hundred.

In the mean time, Miniers came to Merindol, where he found none but a young man, named Maurice Blane, who had yielded himself unto a soldier, promising him for his ransom two French crowns. Miniers would have had him away by force, but it was answered, that the soldier ought not to lose his prisoner. Miniers, therefore, paying the two crowns himself, took the young man, and caused him to be tied unto an olive-tree, and shot through with harquebusses, and most cruelly martyred. Many gentlemen, who accompanied Miniers against their wills, seeing this cruel spectacle, were moved with great compassion, and could not forbear tears. For although this young man was not very well instructed, neither had before dwelt at Merindol, yet in all his torments, having always his eyes lifted up to heaven, with a loud voice he ceased not still to call upon God; and the last words that he spake were these, "Lord God, these men take away my life full of misery; but thou wilt give unto me life everlasting by thy Son Jesus Christ, to whom be glory." So was Merindol without any resistance valiantly taken, ransacked, burnt, razed, and laid even with the ground. And although there was no man to resist, yet this valiant captain of Opede, armed from top to toe, trembled for fear, and was seen to change his colour very much.

When he had destroyed Merindol, he laid siege to Cabriers, and battered it with his ordnance: but when he could not gain it by force, he, with the lord of the town, and Poulin, his chief captain, persuaded with the inhabitants to open their gates, solemnly promising, that if they would do so, they would lay down their armour, and also that their cause should be heard in judgment with all equity and justice, and no violence or injury should be shewed against them. Upon this, they opened their gates, and let in Miniers, with his captains and all his army. But the tyrant, when he was once entered, falsified his promise, and raged like a beast. For first of all he picked out about thirty men, causing them to be bound, and carried into a meadow near to the town, and there to be miserably cut and hewn in pieces by his soldiers.

Then, because he would leave no kind of cruelty attempted, he also exercised his fury and outrage upon



helpless women, and caused forty of them to be taken, of whom divers were great with child, and put them into a barn full of straw and hay, and caused it to be set on fire at four corners; and when the poor women, running to the great window where the hay is wont to be cast into the barn, would have leaped out, they were kept in with pikes and halberds. Then there was a soldier, who, moved with pity at the crying out and lamentation of the women, opened a door to let them out; but as they were coming out, the tyrant caused them to be slain and cut in pieces, opening their bellies that their children fell out, whom they trod under their feet. Many fled into the wine-cellar of the castle, and many hid themselves in caves, whereof some were carried into the meadow, and there stripped naked and slain; other some were bound two and two together, and carried into the hall of the castle, where they were slain by the captains, rejoicing in their bloody butchery and horrible slaughter.

That done, this tyrant, more cruel than ever was Herod, commanded captain John de Gay, with a band of ruffians, to go into the church, (where was a great number of women, children, and young infants,) to kill all that he found there; which the captain refused at first to do, saying, that were a cruelty unused among men of war. Whereat Miniers being displeased, charged him, upon pain of rebellion and disobedience to the king, to do as he commanded him. The captain fearing what might ensue, entered with his men, and destroyed them all, sparing neither young nor old.

In this mean while, certain soldiers went to ransack the houses for the spoil, where they found many poor men that had hidden themselves in cellars, and other privy places, flying upon them, and crying out, "Kill, kill!" The other soldiers, that were without the town, killed all that they could meet with. The number of those that were unmercifully murdered, were about a thousand persons, of men, women, and children. The infants that escaped their fury, were baptized again by their enemies.

In token of this jolly victory, the pope's officers caused a pillar to be erected in the said place of Cabriers, in which was engraven the year and the day of the taking and sacking of this town, by John Miniers, lord of Opede, and chief president of the parliament of Provence; for a memorial for ever of that barbarous cruelty, the like whereof was never yet heard of.

In the mean while, some of the inhabitants of Merindol, and other places thereabout, were among the mountains and rocks, in great necessity of victuals, and endured much affliction. These sufferers procured certain men, which were in some favour and authority with Miniers, to make request for them unto him, that they might depart safely whither it should please God to lead them, with their wives and children, although they had no more but their shirts to cover their nakedness. Whereunto Miniers made this answer: "I know what I have to do; not one of them shall escape my hands; I will send them to dwell in hell among the devils."

After this, there was a power sent unto Costa; which likewise they overcame, and committed there great slaughter. Many of the inhabitants fled away, and ran into an orchard, where the soldiers ravished the women and maidens; and when they had kept them there enclosed a day and a night, they handled them so beastly, that those which were with child, and the younger maidens, died shortly after. It were impossible to comprehend all the lamentable and sorrowful examples of this cruel persecution against the Merindolians and their fellows; insomuch, that no kind of cruel tyranny was unpractised; for they which escaped by woods, and

went wandering by mountains, were taken and set in galleys, or else were slain outright.

Many which did hide themselves in rocks and dark caves, some were famished with hunger, and some were smothered with fire and smoke put unto them.

Henry II. the French king, which newly succeeded Francis, his father, above-mentioned, considering how this cruel and infamous persecution against his own subjects and people was greatly disliked by other princes, and also objected both against him and his father, as a note of shameful tyranny, by the emperor himself, Charles V. and that in a public council of all the states of Germany, for so murdering and spoiling his own natural subjects, without all reason and mercy; he therefore, to the intent to purge and clear himself thereof, caused the said matter to be brought into the court, and there to be decided by order of justice.

Which cause, after it was pleaded to and fro in public audience, no less than fifty times, and yet in the end could not be determined, so it brake off, and was passed over; and at length Minerius being loosed out of prison, was restored to his liberty and possessions again, upon this condition and promise made unto the cardinal, Charles of Lorraine, that he should banish and expel these new Christians (terming so the true professors of the gospel) out of all Provence.

Minerius returned again into Provence, where he began again to attempt greater tyranny than before. Neither did his raging fury cease to proceed, before the just judgment of God lighting upon him, brought him by a horrible disease unto the torments of death, which he most justly had deserved. For he being stricken with a strange kind of bleeding at the lower parts, in the manner of a bloody flux, and not being able to void any urine, thus by little and little his bowels rotted; and when no remedy could be found for this terrible disease, and his entrails now began to be eaten by worms, a certain famous chirurgeon, named La Mote, who dwelt at Arles, a man no less godly than expert in his science, was called for; who after he had cured him of his difficulty of making water, and therefore was in great estimation with him, before he would proceed further to search the other parts of his putrified body, and to search out the inward cause of his malady, he desired that they which were present in the chamber with Minerius, would depart a little aside. Which being done, he began to exhort Minerius with earnest words, saying, 'How the time now required that he should ask forgiveness of God by Christ, for his enormous crimes and cruelties, in shedding so much innocent blood, and declared the same to be the cause of this so strange profusion of blood coming from him.'

These words being heard, so pierced the impure conscience of this miserable wretch, that he was therewith more troubled than with the agony of his disease; insomuch, that he cried out to lay hand on the chirurgeon as an heretic. La Mote, hearing this, soon conveyed himself out of sight, and returned again to Arles. Notwithstanding, it was not long but he was sent for again, being entreated by his friends, and promised most firmly that his coming should be without any peril or danger. And so with much ado he returned again to Minerius, at a time all was now past remedy: and so Minerius, raging and casting out most horrible and blaspheming words, and feeling a fire which burnt him from the navel upward, with extreme stench of the lower parts, finished his wretched life. Whereby we have notoriously to understand, that God through his mighty arm at length confoundeth such persecutors of his innocent and faithful servants, and bringeth them to nought.

*Notes upon the above Story of Merindol.*

Thus hast thou heard, loving reader, the terrible troubles and slaughters committed by the bishops and cardinals, against these faithful men of Merindol, which for the heinous tyranny, and example of the fact most unmerciful, may be comparable with many of the first persecution in the primitive church, done either by Decius or Dioclesian.

Now touching the said story and people of Merindol, briefly by the way is to be noted, that this was not the first time that these men of this country were vexed; neither was it of late years that the doctrine and profession of them began. For these inhabitants of Provence, and other coasts bordering about the confines of France and Piedmont, had their continuance of ancient time, and received their doctrine first from the Waldenses or Albigenses, which were, as some say, about the year of our Lord 1170; or, as others do reckon, about the year of our Lord 1216.

These Waldenses, otherwise called *Pauperes de Lugduno*, beginning by one Petrus Waldus, citizen of Lyons, (as is more largely shewn hereafter,) by violence of persecution being driven out of Lyons, were dispersed abroad in divers countries; of whom, some fled to Massilia, some to Germany, some to Sarmatia, Livonia, Bohemia, Calabria, and Apulia; divers strayed to the countries of France, especially about Provence and Piedmont, of whom came these Merindolians above mentioned, and the Angrognians, with others. They which were in the country of Thoulouse, from the place where they frequented, were called *Albii*, or Albigenses. Against which Albigenses, friar Dominicus was a great doer, labouring and preaching against them ten years together; and caused many of them to be burned, for which he was highly accepted and rewarded in the apostolical court, and at length, by pope Honorius III. was made patriarch of the black guard of the Dominican friars.

These Albigenses, against the pope of Rome, had set up to themselves a bishop of their own, named Bartholomæus, remaining about the coasts of Croatia and Dalmatia, as appears by a letter of one of the pope's cardinals above specified. For which cause the see of Rome took great indignation against the said Albigenses, and caused all their faithful Catholics, and obedientiaries to their church, to rise up in armour, and to take the sign of the holy cross upon them, to fight against them, anno 1208; by reason whereof great multitudes of them were pitifully murdered, not only of them of Thoulouse and Avignon in France, but also in all quarters, miserable slaughters and burnings of them long continued, from the reign of Frederic II. emperor, down to the sixteenth century, through the instigation of the Roman popes. But of this class of people, it is necessary to give a more general account.

## SOME ACCOUNT OF

## THE WALDENSES AND ALBIGENSES.

(Chiefly from Jones's "History of the Christian Church.")

It will be proper to introduce this subject by an attempt to ascertain the origin of their distinguishing appellation. The learned Mosheim contends with considerable pertinacity that they derived their name from Peter Waldo, an opulent merchant of Lyons, whose history will presently come under our notice; but in this he is contradicted by his learned translator, and, I believe, I may truly add, by most writers of authority since his time.

The most satisfactory definition that I have met with of the term *Waldenses*, is that given by Mr. Robinson, in his *Ecclesiastical Researches*; and, in the confidence that it is the true one, and that I may not unnecessarily trespass on the reader's time and patience, I submit it to his consideration.

From the Latin word *VALLIS*, came the English word *valley*, the French and Spanish *valle*, the Italian *valdesi*, the Low Dutch *valleye*, the Provençal *vau*, *vaudois*, the ecclesiastical *Valdenses*, *Ualdenses*, and *Waldenses*. The words simply signify *valleys*, inhabitants of valleys, and no more. It happened that the inhabitants of the valleys of the Pyrenees did not profess the Catholic faith; it fell out also that the inhabitants of the valleys about the Alps did not embrace it; it happened, moreover, in the ninth century, that one Waldo, a friend and counsellor of Berengarius, and a man of eminence who had many followers, did not approve of the papal discipline and doctrine; and it came to pass, about an hundred and thirty years after, that a rich merchant of Lyons, who was called Valdus, or Waldo, openly disavowed the Roman Catholic religion, supported many to teach the doctrines believed in the valleys, and became the instrument of the conversion of great numbers; ALL THESE PEOPLE WERE CALLED WALDENSES. This view of the matter, which to myself appears indisputably the true one, is also supported by the authority of their own historians, Pierre Gilles, Perrin, Leger, Sir S. Morland, and Dr. Allix.

To the preceding account of the derivation of the term *Waldenses*, I shall now add the explanation given by these writers, of various other appellations that were bestowed on this class of Christians, and particularly that of *Albigenses*.

The names imposed on them in France by their adversaries, they say, have been intended to vilify and ridicule them, or to represent them as new and different sects. Being stripped of all their property, and reduced by persecution to extreme poverty, they have been called "the Poor of Lyons." From their mean and famished appearance in their exiled and destitute state, they have been called, in provincial jargon, "Siccan," or pickpockets. Because they would not observe saints' days, they were falsely supposed to neglect the Sabbath also, and called "Inzabbatati, or Insabbatists." As they denied transubstantiation, or the personal and divine presence of Jesus Christ in the host, or wafer exhibited in the mass, they were called "Arians." Their adversaries, premising that all power must be derived from God through his viceregent the pope, or from an opposite and evil principle, inferred that the Waldenses were "Manichæans," because they denied the pope's supremacy over the emperors and kings of the earth.

In Languedoc, the Catholics affirmed that the origin of these heretics was recent, and that they derived their name of Vaudois, or Waldenses, from Peter Waldo, one of their barbers or preachers, whose immediate followers were called Waldenses; but this was rather the renovation of the name from a particular cause, than its original: accordingly, it extended over that district only, in France, where Peter Waldo preached; for in other districts the people who were branches of the same original sect, as in Dauphiné, were, from a noted preacher, called Josephists—in Languedoc, they were called Henricians—and in other provinces, from Peter Bruys, they were called Petrobrusians. Sometimes they received their name from their manners, as "Catharists," (*Puritans*), and from the foreign country whence it was presumed they had been expelled, they were called "Bulgarians" or Rougres. In Italy they were commonly called Fratricelli, that is, "men of the brotherhood," because

they cultivated brotherly love among themselves, acknowledging one another as brethren in Christ. Sometimes they were denominated "Paulicians," and, by corruption of the word, "Publicans," considering them as sprung from that ancient sect which, in the seventh century, spread over Armenia and Thiaee, and which, when persecuted by the Greek emperors, might migrate into Europe, and mingle with the Waldenses in Piedmont. Sometimes they were named from the country or city in which they prevailed, as Lombardists, Toulousians, and Albigenses. All these branches, however, sprang from one common stock, and were animated by the same religious and moral principles.

*Albigenses* became latterly their common name in France, from the great number of them that inhabited the city of Alby, and the district of Albigeois, between the Garonne and the Rhone; but that name was not general and confirmed till after the council of Alby in the year 1254, which condemned them as heretics. Their number and prevalence in that country are ascribed to the patronage and protection which they received from Roger, count of Alby, after they had been persecuted in other countries. Some writers have laboured to prove that the Waldenses and Albigenses were quite different classes of Christians, and that they held different principles and opinions: but there seems no solid ground for maintaining such a distinction. When the Popes issued their fulminations against the Albigenses, they expressly condemned them as Waldenses; their legates made war against them as professing the faith of the Waldenses; the monks of the Inquisition formed their processes of indictment against them as being Waldenses; the people persecuted them as such; and they uniformly adopted the title when it was given them, and even thought themselves honoured by it. To this may be added, that historians do not trace their origin to any local causes in Albigeois, and about Toulouse, but represented them as emigrants from other regions. Neither do they represent their origin as recent before the council of Alby, but as strangers from adjacent countries about a hundred years before.

Reinerius Saccho, an inquisitor, and one of their most implacable enemies, who lived only eighty years after Waldo, admits that the Waldenses flourished five hundred years before that preacher. Gretzer, the Jesuit, who also wrote against the Waldenses, and had examined the subject fully, not only admits their great antiquity, but declares his firm belief "that the Toulousians and Albigenses condemned in the years 1177 and 1178, were no other than Waldenses. In fact, their doctrine, discipline, government, manners, and even the errors with which they have been charged, (by the Catholics,) shew that the Albigenses and Waldenses were distinct branches of the same sect, or that the former were sprung from the latter.

From the death of Claude, bishop of Turin, who may not improperly be termed the Wickliff of that city, to the times of Peter Waldo of Lyons, a considerable period intervened, during which, the history of the disciples of that great man is involved in much obscurity. They seem to have had no writers among themselves capable of detailing their proceedings during this period; or, if any records of their ecclesiastical history were committed to writing, the zeal of their opponents hath prevented their transmission to our times. In the writings of their adversaries, indeed, we have a constant proof of their existence, as a class of Christians distinguished in faith and practice from the catholic church, and in the multiplication of their numbers; but of their proceedings in the formation of churches, and of their order, worship, discipline, we are very imperfectly informed.

It was not till the twelfth century that the *Vaudois* appear in ecclesiastical history as a people obnoxious to the church of Rome. And even then it seems, in great measure, to have been occasioned by the indefatigable labours, the ardent zeal, and the amazing success which crowned the ministry of Peter Waldo of Lyons, whose followers first obtained the name of Leonists, and who, when persecuted in France, fled into Piedmont, incorporating themselves with the *Vaudois*. The following is the account which Mr. Robinson gives of this intricate article of ecclesiastical history; and as it appears to myself more probable than any other that I have seen, I incline to admit it as the true one.

"In the twelfth century, towards the close, a great reformation was begun at Lyons, under the auspices of a merchant there, who procured a translation of the four Gospels from Latin into French, and who both preached in person, and engaged others to do so in various parts of the country. Reinerius Saccho thought all the believers (*Credenti*) sprung from this stock; and he therefore calls them all Leonists. Whether the merchant received his name (*Valdus*) from the *Vaudois*, or whether they received theirs from him, is uncertain; the former is the more probable opinion of the two, and the fact seems to be that, till then, the *Vaudois* were (comparatively speaking) few and obscure, and the Leonists at once numerous and popular; that the *Vaudois* and Leonists soon incorporated themselves together; that the *Vaudois* communicated their name, which passed for that of a low, rustical, and obscure people, to the Leonists; and that the Leonists emboldened the *Vaudois* to separate openly from the church. This view of things in part reconciles the opinion of the catholic bishop, Bossuet, with that of Dr. Allix and other Protestants. Bossuet says, the separation of the *Vaudois* was for a long time a mere schism in the church, and that Waldo was their parent. Protestants deny this, and say that the *Vaudois* were the parents of the Leonists. It should seem the *Vaudois* were the first, and that they continued in the church a sort of party till Waldo emboldened them to separate, and so became not the founder of the party, but the parent of their separation."

But the history of Peter Waldo, his exemplary life, his zeal in the cause of truth and virtue, the noble sacrifices which he made to religious principle, and the extraordinary success which crowned his labours in the promulgation of the gospel of peace, entitle him to somewhat more than an incidental mention in the history of the times in which he lived. He was an opulent merchant in the city of Lyons—a city which, in the second century of the Christian era, as we have formerly seen, was blessed with the clear light of divine truth—where Christ had planted a numerous church, to serve as a pillar on which his truth was inscribed, or a candlestick on which he had placed the lamp of life. But the lamp had long been extinguished, and the pillar removed. Lyons, in the times of Peter Waldo, was sunk into a state of the grossest darkness and superstition. About the year 1160, the doctrine of transubstantiation, which sometime afterwards pope Innocent III. confirmed in a very solemn manner, was required by the court of Rome to be acknowledged by all men. A most pernicious practice of idolatry was connected with the reception of this doctrine. Men fell down before the consecrated wafer, and worshipped it as God; an abomination, the absurdity and impiety of which forcibly struck the mind of Waldo, who opposed it in a most courageous manner.

But although the conscience or common sense of Waldo revolted against this novel piece of superstition, he seems not to have entertained, at that time, the most distant idea

of withdrawing himself from the communion of the Romish church, nor indeed to have had much sense of religion upon his mind. God, however, who bath the hearts of all men in his hands, and who turns them as the rivers of water, had destined him for great usefulness in his kingdom. To him, also, whatever means seem necessary for effecting his purposes in the world, are equally at command. An extraordinary occurrence in providence was the means of awakening the mind of Peter Waldo, to the "one thing needful." One evening after supper, as he sat conversing with a party of his friends, and refreshing himself among them, one of the company fell down dead on the floor, to the consternation of all that were present. Such a lesson on the uncertainty of human life, and the very precarious tenure on which mortals hold it, most forcibly arrested his attention. The Latin Vulgate Bible was the only edition of the Scriptures at that time in Europe; but that language was inaccessible to all, except one in an hundred of its inhabitants. Happily for Waldo, his situation in life had enabled him to surmount that obstacle. "Being somewhat learned," says Reinerius Saccho, when speaking of him, "he taught the people the text of the New Testament in their mother tongue." The sudden death of his friend led him to think of his own approaching dissolution, and under the terrors of an awakened conscience, he had recourse to the holy scriptures for instruction and comfort. There, in the knowledge of the true character of God, as the just God and the Saviour, he found the pearl of great price—the way of escape from the wrath which is to come. The belief of the testimony which God hath given of his Son, diffused peace and joy into his own mind; raised his views and conceptions above "the smoke and din of this din spot which men call earth," and led him to look for glory, honour, and immortality, even eternal life, in the world to come. But Christian love is an operative principle. It expands the mind in which it dwells, and fills it with generous sentiments—with supreme love to God, and the most disinterested benevolence to man. Waldo was desirous of communicating to others a portion of that happiness which he himself enjoyed. He abandoned his mercantile pursuits, distributed his wealth to the poor as occasion required; and, while the latter flocked to him to partake of his alms, he laboured to engage their attention to the things which belonged to their everlasting peace.

One of the first objects of his pursuit was to put into their hands the word of life; and he either himself translated, or procured some one else to translate the four Gospels into French; and the next was to make them acquainted with their sacred contents. Matthias Illyrius, a writer who prosecuted his studies under Luther and Melancthon, and was one of the Magdeburg centuriators, speaking of him, says, "His kindness to the poor being diffused, his love of teaching and their love of learning growing stronger and stronger, greater crowds came to him, to whom he explained the scriptures. He was himself a man of learning; so I understand from some old parchments—nor was he obliged to employ others to translate for him, as his enemies affirm." But whether Waldo himself translated these scriptures, or employed others to do it, or, which is most probable, executed it himself with the assistance of others, certain it is, that the inhabitants of Europe were indebted to him for the first translation of the Bible into a modern tongue, since the time that the Latin had ceased to be a living language—a gift of inestimable value!

As Waldo became more acquainted with the scriptures, he began to discover that a multiplicity of doctrines, rites, and ceremonies, which had been introduced into the national religion, had not only no foundation in the word of God, but

were most pointedly condemned in that book. Inflamed with zeal for the glory of God, on the one hand, and with concern for the souls of his fellow sinners on the other, he raised his voice loudly against them, condemning the arrogance of the pope, and the reigning vices of the clergy. Nor did he satisfy himself with mere declamation against what was wrong in others. He taught the truth in its simplicity, and enforced its practical influence on the heart and life; and by his own example, as well as by an appeal to the lives of those who first believed in Christ, he laboured to demonstrate the great difference that existed between the Christianity of the Bible and that of the Church of Rome.

The consequence of all this may be easily supposed by a reflecting mind. The archbishop of Lyons heard of these proceedings, and became indignant. Their tendency was obvious; the honour of the church was involved in them, and, in perfect consistency with the usual mode of silencing objectors: among the Catholic party, he forbade the new reformer to teach any more, on pain of excommunication, and of being proceeded against as an heretic. Waldo replied, that though a lay man, he could not be silent in a matter which concerned the salvation of his fellow-creatures. Attempts were next made to apprehend him; but the number and kindness of his friends, the respectability and influence of his connexions, many of whom were men of rank; the universal regard that was paid to his character for probity and religion; and the conviction that his presence was highly necessary among the people whom he had by this time gathered into a church, and of which he had taken the oversight, all operated so strongly in his favour, that he lived concealed at Lyons during the space of three whole years.

Information of these things was then conveyed to pope Alexander III. who no sooner heard of such heretical proceedings, than he anathematized the reformer and his adherents, commanding the archbishop to proceed against them with the utmost rigour. Waldo was now compelled to quit Lyons; his flock in a great measure followed their pastor; and hence a dispersion took place not unlike that which arose in the church of Jerusalem on the occasion of the death of Stephen. The effects were also similar. Waldo himself retired into Dauphiny, where he preached with abundant success; his principles took deep and lasting root, and produced a numerous harvest of disciples, who were denominated Leonists, Vandois, Albigenes, or Waldenses; for the very same class of Christians is designated by these various appellations at different times, and according to the different countries or quarters of the same country in which they appeared.

Persecuted from place to place, Waldo retired into Picardy, where also success attended his labours. Driven from thence, he proceeded into Germany, carrying along with him the glad tidings of salvation; and, according to the testimony of Thuanus, a very authentic French historian, he at length settled in Bohemia, where he finished his course, in the year 1179, after a ministry of nearly twenty years. He was evidently a man of very singular endowments; and one of those extraordinary persons whom God in his providence occasionally raises up and qualifies for eminent usefulness in his kingdom; but he has met with no historian capable of doing justice to his talents and character. Numbers of his people fled for an asylum into the valleys of Piedmont, taking with them the new translation of the Bible.

The persecution of Waldo and his followers, with their flight from Lyons, is a remarkable epoch in the annals of the Christian church. Wherever they went, they sowed the



seeds of reformation. The countenance and blessing of the King of kings accompanied them. The word of God grew and multiplied, not only in the places where Waldo himself had planted it, but in more distant regions. In Alsace and along the Rhine, the doctrines of Waldo spread extensively. Persecutions ensued—thirty-five citizens of Mentz were burned in one fire at the city of Bingen, and eighteen at Mentz itself. The bishops of both Mentz and Strasburg breathed nothing but vengeance and slaughter against them; and at the latter city, where Waldo himself is said to have narrowly escaped apprehension, eighty persons were committed to the flames. In the treatment, and in the behaviour, of the Waldenses, were renewed the scenes of martyrdom of the second century. Multitudes died praising God, and in the confident hope of a blessed resurrection. But the blood of the martyrs again became the seed of the church; and in Bulgaria, Croatia, Dalmatia, and Hungary, churches were planted, which flourished throughout the thirteenth century, and which are said to have owed their rise chiefly to the labours of one Bartholomew, a native of Carcassonne, a city not far distant from Toulouse, in the south of France, and which may be not improperly termed the metropolis of the Albigeans. In Bohemia, and in the country of Passau, it has been computed that there were not less than eighty thousand of this class of Christians in the year 1315. In short, we find that they spread themselves throughout almost every country in Europe; but they were every where treated as the fifth of the world, and as the outscouring of all things.

The attempts of Peter Waldo, and his followers, were, however, not designed to introduce new doctrines into the church, nor to propose new articles of faith to Christians; they aimed rather to reduce the form of ecclesiastical government, and the manners both of the clergy and people, to that amiable simplicity, and primitive sanctity, that characterized the apostolic ages, and which appear so strongly recommended in the precepts and injunctions of the divine Author of our holy religion. In consequence of this design, they complained that the Roman church had degenerated, under Constantine the Great, from its primitive purity and sanctity. They denied the supremacy of the Roman pontiff; and maintained, that the rulers and ministers of the church were obliged, by their vocation, to imitate the poverty of the apostles, and to procure for themselves a subsistence by the work of their hands. They considered every Christian as, in a certain measure, qualified and authorized to instruct, exhort, and confirm the brethren in their Christian course, and demanded the restoration of the ancient penitential discipline of the church, *i. e.* the expiation of transgressions by prayer, fasting, and alms, which the new-invented doctrine of indulgences had almost totally abolished. They, at the same time, affirmed, that every pious Christian was qualified and entitled to prescribe to the penitent the kind or degree of satisfaction or expiation that their transgression required; the confession made to priests was by no means necessary, since the humble offender might acknowledge his sins, and testify his repentance to any true believer, and might expect from such the counsel and admonition which his case demanded. They maintained, that the power of delivering sinners from the guilt and punishment of their offences belonged to God alone; and that indulgences, of consequence, were the criminal inventions of sordid avarice. They looked upon the prayers and other ceremonies that were instituted in behalf of the dead, as vain, useless, and absurd, and denied the existence of departed souls in an intermediate state of purification; affirming, that they were immediately, upon their separation from the body, received into heaven,

or thrust down to hell. These, and other tenets of a like nature, composed the system of doctrine propagated by the Waldenses. It is also said, that several of the Waldenses denied the obligation of infant-baptism, and that other rejected water-baptism entirely; but Wall has laboured to prove, that infant-baptism was generally practised among them. Hist. of Infant-Baptism, p. 387, &c.

Their rules of practice were extremely austere; for they adopted, as the model of their moral discipline, the sermon of Christ in the mount, which they interpreted and explained in the most rigorous and literal manner, and, consequently, prohibited and condemned in their society all wars, and suits of law, and all attempts towards the acquisition of wealth, the inflicting of capital punishments, self-defence against unjust violence, and oaths of all kinds.

The government of the church was committed by the Waldenses to bishops, called also *majorales* or elders, presbyters, and deacons; for they acknowledged that these three ecclesiastical orders were instituted by Christ himself. But they thought it absolutely necessary that these orders should resemble the apostles of Christ, and be, like them, unlearned, poor, and furnished with some laborious trade or vocation, in order to gain by constant industry their daily subsistence; and indeed most of the Waldenses gained their livelihood by weaving; whence in some places the whole sect was called the sect of the weavers. The laity were divided into two classes, *viz.* the perfect and the imperfect Christians: the former divested themselves of all worldly possessions, manifested in the wretchedness of their apparel, their extreme poverty, and emaciated their bodies by frequent fasting; the latter were less austere, and approached nearer to the method of living generally received, though they abstained from all appearance of pomp and luxury.

The Waldenses were not without intestine divisions; for such of them as lived in Italy differed considerably in opinion from those who dwelt in France, and the other European nations. The former considered the church of Rome as the church of Christ, though much corrupted; they acknowledged, moreover, the validity of its seven sacraments, and solemnly declared they would continue always in communion with it, provided that they might be allowed to live as they thought proper, without molestation or restraint. The latter affirmed, on the contrary, that the church of Rome had apostatized from Christ, was deprived of the Holy Spirit, and was in reality, that whore of Babylon mentioned in the Revelation of St. John. They were also divided in their sentiments concerning the possession of worldly goods. In the fourteenth century, the Waldenses, though they were every where exposed to the fury of the inquisitors and monks, baffled all the attempts that were made to extirpate them. Many of them fled out of Italy, France, and Germany, into Bohemia, and other adjacent countries, where they afterwards associated with the Hussites, and other separatists from the church of Rome. In the fifteenth century they subsisted in several European provinces, more especially in Pomerania, Brandenburg, the districts of Magdeburg, and Thuringia, where they had a considerable number of friends and followers; though, it is said, that many adherents of this sect, in the countries now mentioned, were discovered by the inquisitors, and delivered over by them to the civil magistrates, who committed them to the flames. After the Reformation, in the sixteenth century, the descendants of the Waldenses, who lived shut up in the valleys of Piedmont, were naturally led, by their situation in the neighbourhood of the French, and of the republic of Geneva, to embrace the doctrines and rites of the reformed



church. So far down, however, as the year 1630, they retained a considerable part of their ancient discipline and tenets; but being much reduced by the plague in that year, and deprived of many of their clergy, they applied to the French churches for spiritual succour; and the new teachers, sent from thence, introduced several changes into the discipline and doctrine of the Waldenses, and rendered them conformable, in every respect, to those of the Protestant churches in France. In this century they suffered much from the persecution of Philibert Emanuel, duke of Savoy, who at the solicitation of the pope resolved to force his subjects to return to the communion of the church of Rome; and in 1561 sent a Dominican friar, as an inquisitor, with forces to effect his purpose. After ineffectual supplications, they took up arms, and so far prevailed, after enduring very severe distress, as to obtain some degree of liberty and peace.

During the greatest part of the seventeenth century, those of them who lived in the valleys of Piedmont, and who had embraced the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the church of Geneva, were oppressed and persecuted, in the most barbarous and inhuman manner, by the ministers of Rome. This persecution was carried on with peculiar marks of rage and enormity in the years 1655, 1656, and 1686, and seemed to portend nothing less than the total extinction of that unhappy nation. The most horrid scenes of violence and bloodshed were exhibited in this theatre of papal tyranny; and the few Waldenses that survived, were indebted for their existence and support to the intercession made for them by the English and Dutch governments, and also by the Swiss cantons, who solicited the clemency of the duke of Savoy in their behalf. But "the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel." Thousands of these poor persecuted creatures, on the desolation of their country by the armies of France and Savoy, had been literally crammed into the different prisons and castles, where disease and death made dreadful havoc; yet in this wretched condition, when the proclamation for their release arrived, they were inhumanly thrust out in the evening, in winter, to commence a march of several leagues, the greatest part of them almost naked, and without shoes! Hundreds perished on their way; and it is said; that at Geneva, several expired between the two gates of the city, "finding the end of their lives in the beginning of their liberty."

## CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH MARTYRS.

### MARTYRS AT COVENTRY.

*Mrs. Smith, widow; Robert Hatches, Archer Hawkins, Thomas Bond, shoemakers; Wrigsham, a glover; and Lonsdale, a hosier; burnt at Coventry, anno 1519.*

THE principal cause of the apprehension of these persons was, for teaching their children and families the Lord's Prayer and Ten Commandments in English; for which they were upon Ash-Wednesday taken and put in prison, some in places under ground, some in chambers, and other places about, till Friday following.

Then they were sent to a monastery called Mackstock abbey, six miles from Coventry. During which time their children were sent for to Gray-friars in Coventry, before the warden of the said friars, called friar Stafford; who straitly

examined them of their belief, and what heresies their fathers had taught them; charging them, upon pain of suffering such death as their fathers should, in no wise to meddle any more with the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and Commandments, in English.

When done, upon Palm-Sunday the fathers of these children were brought back again to Coventry, and there the week next before Easter were condemned for relapse, (because most of them had borne faggots, in the same city before,) to be burned.

Only *Mrs. Smith* was dismissed for that present, and sent away. And because it was in the evening, being somewhat dark, as she should go home, Simon Mourtou, the sumner, offered himself to go home with her. Now, as he was leading her by the arm, and heard the rattling of a scroll within her sleeve, he said, What have ye here? And so took it from her, and espied that it was the Lord's Prayer, the Articles of the Faith, and the Ten Commandments, in English. Which when the wretched sumner understood, Ah, sirrah! (said he,) Come, as good now as another time. And so brought her back again to the bishop, where she was immediately condemned; and so burned with the six men before named, the 4th of April, in a place thereby, called the Little Park, anno 1519.

*Robert Silke, burnt at Coventry, anno 1521.*

In the same number of these countrymen above rehearsed, was also *Robert Silke*, who at the apprehension of these fled away, and for that time escaped. But about two years after he was taken again, and brought to the said city of Coventry, where he was also burned the morrow after he came thither; which was about the 13th day of January, anno 1521.

Thus, when these were despatched, immediately the sheriffs went to their houses, and took all their goods and cattle to their own use, not leaving their wives and children any part thereof to help themselves withal. And forso much as the people began to grudge somewhat at the cruelty shewed, and at the unjust death of these innocent martyrs, the bishop, with his officers and priests, caused it to be noised abroad by their tenants, servants, and farmers, that they were not burned for having the Lord's Prayer and the Commandments in English, but because they did eat flesh on Fridays, and other fast-days!

*Martyrdom of PATRICK HAMELTON, at St. Andrew's, in Scotland, 1527.*

*Patrick Hamelton*, a Scottish man, born of an high and noble stock, and of the king's blood, twenty-three years of age, called Abbot of Ferme, first coming out of his country with three companions, to seek godly learning, went to the university of Marpurg in Germany, which university was then newly erected by Philip, landgrave of Hesse; where he conferring with learned men, namely, with Franciscus Lambertus, so profited in knowledge and mature judgment in matters of religion, that he, through the incitation of the said Lambert, was the first in all that university of Marpurg which publicly did set up conclusions there to be disputed of, concerning faith and works; arguing also no less learnedly than fervently upon the same. What these propositions and conclusions were, appear in what is called *Patrick's Places*.

Thus the ingenious wit of this learned Patrick increasing daily more and more in knowledge, and inflamed with godly

ness, at length began to resolve with himself touching his return into his country, being desirous to impart unto his countrymen some fruit of understanding, which he had received abroad. Whereupon, persisting in his godly purpose, he took one of the three which he brought out of Scotland, and so returned home without any longer delay.

Where observing the miserable ignorance and blindness of that people, after he had valiantly taught and preached the truth, and refuted their abuses, was first accused of heresy, and afterwards faithfully sustaining the quarrel of God's gospel, against the high-priest and archbishop of St. Andrew's, named James Beton, was cited to appear before him and his college of priests, the 1st day of March, anno 1527. But he being not only forward in knowledge, but also ardent in spirit, not tarrying for the hour appointed, prevented the time, and came very early in the morning before he was looked for, and there mightily disputing against them, when he could not by the scriptures be convicted, by force he was oppressed: and so the sentence of condemnation being given against him, the same day after dinner, in all haste, he was had away to the fire, and there burned; the king being yet but a child, which made the bishops more bold.

*Here followeth the Sentence pronounced against him, and the Articles for which he was condemned.*

*"Christi nomine invocato:* We, James, by the mercy of God, archbishop of St. Andrew's, primate of Scotland, with the council, decree, and authority of the most reverend fathers in God, and lords, abbots, doctors of theology, professors of the holy scripture, and masters of the university, assisting us for the time, sitting in judgment within our metropolitan church of St. Andrew's, in the cause of heretical pravity, against master Patrick Hamelton, abbot or pensionary of Ferme, being summoned to appear before us, to answer to certain articles affirmed, taught, and preached, by him, and so appearing before us, and accused, the merits of the cause being ripely weighed, discussed, and understood, by faithful inquisition made in Lent last past: we have found the said master Patrick many ways infamed with heresy, disputing, holding, and maintaining divers heresies of Martin Luther, and his followers, repugnant to our faith, and which are already condemned by general councils, and most famous universities. And he being under the same infamy, we discerning before him to be summoned and accused upon the premises, he of evil mind, as may be presumed, passed to other parts forth of the realm, suspected and noted of heresy. And being lately returned, not being admitted, but of his own head, without license or privilege, hath presumed to preach wicked heresy.

"We have found also, that he hath affirmed, published, and taught, divers opinions of Luther, and wicked heresies, after that he was summoned to appear before us, and our council: That man hath no free-will; that man is in sin so long as he liveth; that children, incontinent after their baptism, are sinners; all Christians, that be worthy to be called Christians, do know that they are in grace; no man is justified by works, but by faith only; good works make not a good man, but a good man doth make good works; that faith, hope, and charity, are so knit, that he that hath the one hath the rest, and he that wanteth the one of them wanteth the rest, &c. With divers other heresies and detestable opinions; and hath persisted so obstinate in the same, that by no counsel nor persuasion he may be drawn therefrom to the way of our right faith.

"All these premises being considered, we having God and the integrity of our faith before our eyes, and following the

counsel and advice of the professors of the holy scripture, men of law, and others assisting us for the time, do pronounce, determine, and declare, the said master Patrick Hamelton, for his affirming, confessing, and maintaining of the aforesaid heresies, and his pertinacity (they being condemned already by the church, general councils, and most famous universities,) to be an heretic, and to have an evil opinion of the faith, and therefore to be condemned and punished, like as we condemn and define him to be punished, by this our sentence definitive, depriving and sentencing him to be deprived of all dignities, orders, offices, and benefices, of the church; and therefore do judge and pronounce him to be delivered over unto the secular power to be punished, and his goods to be confiscated.

"This our sentence definitive was given and read at our metropolitan church of St. Andrew's, the last day of the month of February, anno 1527, being present the most reverend fathers in Christ, and lords, Gawand, bishop of Glasgow, George, bishop of Dunkelden, John, bishop of Brecham, William, bishop of Dunblane, Patrick, prior of St. Andrew's, David, abbot of Aberbrothoke, George, abbot of Dunfermeling, Alexander, abbot of Caunbuskineth, Henry, abbot of Lendors, John, prior of Peterweme, the dean and sub-dean of Glasgow, M. Hugh Spens, Thomas Ramsay, Al-lane Meldrum, &c. In the presence of the clergy and the people."

To this I think it necessary to add a brief Treatise of Mr. Patrick Hamelton, called *PATRICK'S PLACES*, translated into English by John Frith, with the Epistle of the said Frith prefixed before the same, as followeth:

*"John Frith unto the Christian Reader.*

"Blessed be God of our Lord Jesus Christ, which in these last days and perilous times hath stirred up in all countries witnesses unto his Son, to testify the truth unto the faithful, to save at the least some from the snares of Antichrist, which lead to perdition, as ye may here perceive by that excellent and well learned young man, Patrick Hamelton, born in Scotland, of a noble progeny; who to testify the truth, sought all means, and took upon him priesthood, (even as Paul circumcised Timothy to win the weak Jews,) that he might be admitted to preach the pure word of God. Notwithstanding, as soon as the chamberlain and other bishops of Scotland had perceived that the light began to shine, which disclosed their falsehood that they conveyed in darkness, they laid hands on him; and because he would not deny his Saviour Christ at their instance, they burnt him to ashes. Nevertheless, God of his bounteous mercy (to publish to the whole world what a man these monsters have murdered) hath reserved a little treatise, made by this Patrick, which, if ye list, ye may call *Patrick's Places*: for it treateth exactly of certain common-places, which known, ye have the pith of all divinity. This treatise I have turned into the English tongue, to the profit of my nation: to whom I beseech God to give light, that they may espy the deceitful paths of perdition, and return to the right way which leadeth to life everlasting, Amen."

*The Doctrine of the Law.*

The law is a doctrine that commandeth good, and forbiddeth evil, as the commandments do specify here following:

*The Ten Commandments of God.*

1. Thou shalt worship but one God.
2. Thou shalt make thee no image to worship it.

3. Thou shalt not swear by his name in vain.
4. Hold the sabbath-day holy.
5. Honour thy father and thy mother.
6. Thou shalt not kill.
7. Thou shalt not commit adultery.
8. Thou shalt not steal.
9. Thou shalt not bear false witness.
10. Thou shalt not desire ought that belongeth to thy neighbour.

*All these Commandments are briefly comprised in these two here under ensuing.*

Love thy Lord God with all thine heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment. The second is like unto this, that is, Love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets.

*Certain general Propositions proved by the Scripture.*

The first proposition.—*He that loveth God, loveth his neighbour.* This proposition is proved, 1 John iv. 'If a man say, I love God, and yet hateth his brother, he is a liar. He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?'

*The second Proposition.*

*He that loveth his neighbour as himself, keepeth all the Commandments of God.* This is proved, Matt. vii. Rom. xiii. 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, even so do to them. For this is the law and the prophets,' Matt. vii. He that loveth his neighbour, fulfilleth the law. 'Thou shalt not commit adultery; thou shalt not kill; thou shalt not steal; thou shalt not bear false witness; thou shalt not covet,' &c. And if there be any other commandment, all are comprehended in this saying, 'Love thy neighbour as thyself,' Rom. xiii. All the law is fulfilled in one word, that is, 'Love thy neighbour as thyself,' Gal. v.

Argument.—He that loveth his neighbour, keepeth all the commandments of God. Rom. xiii. He that loveth God, loveth his neighbour, 1 John iv. *Ergo*, he that loveth God, keepeth all the commandments of God.

*The third Proposition.*

*He that hath faith, loveth God.* 'My Father loveth you, because you love me, and believe that I came of God,' John xvi.

Argument.—He that keepeth the commandments of God, hath the love of God. He that hath faith, keepeth all the commandments of God. *Ergo*, he that hath faith loveth God.

*The fourth Proposition.*

*He that keepeth one commandment of God, keepeth them all.* This proposition is confirmed, Heb. xi. 'It is impossible for a man without faith to please God;' that is, to keep any one of God's commandments, as he should do. Then whosoever keepeth any one commandment, hath faith.

Argument.—He that hath faith, keepeth all the commandments of God. He that keepeth one commandment of God, hath faith. *Ergo*, he that keepeth one commandment, keepeth them all.

*The fifth Proposition.*

*He that keepeth not all the commandments of God, keepeth not one of them.*

Argument.—He that keepeth one commandment of God, keepeth all. *Ergo*, he that keepeth not all the commandments of God, keepeth not one of them.

*The sixth Proposition.*

*It is not in our power to keep any one of the commandments of God.*

Argument.—It is impossible to keep any of the commandments of God, without grace. It is not in our power to have grace. *Ergo*, it is not in our power to keep any of the commandments of God.

And even so may you reason concerning the Holy Ghost, and faith, forasmuch as neither without them are we able to keep any of the commandments of God, neither yet are they in our power. It is not of him that willeth, &c. but God that sheweth mercy, Rom. ix.

*The seventh Proposition.*

*The law was given us to shew our sin.*—By the law cometh the knowledge of sin, Rom. iii. 'I knew not what sin meant, but through the law: for I had not known what lust had meant, except the law had said, Thou shalt not lust. Without the law sin was dead, that is, it moved me not, neither wist I that it was sin, which notwithstanding was sin, and forbidden by the law,' Rom. vii.

*The eighth Proposition.*

*The law commandeth us to do that thing which is impossible for us, because of our sin and frailty.*

Argument.—The keeping of the commandments, without God and grace, is to us impossible. The law commandeth us to keep the commandments. *Ergo*, the law commandeth us that which is impossible.

*Obj.* But thou wilt say, Wherefore doth God bid us do what is impossible?

*Ans.* To make thee know that thou art but evil, and that there is no remedy to save thee in thine own hand; and thou mayest seek remedy at some other: for the law doth nothing else but command thee.

*The Doctrine of the Gospel.*

Luke ii. The word *Gospel*, means in our tongue *good tidings*;

like as these be here under following, and such other:

John iv. Christ is the Saviour of the world.

Rom. iv. Christ died for our sins.

1 Pet. ii. Christ bought us with his blood.

Gal. i. Christ offered himself for us.

Isa. liii. Christ bare our sins.

1 Tim. i. Christ came into the world to save sinners.

1 John iii. Christ came into the world to take away our sins.

1 Tim. ii. Christ was the price that was given for us and our sins.

1 Cor. i. Christ is our righteousness.

—— Christ is our sanctification.

Eph. ii. Christ is our redemption.

Rom. v. Christ is our peace.

Col. ii. Christ is our's, and all his.

1 John i. Christ hath delivered us from the condemnation of the law; from the devil, and from hell. The Father of heaven forgiveth us our sins, for Christ's sake.

*The Nature and Office of the Law and of the Gospel.*

Rom. iii. The law sheweth us our sin.

John i. The gospel sheweth us our remedy.

Rom. vii. The law sheweth us our condemnation.

Col. i. The gospel sheweth us our redemption.

Rom. iv. The law is the word of wrath.

Acts xiv. The gospel is the word of grace.

Deut. xxvii. The law is the word of desire.  
 Luke ii. The gospel is the word of comfort.  
 Rom. vii. The law is the word of war.  
 Eph. vi. The gospel is the word of peace.

*A Disputation between the Law and the Gospel; where is shewed the difference or contrariety between them both.*

The law saith, Pay thy debt.  
 The gospel saith, Christ hath paid it.  
 The law saith, Thou art a sinner; despair, and thou shalt be damned.  
 The gospel saith, Thy sins are forgiven thee, be of good comfort, for thou shalt be saved.  
 The law saith, Make amends for thy sins.  
 The gospel saith, Christ hath made it for thee.  
 The law saith, The Father of heaven is angry with thee.  
 The gospel saith, Christ hath pacified him with his blood.  
 The law saith, Where is thy righteousness, goodness, and satisfaction?  
 The gospel saith, Christ is thy righteousness, thy goodness, and satisfaction.  
 The law saith, Thou art bound and obliged to me, to the devil, and to hell.  
 The gospel saith, Christ hath delivered these from them all.

#### *The Doctrine of Faith.*

Faith is, to believe God, like as Abraham believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness.

To believe God, is to believe his word, and to account it true that he said.

He that believeth not God's word, believeth not God himself.

He that believeth not God's word, counteth him false and a liar, and believeth not that he may and will fulfil his word, and so he denieth both the might of God, and God himself.

#### *The ninth Proposition.*

*Faith is the gift of God.*—Argument: Every good thing is the gift of God. Faith is good. *Ergo*, faith is the gift of God.

#### *The tenth Proposition.*

*Faith is not in our power.*—Argument: The gift of God is not in our power. Faith is the gift of God. *Ergo*, faith is not in our power.

#### *The eleventh Proposition.*

*He that lacketh faith cannot please God.*—'Without faith it is impossible to please God,' Rom. xiv. 'All that cometh not of faith is sin; for without faith can no man please God,' Heb. xi.

Induction.—He that lacketh faith, trusteth not God; he that trusteth not God, trusteth not his word; he that trusteth not his word, holdeth him false and a liar; he that holdeth him false and a liar, believeth not that he may do what he promiseth, and so denieth he that he is God. *Ergo*, a *primo ad ultimum*, he that lacketh faith cannot please God. If it were possible for any man to do all the good deeds that ever were done, either by men or angels, yet being in this case, it is impossible for him to please God.

#### *The twelfth Proposition.*

*All that is done in faith pleaseth God.*—'This is the work of God, that ye believe,' &c. John iii. 29. 'Lord, mine eyes look to truth, or faith:' that is as much as to say, Lord, thou delightest in faith, Jer. v.

#### *The thirteenth Proposition.*

*He that hath faith is just and good.*—Argument. He that is a good tree bringeth forth good fruit, is just and good. He that hath faith is a good tree; bringeth forth good fruit. *Ergo*, he that hath faith is just and good.

#### *The fourteenth Proposition.*

*He that hath faith and believeth God, cannot displease him.*—Induction: He that hath faith believeth God; he that believes God believeth his word; he that believeth his word, wotteth well that he is true and faithful, and may not lie, knowing that he both may and will fulfil his word. *Ergo*, a *primo ad ultimum*, he that hath faith cannot displease God, neither can any man do a greater honour to God, than to count him true.

*Obj.* Thou wilt then say, that theft, murder, adultery, and all vices, please God.

*Ans.* Nay, verily, for they cannot be done in faith: for a good tree beareth good fruit, Matt. vii. 12.

#### *The fifteenth Proposition.*

*Faith is a certainty, or assuredness.*—Faith is a sure confidence of things which are hoped for, and certainty of things which are not seen, Heb. xi. The same Spirit witnesseth with our spirit, that we are the children of God, Rom. viii. Moreover, he that hath faith wotteth well that God will fulfil his word. Whereby it appeareth, that faith is a certainty or assuredness.

#### *A Man is justified by Faith.*

Abraham believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness, Rom. iv.

We suppose, therefore, that a man is justified by faith, without the deeds of the law, Rom. iii. Gal. ii.

He that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted to him for righteousness, Rom. iv.

The just liveth by faith, Heb. ii. Rom. i.

We know that a man is not justified by the deeds of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ; and we believe in Jesus Christ, that we may be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the deeds of the law, Gal. ii.

#### *What is the Faith of Christ?*

The faith of Christ is to believe in him; that is, to believe his word, and believe that he died for thee, will help thee in all thy need, and deliver thee from all evil.

Thou wilt ask me, What word? I answer, The gospel.

He that believeth in Christ shall be saved, Mark xvi.

He that believeth in the Son hath everlasting life, John iii.

Verily I say unto you, he that believeth in me, hath everlasting life, John vi.

This I write unto you, that you believe on the Son of God, that ye may know that you have eternal life, 1 John v.

Thomas, because thou hast seen me, therefore hast thou believed: happy are they which have not seen, and yet have believed in me, John xx.

All the prophets to him bear witness, that whosoever believeth in him shall have remission of their sins, Acts x.

What must I do that I may be saved? The apostles answered, Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved, Acts xvi.

If thou acknowledge with thy mouth that Jesus is the Lord, and believest with thine heart that God raised him from death, thou shalt be saved, Rom. x.

He that believeth not in Christ shall be condemned.

He that believeth not the Son shall never see life, but the wrath of God abideth upon him, John iii.

The Holy Ghost shall reprove the world of sin, because they believe not in me, John xvi.

They that believe in Jesus Christ are the sons of God. Ye are all the sons of God, because ye believe in Jesus Christ, 1 John iii.

He that believeth that Christ is the Son of God, is safe, John i.

Peter said, Thou art Christ the Son of the living God. Jesus answered and said unto him, Happy art thou, Simon, the Son of Jonas, for flesh and blood hath not opened to thee that, but my Father that is in heaven, Matt. xvi.

We have believed and know that thou art Christ the Son of the living God.

I believe that thou art Christ the Son of God, which should come into the world, John xi.

These things are written, that they might believe that Jesus is Christ the Son of God, and that ye in believing might have life, John xx.

I believe that Jesus is the Son of God, Acts viii.

#### *The sixteenth Proposition.*

'He that believeth the gospel, believeth God.'—Argument: He that believeth God's word, believeth God. The gospel is God's word. *Ergo*, he that believeth the gospel, believeth God.

To believe the gospel is this, That Christ is the Saviour of the world, John iv.

Christ is our Saviour, Luke ii.

Christ bought us with his blood, Heb. xiii. 1 Peter i. Apoc. v.

Christ washed us with his blood, Apoc. i.

Christ offered himself for us, Heb. ix.

Christ bare our sins on his own body, &c. 1 Pet. ii.

#### *The seventeenth Proposition.*

'He that believeth not the gospel, believeth not God.'—Argument: He that believeth not God's word, believeth not God himself. The gospel is God's word. *Ergo*, he that believeth not the gospel, believeth not God himself; and consequently he that believeth not those things above written, and such other, believeth not God.

#### *The eighteenth Proposition.*

'He that believeth the gospel shall be saved.'—Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel unto every creature: he that believeth and is baptized, shall be saved: but he that believeth not, shall be condemned, Mark xvi.

#### *A Comparison between Faith and Incredulity.*

Faith is the root of all good.

Incredulity is the root of all evil.

Faith maketh God and man friends.

Incredulity maketh them foes.

Faith bringeth God and man together.

Incredulity parteth them asunder.

All that faith doeth pleaseth God.

All that incredulity doeth displeaseth God.

Faith maketh a man good and righteous.

Incredulity maketh him unjust and evil.

Faith maketh a man a member of Christ.

Incredulity maketh him a member of the devil.

Faith maketh a man inheritor of heaven.

Incredulity maketh a man the inheritor of hell.

Faith maketh a man the servant of God.

Incredulity maketh him a servant of the devil.

Faith sheweth us God to be a sweet father.

Incredulity sheweth him a terrible judge.

Faith holdeth fast by the word of God.

Incredulity wavereth here and there.

Faith counteth and holdeth God to be true.

Incredulity holdeth him false and a liar.

Faith knoweth God.

Incredulity knoweth him not.

Faith loveth God and his neighbour.

Incredulity loveth neither of them.

Faith saveth us.

Incredulity condemneth us.

Faith extolleth God and his deeds.

Incredulity extolleth herself and her own deeds.

#### *Of Hope.*

Hope is a trusty looking after the thing that is promised us to come, as we hope after the everlasting joy, which Christ hath promised unto all that believe in him.

*We should put our hope and trust in God alone, and in no other thing.*

It is good to trust in God, and not in man, Psalm cxviii.

He that trusteth in his own heart is a fool, Prov. xxvii.

It is good to trust in God, and not in princes, Ps. cxviii.

They shall be like unto the images which they make, that trust in them, Psalm cxv.

He that trusteth in his own thoughts doeth wickedly, Prov. xii.

Cursed is he that trusteth in man, Jer. xvii.

Bid the rich men of this world, that they trust not in their unstable riches, but that they trust in the living God, 1 Tim. vi.

It is hard for them that trust in money to enter into the kingdom of heaven, Luke xviii.

Moreover, we should trust in him only that may help us: God only may help us: therefore we should trust in him only.

Well are they that trust in God, and wo to them that trust not in him, Ps. ii. Jer. xvii.

Well is that man that trusteth in God, for God shall be his trust, Ps. xiv. Eccl. xxxiv.

He that trusteth in him shall understand the truth, Sap. iii.

They shall rejoice that trust in thee: they shall ever be glad, and thou wilt defend them, Ps. v.

#### *Of Charity.*

Charity is the love of thy neighbour. The rule of charity is this: Do as thou wouldest be done to; for Christ holdeth all alike, the rich, the poor, the friend and the foe, the thankful and unthankful, the kinsman and stranger.

#### *A Comparison between Faith, Hope, and Charity.*

Faith cometh of the word of God; hope cometh of faith, and charity springeth of them both.

Faith believeth the word; hope trusteth after that which is promised by the word; charity doeth good unto her neighbour, through the love that it hath to God, and gladness that is within herself.

Faith looketh to God and his word; hope looketh unto his gift and reward; charity looketh on his neighbour's profit.

Faith receiveth God; hope receiveth his reward; charity loveth her neighbour with a glad heart, and that without any respect of reward.



Faith pertaineth to God only; hope, to his reward; and charity, to her neighbour.

*The Doctrine of Works.*

No manner of works make us righteous,

We believe that no man shall be justified without works, Rom. iii.

No man is justified by the deeds of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ, and we believe in Jesus Christ, that we may be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the deeds of the law: for if righteousness come by the law, then Christ died in vain.

That no man is justified by the law is manifest; for a righteous man liveth by his faith, but the law is not of faith.

Moreover, sith Christ, the maker of heaven and earth, and all that is therein, behoved to die for us, we are compelled to grant that we were so far drowned and sunken in sin, that neither our deeds, nor all the treasures that ever God made or might make, could have holpen us of them: therefore no deeds or works may make us righteous.

He that is evil produceth evil works, and he that is good produceth good works.

Good works make not a good man, nor evil works an evil man; but a good man bringeth forth good works, and an evil man evil works.

Good fruit maketh not the tree good, nor evil fruit the tree evil: but a good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit.

A good man cannot do evil works, nor an evil man good works; for a good tree cannot bear evil fruit, nor an evil tree good fruit.

A man is good ere he do good works, and evil ere he do evil works: for the tree is good ere it bear good fruit, and evil ere it bear evil fruit.

*Every Man, and the Works of Man, are either good or evil.*

Every tree, and the fruits thereof, are either good or evil. Either make ye the tree good, and the fruit good also, or else make the tree evil, and the fruit of it likewise evil, Matt. xii.

A good man is known by his works; for a good man doeth good words, and an evil man evil works. Ye shall know them by their fruit; for a good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit. A man is likened to the tree, and his works to the fruit of the tree.

Beware of the false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves; ye shall know them by their fruits, Luke vii.

If works make us neither righteous nor unrighteous, then thou wilt say, it maketh no matter what we do. I answer, If thou do evil, it is a sure argument that thou art evil, and wantest faith. If thou do good, it is an argument that thou art good, and hast faith; for a good tree beareth good fruit, and an evil tree evil fruit.

*The Man is the Tree, his Works are the Fruit.*

Faith maketh the good tree, and incredulity the evil tree: such a tree, such fruit; such a man, such works. For all things that are done in faith please God, and are good works; and all that are done without faith, displease God, and are evil works.

Whosoever believeth or thinketh to be saved by his works, denieth that Christ is his Saviour, that Christ died for him, and all things that pertain to Christ. For how is he thy Saviour, if thou mightest save thyself by thy works? or whereto should he die for thee, if thy works might have saved thee?

What is this to say, Christ died for thee? Verily, that thou shouldest have died perpetually; and Christ, to deliver thee from death, died for thee, and changed thy perpetual death into his own death: for thou madest the fault, and he suffered the pain, and that for the love he had to thee before thou wast born, when thou hadst done neither good nor evil.

Now, seeing he hath paid thy debt, thou needest not, neither canst thou, pay it; but shouldest be damned, if this blood had not been shed for thee.

Finally, he hath delivered thee from thy condemnation and all evil, and desireth nought of thee, but that thou wilt acknowledge what he hath done for thee, and bear it in mind, and that thou wouldest help others for his sake both in word and deed, even as he hath holpen thee for nought, and without reward.

O how ready would we be to help others, if we knew his goodness and gentleness towards us! He is a good and gentle Lord, for he doth all for nought. Let us, I beseech you, therefore, follow his footsteps, whom all the world ought to praise and worship. Amen.

*He that thinketh to be saved by his Works, calleth himself Christ.*

For he calleth himself the Saviour, which pertaineth to Christ only. What is a saviour, but he that saveth? and he saith, I saved myself; which is as much as to say, I am Christ; for Christ only is the Saviour of the world.

*We should do no good Works in order to purchase the Inheritance of Heaven, or Remission of Sin.*

For whosoever believeth to get the inheritance of heaven, or remission of sin, through works, he believeth not to get the same for Christ's sake; and they that believe not that their sins are forgiven them, and that they shall be saved for Christ's sake, they believe not the gospel: for the gospel saith, "You shall be saved for Christ's sake: your sins are forgiven for Christ's sake."

He that believeth not the gospel, believeth not God. So it followeth, that they which believe to be saved by their works, or to get remission of their sins by their own deeds, believe not God, but account him as a liar, and so utterly deny him to be God.

*Obj.* Thou wilt say, Shall we then do no good deeds? *Ans.* I say not so, but I say we should do no good works in order to purchase the inheritance of heaven, or remission of sin. For if we believe to purchase the inheritance of heaven through good works, then we believe not to get it through the promise of God. Or if we think to get remission of our sins by our deeds, then we believe not that they are forgiven us, and so we count God as a liar. For God saith, *Thou shalt have the inheritance of heaven for my Son's sake; Thy sins are forgiven thee for my Son's sake;* and you say it is not so, but, *I will win it through my works.* Thus you see I condemn not good deeds, but I condemn the false trust in any works; for all the works wherein a man putteth any confidence, are therewith poisoned, and become evil.

Wherefore thou must do good works, but beware thou do them not to deserve any good through them; for if thou do, thou receivest the good not as the gifts of God, but as a debt to thee, and makest thyself fellow with God, because thou wilt take nothing of him for nought. And what needeth he any thing of thine, which giveth all things, and is not the poorer?

Therefore do nothing to him, but take of him; for he is a gentle Lord, and with a gladder will giveth us all that we need, than we can take it of him; if then we want ought, let us thank ourselves.

Press not, therefore, to the inheritance of heaven through presumption of thy good works; for if thou do, thou countest thyself holy, and equal to God, because thou wilt take nothing of him for nought; and so shalt thou fall, as Lucifer fell for his pride.

#### OTHER MARTYRDOMS AND PERSECUTIONS IN SCOTLAND.

##### *Henry Forest, burnt at St. Andrew's, Scotland.*

Within few years after the martyrdom of master Patrick Hamelton, one *Henry Forest*, a young man born in Lithquow, who a little before had received the orders of benet and collet, (as they term them,) affirmed, and said, That master Patrick Hamelton died a martyr, and that his articles were true; for which he was apprehended and put in prison, by James Beton, archbishop of St. Andrew's. Who, shortly after, caused a certain friar, named Walter Laing, to hear his confession. To whom when Henry Forest in secret confession had declared his conscience, how he thought master Patrick to be a good man, and wrongfully to be put to death, and that his articles were true, and not heretical, the friar came and uttered to the bishop the confession that he had heard, which before was not thoroughly known.

Whereupon it followed, that his confession being thought a sufficient proof against him, he was therefore brought before the council of the clergy and doctors, and there concluded to be an heretic, equal in iniquity with master Patrick Hamelton, and there decreed to be given to the secular judges, to suffer death.

When the day of his death came, and that he should first be degraded, and was brought before the clergy in a green place, being between the castle of St. Andrew's and another place called Mouymail, as soon as he entered in at the door, and saw the face of the clergy, perceiving wherunto they tended, he cried with a loud voice, saying, Fie on falsehood! Fie on false friars, revealers of confession!—After this day let no man ever trust any false friars, contemners of God's word, and deceivers of men. And so they proceeding to degrade him of his small orders of benet and collet, he said with a loud voice, Take from me not only your own orders, but also your own baptism: meaning thereby whatsoever is besides that which Christ himself instituted. Then after his degradation, they condemned him as an heretic equal with master Patrick aforesaid. And so he suffered death for his faithful testimony of the truth of Christ and of his gospel, at the north church stile of the abbey-church of St. Andrew, to the intent that all the people of Angus might see the fire, and so might be the more feared from falling into the like doctrine, which they term by the name of heresy.

*James Hamelton, brother to master Patrick; Katharine Hamelton; a Wife of Leith; David Straton, and master Norman Gurley.*

Within a year after the martyrdom of Henry Forest, or thereabouts, was called *James Hamelton*, of Kynclitgow; his sister *Katharine Hamelton*, the spouse of the captain of Dunbar; also another honest woman of Leith; *David Straton*, of the house of Lawristone; and master *Norman Gurley*. These were called to the abbey-church of Holyrood-house, in Edinburgh, by James Hay, bishop of Ross, commissioner to James Beton, archbishop, in presence of king James, the fifth of that name, who, upon the day of their accusation, was altogether clad in red apparel. James Hamelton was accused as one that maintained the opinion of master Patrick, his brother.—To whom the king gave counsel to depart,

and not to appear; for in case he appeared, he could not help him; because the bishops had persuaded him, that the cause of heresy did in no wise appertain unto him. And so James fled, and was condemned as an heretic, and all his goods and lands confiscated, and disposed unto others.

Katharine Hamelton, his sister, appeared upon the scaffold, and being accused of an horrible heresy, to wit, That her own works could not save her; she granted the same. And after long reasoning between her and master John Spens, the lawyer, she concluded in this manner: "Work here, work there, what kind of working is all this? I know perfectly that no kind of works can save me, but the works of Christ my Lord and Saviour." The king hearing these words, turned him about and laughed, and calling her unto him, he caused her to recant, because she was his aunt; and she escaped.

To the woman of Leith it was objected, that when the midwife, in time of her labour, bade her say, "Our Lady, help me;" she cried, "Christ help me, Christ help me, in whose help I trust." She also was caused to recant; and so escaped without confiscation of her goods, because she was married.

Master Norman Gurley, for that he said, There was no such place as purgatory, and that the pope was not a bishop, but Antichrist, and had no jurisdiction in Scotland.

Also David Straton, for that he said, There was no purgatory, but the passion of Christ, and the tribulations of this world; and because that when master Robert Lawson, vicar of Eglesgrig, asked his tithe-fish of him, he cast them to him out of the boat, so that some of them fell into the sea. Therefore he accused him as one that should have said, that no tithes should be paid.

These two, because, after great solicitation made by the king, they refused to abjure and recant, were therefore condemned by the bishop of Ross, as heretics, and were burned upon the green side, between Leith and Edinburgh, to the intent that the inhabitants of Fife, seeing the fire, might be stricken with terror and fear, not to fall into the like crime of heresy.

#### PERSECUTIONS, ETC. IN THE DIOCESE OF LINCOLN.

*Thomas Harding, an aged father, dwelling in Chesham, in Buckinghamshire, burnt 1553.*

*Thomas Harding*, dwelling at Chesham, in the county of Buckingham, with Alice his wife, was first abjured by Wm. Smith, bishop of Lincoln, anno 1506, with divers other more, which the same time, for speaking against idolatry and superstition, were taken and compelled, some to bear faggots, some were burned in the cheeks with hot irons, some condemned to perpetual prison, some thrust into monasteries and spoiled of all their goods, some compelled to make pilgrimage to the great block, otherwise called our Lady of Lincoln, some to Walsingham, some to St. Romuld of Buckingham, some to the rood of Wendover, some to St. John Shorne, &c.

First, this Thomas Harding, with Alice his wife, being abjured and enjoined penance with divers other more, by William Smith, bishop of Lincoln, afterward by the said bishop was released again, in the year of our Lord 1515, of all such penance as was enjoined him and his wife at their abjuration, except these three articles following, and were discharged of their badges, or signs of their faggot, &c. Only this penance following the bishop continued:

First, That neither of them during their life should dwell out of the parish of Amersham.

Item, That either of them during their life should fast from bread and ale every Corpus Christi even.

Item, That either of them should during their lives, upon Corpus Christi day, every year go on pilgrimage to Asheridge, and there make their offering as other people did, but not to do penance. Also they were licensed by the said bishop to do their pilgrimage at Asheridge, on Corpus Christi even, or Corpus Christi day, or some other, upon any cause reasonable.

This penance being to them enjoined anno 1515, they observed till the year of our Lord 1522, save only in the last year the aforesaid Alice, his wife, omitted her pilgrimage going to Asheridge upon Corpus Christi day. Also the said Thomas Harding, being put to his oath to detect others, because he, contrary to his oath, dissembled and did not disclose them, was therefore enjoined, in penance for his perjury, to bear upon his right sleeve, both before and behind, a badge or patch of green cloth, or silk, embroidered like a faggot, during his whole life, unless he should be otherwise dispensed withal. And thus continued he from the year 1522 until the year 1532.

At last the said Harding, in the year above-said, 1532, about Easter holidays, when the other people went to the church to commit their wonted idolatry, took his way into the woods, there solitarily to worship the true living God, in spirit and truth; where, as he was occupied in a book of English prayers, leaning or sitting upon a stile by the wood's side, it chanced that one did espy him where he was, and came in great haste to the officers of the town, declaring, that he had seen Harding in the woods looking on a book.

Whereupon immediately a rude rabble of them, like madmen, ran desperately to his house to search for books, and in searching went so nigh, that under the boards of his floor they found certain English books of holy scripture. Whereupon this godly father, with his books, was brought before John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, then lying at Wooburn, who, with his chaplains, calling father Harding to examination, began to reason with him, proceeding rather with checks and rebukes than with any sound arguments. Thomas Harding, seeing their folly and rude behaviour, gave them but few words, but fixing his trust and care in the Lord, did let them say what they would. Thus at last they sent him to the bishop's prison, called Little-case, where he did lie with hunger and pain enough for a certain space, till at length the bishop, sitting in his tribunal, condemned him for relapse to be burned to ashes, committing the charge and oversight of his martyrdom to Rowland Messenger, vicar of great Wickham. Which Rowland, at the day appointed, with a rabble of others like to himself, brought father Harding to Chesham again. Where, the next day after his return, the said Rowland made a sermon in Chesham church, causing Thomas Harding to stand before him all the preaching time; which sermon was nothing else but the maintaining of the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome, and the state of his apostolic see, with the idolatry, fancies, and traditions, belonging unto the same. When the sermon was ended, Rowland took him up to the high altar, and asked, Whether he believed that in the bread, after the consecration, there remained any other substance than the substance of Christ's natural body born of the Virgin Mary? To this Thomas Harding answered, The articles of our belief do teach us, that our Saviour Christ was born of the Virgin Mary, and that he suffered death under Pilate, and rose from death the third day; that he then ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God in the glory of his Father.

Then was he brought into a man's house in the town,

where he remained all night in prayer and godly meditations. So the next morning came the aforesaid Rowland again, about ten of the clock, with a company of bills and staves, to lead this godly father to his burning; whom a great number of both men and women did follow. Of whom many bewailed his death; and contrary, the wicked rejoiced thereat. He was brought forth, having thrust in his hands a little cross of wood, but no idol upon it. Then he was chained unto the stake, and desiring the people to pray for him, and forgiving all his enemies and persecutors, he commended his spirit to God, and took his death most patiently and quietly, lifting up his hands to heaven, saying, "Jesus, receive my spirit!"

When they had set fire on him, there was one that threw a billet at him, and dashed out his brains; of what purpose he did so, it is not known; but, as it was supposed, that he might have forty days of pardon, as the proclamation was made at the burning of William Tilesworth above-mentioned: whereas proclamation was made at the same time, "That whosoever did bring a faggot or a stake to the burning of an heretic, should have forty days of pardon." Whereby many ignorant people caused many of their children to bear billets and faggots to their burning.

In fine, when the sacrifice and burnt-offering of this godly martyr was finished, and he burnt to ashes, in the Dell going to Botley, at the north end of the town of Chesham, Rowland, the ruler of the roast, commanding silence, and thinking to send the people away with an *Ita, missa est*, with a loud voice said to the people these words, not advising belike what his tongue did speak, "Good people, when ye come home, do not say that you have been at the burning of an heretic, but of a good true Christian man;" and so they departed to dinner, Rowland with the rabble of other priests much rejoicing at the burning of this good man.

I find in the records of Lincoln, about the same time, and in the said county of Buckinghamshire, in which the aforesaid Thomas Harding did suffer, that divers others for the like doctrine were molested, whose names, with the causes of their persecution, are here specified; in which the spirit of this wicked persecuting church will be easily discerned.

#### *Mrs. Alice Doly.*

Elizabeth Wighthill being brought before Dr. London, in the parsonage of Staunton Harecourt, and there put to her oath, deposed against *Mrs. Alice Doly*, her mistress, That she said Mrs. Doly, speaking of John Hacker, of Coleman-street, in London, water-bearer, said that he was very expert in the gospels, and all other things belonging to divine service, and could express and declare it, and the Pater-noster, in English, as well as any priest, and it would do one good to hear him; saying moreover, That she would in no case that this were known, for hurting the poor man; commanding also the said Elizabeth, that she should tell no man hereof; affirming at that same time, that the aforesaid Hacker could tell of divers prophecies, what should happen in the realm.

Over and besides, the forenamed Elizabeth deposed, That the said Mrs. Doly, her mistress, shewed unto her, that she had a book which held against pilgrimages; and after that, she caused Sir John Booth, parson of Britwel, to read upon a book, which he called *Legenda Aurea*; and one saint's life he read which did speak against pilgrimages. And after that was read, her mistress said unto her, "Lo, daughter, now ye may hear as I told you, that this book speaketh against pilgrimages."

Furthermore, it was deposed against Mrs. Doly, by the said Elizabeth, that she being at Sir William Barenten's place, and seeing there in the closet images new gilded, said to the said Elizabeth, "Look, here be my lady Barenten's gods." To whom the said Elizabeth answered again, That they were set for remembrance of good saints. Then said she, If I were in a house where no images were, I could remember to pray unto saints as well as if I did see the images. Nay, said the other, images do provoke devotion. Then said her mistress, Ye should not worship that thing that hath ears, and cannot hear, and hath eyes, and cannot see, and hath mouth, and cannot speak, and hath hands, and cannot feel.

Item, The said Mrs. Doly was reported by the said party to have a book containing the twelve articles of the Creed, covered with boards and red covering. Also another black book, which she set most price by, which she kept ever in her chamber, or in her coffer; with divers other books. And this was about the year of our Lord 1520.

Behold here, reader, the crimes for which multitudes lost their lives: they said the Lord's prayer in English, and read parts of the gospel in the same language!

*Roger Hackman, at Northstoke, in Orfordshire, anno 1525.*

Against this *Roger Hackman* it was laid by depositions brought in, That he sitting in the church-aisle at Northstoke, said these words, I will never look to be saved for any good deed that ever I did, neither for any that ever I will do, unless I may have my salvation by petition, as an outlaw shall have his pardon of the king; and said, That if he might not have his salvation so, he thought he should be lost.

*Robert West, priest, of St. Andrew Undershaft, at London, anno 1529.*

Against this *Robert West*, priest, it was objected, that he had commended Martin Luther, and thought that he had done well in many things, as in having wife and children, &c.

Item, For saying, That whereas the doctors of the church have commanded priests to say matins and even-song, they had no authority so to do. For which he was abjured, and was enjoined penance.

*John Ryburn, at Roshborough, anno 1530.*

It was testified against *John Ryburn*, by his sister Elizabeth Ryburn, being put to her oath, That she coming to him upon the Assumption even, found him at supper with butter and eggs, and being bid to sit down and eat with him, she answered, that it was no convenient time then to eat. To whom he said again, That God never made such fasting days; but you (quoth he) are so far in *Limbo Patrum*, that you can never turn again. And in further communication, when she said that she would go on pilgrimage to the holy cross at Wendover; he said again, That she did wrong: for there is never a step (said he) that you set in going on pilgrimage, but you go to the devil; and you go to church to worship that the priest doth hold above his head, which is but bread; and if you cast it to the mouse, he will eat it. And said, That he would neither believe that the priest hath power to make his Lord.

Item, It was testified by another sister, named Alice Ryburn, That she being with her brother in a close called Brimmer's Close, heard him say these words, "That a time shall come when no elevation shall be made." Whereunto she answering again, asked, "And what service shall we have then?" He said, "That service that we have now." Furthermore, the said John Ryburn was accused upon these words, for

saying that the service of the church was worth nothing, because it was not in English: "For (said he) if we had our Pater-noster in English, we would say it nine times against once now," &c.

Item, In the feast of Exaltation of the holy Cross, when the bells did ring solemnly, between matins and high mass, for saying in a butcher's house, "What a clapping of bells is here!"

Item, The said John Ryburn was detected by Richard, his father, for saying these words, The priests do wrong; for they should say their service in English, that every man may know it.

Item, For these words speaking to one of his sisters, The sacrament of the altar is not as they take it to be. But if it be as I trust, we shall see none of them holden up, one of these days, over the priest's head, &c.

Item, For saying, That the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ hath made satisfaction for all ill deeds that were done or should be done, and therefore it was no need to go on pilgrimage. It was also laid to his charge, and confessed by himself, That he had Jesus' gospels in English, and that he was present in the house of John Taylor, when one John Simonds read to them a lecture out of the gospels, of the passion of Christ, the space of two hours.

Item, For saying, That images were but idols, and it was idolatry to pray to them.

For saying, moreover, That at sacring time he kneeled down, but he had no devotion, nor believed in the sacrament.

Item, That the pope's authority and pardon cannot help man's soul, and it was but casting away money that is given for pardons; for if we ask pardon of our Lord Jesus, he will give us pardon every day.

Thomas Lound, priest, who had been with Luther two years, being afterwards cast into the Fleet at London, was a great instructor of this John Ryburn.

Note here out of the records of the register, that in this examination of John Ryburn, first his two sisters, then his own wife, and at last his own father, were called before John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, and compelled by oath to depose against him.

*John Eaton, and Cecily his Wife, at Roshborough, anno 1530.*

*John Eaton*, and *Cecily* his wife, of the parish of *St. Mary*, were detected by Richard Ryburn, That they were married by certain in the parish on the Sunday then last past, in the sacring time, to hold down their heads, and would not look upon the sacrament.

*John Simonds.*

It was laid against *John Simonds*, for saying, that men do walk all day in purgatory in this world, and when they depart out of this world, there are but two ways, either to hell or to heaven.—Item, He said, That priests should have wives.

It was reported by the confession of the said John Simonds, that he converted to his doctrine eight priests, and had holpen two or three friars out of their orders.

*William Windgrave, Thomas Hawks, of Hichenden, Robert Hawks, of Westwicombe, John Taylor, John Hawks, Thomas Heron, of Cobshil, Nicholas Field, Richard Dean, Thomas Clerk, the younger, and William Hawks, of Chesham, anno 1530.*

These persons, with others, were examined, excommunicated, and abjured, for being together in John Taylor's house, at Hichenden, and there hearing Nicholas Field, of London, to read a parcel of scripture, in English, unto

who there expounded to them many things: That they which went on pilgrimage were accursed: that it was of no use to pray to images, for they were but stocks made of wood, and could not help a man: that God Almighty biddeth us work as well one day as another, saving the Sunday; for six days he wrought, and the seventh day he rested: that they need not to fast so many fasting days, except the embering-days; for he was beyond the sea, in Germany, and there they used not so to fast, nor to make such holidays.

Item, That offerings do no good, for they have them that have no need thereof. And when it was answered again by one, that they maintained God's service: Nay, said Nicholas, it maintaineth great houses, as abbeyes and others.

Item, That men should say their Pater-noster and Ave-Maria in English, with the Creed; and declare the same in English.

Item, That the sacrament of the altar was not, as it was pretended, the flesh, blood, and bone, of Christ; but a sacrament, that is, a typical signification of his holy body.

To *William Windgrave*, moreover, it was objected, that he should say that there was no purgatory; and if there were any purgatory, and every mass that is said should deliver a soul out of purgatory, there should be never a soul there; for there be more masses said in a day, than there be bodies buried in a month.

*Simon Wisdom, of Burford.*

*Simon Wisdom*, of Burford, was charged in judgment, for having three books in English; one was the gospels in English, another was the psalter, the third was the sum of the holy scripture in English.

*James Algar, of Aiger, anno 1530.*

It was articulated and objected to *James Algar*, first, that he speaking to a certain doctor of divinity, named Aglonby, said, that every true Christian man, living after the laws of God, and observing his commandments, is a priest as well as he, &c.

Item, That he said, that he would not have his executors to deal any penny for his soul after his death; for he would do it with his own hands while he was alive; and that his conscience gave him, that his soul, as soon as it departed out of the body, goeth straight either to heaven or hell.

Item, When Dr. Aglonby aforesaid had alleged to him the place of St. Matthew, the 16th, "Thou art Peter," &c. he answered him again with that which followeth in the gospel after, "Get thee behind me, Satan," &c.

Item, Then said James, hearing of a certain church to be robbed, said openly, It was no great matter, for the church hath enough already.

*John French, of Longritam, anno 1530.*

Against *John French* likewise these three articles were objected.

1. That he believeth not the body of Christ, flesh, blood, and bone, to be in the sacrament.

2. That he was not confessed to any priest of long time.

3. That priests had not power to absolve from sins, &c.

For which he likewise, with the other, was troubled, and at length compelled also with them to kneel down, and to ask his holy Catholic fathers' and mothers' of Rome blessing.

But what stand I here numbering the sand? For if all register books were sought, it would be an infinite thing to tell all them which through all the other dioceses of the country in these days, before and since, were troubled and persecuted in these and such like matters. But these I thought

for example's sake here to specify, that it might appear what doctrine it is, and how long it hath been in the church, for which the prelates and clergy of Rome have judged men heretics, and so wrongfully have molested poor simple Christians.

*Some Account of T. Hitten, burnt at Maidstone, anno 1530.*

Touching the memorial of *Thomas Hitten*, nothing remaineth in writing, but only his name, save that *William Tindal*, in his apology against Moore, and also in another book entitled the Practice of Prelates, doth once or twice make mention of him by way of digression. He was, saith he, a preacher at Maidstone, whom the bishop of Canterbury, *William Warham*, and *Fisher*, bishop of Rochester, after they had long kept and tormented him in prison with sundry torments, and that notwithstanding he continued constant, at last they burnt him at Maidstone, for his steady and manifest testimony of Jesus Christ, and of his free grace and salvation. In the year of our Lord God 1530.

*THOMAS BILNEY, and ARTHUR, who abjured at Norwich, 1531.*

This *Thomas Bilney* was brought up in the university of Cambridge, even from a child, profiting in all kind of liberal sciences, even unto the profession of both laws. But at the last having gotten a better schoolmaster, even the holy Spirit of Christ, who endued his heart by his inspiration with the knowledge of better and more wholesome things, he came at the last unto this point, That forsaking the knowledge of man's laws, he converted his study to those things which tended more unto godliness than gain.

Finally, as himself was greatly inflamed with the love of true religion and godliness, even so again was in his heart an incredible desire to allure many unto the same, desiring nothing more than that he might stir up and encourage any to the love of Christ. Neither were his labours in vain; for he converted many of his followers to the knowledge of the gospel, amongst which number was *Thomas Arthur*, and master *Hugh Latimer*; which *Latimer* at that time was cross-keeper at Cambridge, bringing it forth upon processions-days. At the last, *Bilney*, forsaking the university, went into many places, teaching and preaching, being associate with *Arthur*, who accompanied him from the university. The authority of *Thomas Wolsey*, cardinal of York, at that time was great in England, but his pomp and pride much greater, which did evidently declare unto all wise men the manifest vanity, not only of his life, but also of all the bishops and clergy. Whereupon, *Bilney*, with other good men, marvelling at the incredible insolence of the clergy, which they could now no longer suffer or abide, began to shake and reprove this excessive pomp of the clergy, and also to pluck at the authority of the bishop of Rome.

Then it was time for the cardinal to awake, and speedily to look about his business. Neither lacked he in this point any craft or subtlety of a serpent; for he understood well enough upon how slender a foundation their ambitious dignity was grounded, neither was he ignorant that their luciferous kingdom could not long continue against the manifest word of God; especially if the light of the gospel should once open the eyes of men. For otherwise he did not greatly fear the power and displeasure of kings and princes. Only this he feared, the voice of Christ in his gospel, lest it should disclose and detect their hypocrisy



and deceits, and force them to come into an order of godly discipline: wherefore he thought good speedily in time to withstand these beginnings. Upon which he caused the said Bilney and Arthur to be apprehended, and cast into prison.

After this, the 27th day of November, in the year of our Lord 1527, the said cardinal, accompanied with a great number of bishops, as the archbishop of Canterbury, Cuthbert of London, John of Rochester, Nicholas of Ely, John of Exeter, John of Lincoln, John of Bath and Wells, Henry of St. Asaph, with many others, both divines and lawyers, came into the chapter-house of Westminster, where the said master Thomas Bilney and Thomas Arthur were brought before them; and the said cardinal there inquired of master Bilney, whether he had, privately or publicly, preached or taught the people the opinions of Luther, or any other condemned by the church, contrary to the determination of the church? Whereunto Bilney answered, That wittingly he had not preached or taught any of Luther's opinions, or any other, contrary to the Catholic church. Then the cardinal asked him, whether he had not once made an oath before, that he should not preach, rehearse, or defend any of Luther's opinions, but should impugn the same every where? He answered, that he had made such an oath, but not lawfully. Which interrogatories so ministered, and answers made, the cardinal caused him to swear to answer plainly to the articles and errors preached and set forth by him; as well in the city and diocese of London, as in the diocese of Norwich, and other places, and that he should do it without any craft, qualifying or leaving out any part of the truth.

After he was thus sworn, and examined, the said cardinal proceeded to the examination of master Thomas Arthur there present, causing him to take the like oath that master Bilney did. Which done, he asked him whether he had not once told Sir Thomas More, knight, that in the sacrament of the altar was not the very body of Christ? Which interrogatory he denied. Then the cardinal gave him time to deliberate till noon, and to bring in his answer in writing. After noon the same day, what time the examination of the aforesaid Thomas Arthur was ended, the cardinal and bishops by their authority, *ex officio*, did call in for witnesses, before master Bilney, certain men, namely, John Huggen, chief provincial of the friars preachers throughout all England; Jeffery Julles and Richard Jugworth, professors of divinity of the same order; also Wm. Jecket, gentleman; William Nelson, and Thomas Williams; who were sworn that, all favour, hate, love, or reward, set apart, they should, without concealing any falsehood, or omitting any truth, speak their minds upon the articles laid against him, or preached by him, as well within the diocese of London as the diocese of Norwich: and because he was otherwise occupied about the affairs of the realm, he committed the hearing of the matter to the bishop of London, and to two other bishops there present, or to three of them to proceed against all men, as well spiritual as temporal, as also against schedules, writings, and books, set forth and translated by Martin Luther, lately condemned by pope Leo X. and by all manner of probable means to inquire and root out their errors; and all such as were found culpable, to compel them to abjuration according to the law, or, if the matter so required, to deliver them unto the secular power, and to give them full power and authority to determine upon them.

The 27th of November, in the year aforesaid, the bishop of London, with the bishops of Ely and Rochester, came unto the bishop of Norwich's house, whereas likewise, *ex*

*officio*, they did swear certain witnesses against master Thomas Arthur, in like sort as they had done before against master Thomas Bilney, and so proceeded to the examination of master Arthur; which being ended upon certain interrogatories, the bishop of London warned him, by virtue of his oath, that he should not reveal his examinations, nor his answers, nor any part or parcel thereof.

The 2d day of December, the bishops assembled again in the same place, and swore more witnesses against master Bilney. That done, they called for master Arthur: unto whose charge they laid these articles following:

*Articles against Thomas Arthur.*

1. Imprimis, That he exhorted the people in his prayers, to pray especially for those that now be in prison.—Which article he denied.

2. That he said, that though men be restrained to preach now-a-days, (which is against God's law,) yet I may preach, first, by the authority of my lord cardinal, for I have his license; secondly, by the authority of the university; thirdly, by the pope; fourthly, by the authority of God, where he saith, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." By which authority every man may preach, and there is neither bishop nor ordinary, nor yet the pope, that may make any law to let any man to preach the gospel.—This article he confessed that he spake.

3. When he spake of laws, he brought a similitude of crosses set up against the walls of London, that men should not make water there. When there was but one cross, or a few more, men did reverence them, and did not make water there; but when there was in every corner a cross set, then men of necessity were compelled to p--- upon the crosses. So in like manner, when there was but a few holy and devout laws in the church, then men were afraid to defend them. Afterwards they made many laws for their advantage; and such as were pecuniary, those they do observe, and such as are not pecuniary, those they call chaff, and regard them not. And so now-a-days there are so many laws, that whether a man do ill or well, he shall be taken in the law.—He confessed that he spake the very same, or the like words.

4. He said, Good people, If I should suffer persecution for the preaching of the gospel of God, yet there are several thousand more that would preach the gospel of God as I do now. Therefore, good people, good people, (which words he often rehearsed, as it were lamenting,) think not that if these tyrants and persecutors put a man to death, the preaching of the gospel therefore is to be forsaken.—This article he confessed, that he spake in like words and sense, saving that he made no mention of tyrants.

5. That every man, yea, every layman, is a priest.—He confessed that he spake such words, declaring in his sermon that every Christian man is a priest, offering up the sacrifice of prayer. And if they did murmur against the order of priesthood, they did murmur against themselves.

6. That men should pray to no saints in heaven, but only to God; and they should use no other mediator for them, but Christ Jesus our Redeemer only.—This article he denied.

7. He preached that they should worship no images of saints, which were nothing but stocks and stones.—This he also denied.

8. He did preach upon Whitsunday last, within the university of Cambridge, such or like words and sense, That a bachelor of divinity admitted of the university, any other person, having or knowing the gospel of God, should go forth and preach in every place, and do

no man, of what estate or degree soever he were; and if any bishop did accurse them for so doing, their curses should turn to the harm of themselves.—He confessed this.

Which answers thus made and acknowledged, the said master Arthur did revoke, and condemn the said articles against him ministered, and submitted himself to the punishment and judgment of the church.

The 3d day of December, the bishop of London, with the other bishops, assembling in the place aforesaid, after that Bilney had denied utterly to turn to the church of Rome, the bishop of London, in the discharge of his conscience, as he said, lest he should hide any thing that had come to his hands, did really exhibit unto the notaries, in the presence of the said master Bilney, certain letters, to wit, five letters or epistles, with one schedule in one of the epistles, containing his articles and answers folded therein, and another epistle folded in manner of a book, with six leaves; which all and every one he commanded to be written out and registered, and the originals to be delivered to him again.

This was done in the presence of Mr. Bilney, desiring a copy of them; and he bound the notaries with an oath for the safe keeping of the copies, and true registering of the same. Which articles and answers, with three of the same epistles, with certain depositions deposed by the aforesaid witnesses, next follow truly drawn; partly out of his own hand-writing, and partly out of the register.

#### *Certain Articles produced against Master Thomas Bilney.*

First, he said, pray you only to God, and not to saints, rehearsing the Litany; and when he came to *Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis*, he said, Stay there.

He said, that Christian men ought to worship God only, and not saints.

He said, That Christian people should set up no lights before the images of saints; for saints in heaven need no light, and images have no eyes to see.

He said, As Hezekiah destroyed the brazen serpent that Moses made by the commandment of God; even so should kings and princes now-a-days destroy and burn the images of saints set up in churches.

These five hundred years there hath been no good pope, nor in all the times past can we find but fifty; for they have neither preached nor lived well, or conformably to their dignity; wherefore till now they have borne the keys of simony. Against whom, good people, we must preach and teach you. For we cannot come to them; it is great pity; they have sore slandered the blood of Christ.

The people have foolishly of late gone on pilgrimages, which for them had been better they had been at home.

Many have made certain vows, which be not possible for them to fulfil, and those nothing meritorious.

The preachers before this have been anti-christs, and now it hath pleased our Saviour Christ to shew their false errors, and to teach another way and manner of the holy gospel of Christ, to the comfort of your souls.

I trust that there shall and will come other besides me, which shall shew and preach to you, the same faith and manner of living that I do shew and preach to you, which is the very true gospel of our Saviour Christ, and the mind of the holy fathers, whereby you shall be brought from their errors, wherein you have been long seduced; for before this there have been many that have slandered you, and the gospel of our Saviour Christ.

And many other such like depositions were deposed against him by the deponents and witnesses before sworn, which to recite would be too long and tedious; where-

fore these shall suffice at this time, being the principal matters, and in manner the effect of all the rest.

#### *The Submission of Master Thomas Bilney.*

The 4th day of December, the bishop of London, with the other bishops, his assistants, assembled again in the chapter-house of Westminster; whither also *Master Bilney* was brought, and was exhorted and admonished to abjure and recant; who answered, that he would stand to his conscience. Then the bishop of London, with the other bishops, *ex officio*, did publish the depositions of the witnesses, with his articles and answers, commanding that they should be read. That done, the bishop exhorted him again to deliberate with himself whether he would return to the church and renounce his opinions, or no; and bade him to depart into a void place, and there to deliberate with himself. Which done, the bishop asked him again, if he would return? Who answered, "Let justice and judgment be executed in the name of the Lord." And being divers times admonished to abjure, he would make no other answer. Then the bishop, after deliberation, putting off his cap, said, "In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen. Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered. And making a cross on his forehead and his breast, by the counsel of the other bishops, he gave sentence against Mr. Bilney, being there present, in this manner:

"I, by the consent and counsel of my brethren here present, do pronounce thee, Thomas Bilney, who hast been accused of divers articles, to be convicted of heresy; and for the rest of the sentence we take deliberation till to-morrow."

The 5th of December, the bishops assembled there again; before whom Bilney was brought. Whom the bishop asked, if he would yet return to the unity of the church, and revoke his heresies which he had preached? Whereupon Bilney answered, That he would not be a slander to the gospel, trusting that he was not separate from the church; and that, if the multitude of witnesses might be credited, he might have thirty men, of honest life, on his part, against one to the contrary brought in against him. Which witnesses, the bishop said, came too late; for after publication, they could not be received by the law. Then Bilney, alleging the story of Susannah and Daniel, the bishop of London still exhorted him to return to the unity of the church, and to abjure his heresies; and permitted him to go into some secret place, there to consult with his friends, till one o'clock in the afternoon of the same day.

In the afternoon the bishop of London again asked him, whether he would return to the church, and acknowledge his heresies? Bilney answered, that he trusted he was not separate from the church, and required time and space to bring in witnesses. Which was refused. Then the bishop once again required of him, whether he would return to the Catholic church? Whereunto he answered, That if they could teach and prove sufficiently that he was convicted, he would yield and submit himself, and desired again to have time and space to bring in again his refused witnesses; and other answer he would give none.

Then the bishop put master Bilney aside, and took counsel with his fellows; and afterwards called in master Bilney, and asked him again whether he would abjure? But he would make no other answer than before. Then the bishop, with the consent of the rest, did decree and determine, that it was not lawful to hear a petition which was against the law; and inquiring again whether he would abjure, he answered plainly, No; and desired time to consult with his friends, in whom his trust was. And being once again asked, whether he

would return, and instantly desired thereunto, or else the sentence must be read? he required the bishop to give him license to deliberate with himself until the next morrow, whether he might abjure the heresies wherewith he was defamed, or no. The bishop granted him that he should have a little time to deliberate with master Dancaster. But Bilney required space till the next morrow, to consult with master Farmer and master Dancaster. But the bishop would not grant him his request, for fear lest he should appeal; but at last the bishop inclining unto him, granted him two nights respite to deliberate; that is to say, till Saturday at nine o'clock in the forenoon, and then to give a plain determinate answer what he would do in the premises.

The 7th day of December, in the year and place aforesaid, the bishop of London, with the other bishops, being assembled, Bilney also personally appeared. Whom the bishop of London asked, whether he would now return to the unity of the church, and revoke the errors and heresies whereof he stood accused, detected, and convicted? Who answered, That now he was persuaded by master Dancaster, and other his friends, he would submit himself, trusting that they would deal gently with him, both in his abjuration and penance. Then he desired that he might read his abjuration; which the bishop granted.—When he had read the same secretly by himself, and was returned, being demanded what he would do in these premises? he answered, that he would abjure and submit himself; and there openly read his abjuration, and subscribed and delivered it to the bishop; who then did absolve him; and for his penance enjoined him, that he should abide in the prison appointed him by the cardinal, till he were by him released; and, moreover, the next day he should go before the procession, in the cathedral church of St. Paul, bare-headed, with a faggot on his shoulder, and should stand before the preacher at St. Paul's cross, all the sermon time.

Thus have you the abjuration and articles of Thomas Bilney. After which abjuration made, about the year of our Lord 1529, the said Bilney took such repentance and sorrow, that he was near the point of utter despair, as by the words of master Latimer is credibly testified; whose words, for my better discharge, I thought here to annex, written in his seventh sermon preached before king Edward, which be these:

"I knew a man myself, Bilney, little Bilney, that blessed martyr of God, who what time he had borne his faggot, and was come again to Cambridge, had such conflicts within himself, (beholding this image of death,) that his friends were afraid to let him be alone. They were fain to be with him day and night, and comfort him as they could; but no comforts would serve. And as for the comfortable places of scripture, to bring them unto him, it was as though a man should run him through the heart with a sword. Yet for all this he was restored, and took his death patiently, and died well against the tyrannical see of Rome.

Furthermore, in the first sermon of the said Mr. Latimer before the duchess of Suffolk, p. 5. he yet speaking more of Bilney, inferreth as followeth: "Here I have, said he, occasion to tell you a story which happened at Cambridge. Master Bilney, or rather St. Bilney, that suffered death for God's word's sake, the same Bilney was the instrument whereby God called me to knowledge. For I may thank him, next to God, for that knowledge that I have in the word of God, for I was as obstinate a Papist as any in England; insomuch, that when I should be made bachelor of divinity, my whole oration went against Philip Melancthon, and against his opinions. Bilney heard me at that time, and

perceived that I was zealous without knowledge, and came to me afterwards in my study, and desired me for God's sake to hear his confession. I did so: and, to say the truth, by his confession I learned more than before in many years. So from that time forward I began to smell the word of God, and forsake the school-doctors, and such fooleries."

By this it appeareth how vehemently this good man was pierced with sorrow and remorse for his abjuration, the space of almost two years: that is, from the year 1529 to the year 1531. It followed then that he, by God's grace and good counsel, came at length to some quiet conscience, being fully resolved to give over his life, for the confession of that truth which before he had renounced. And thus being fully determined in his mind, and setting his time, he took his leave in Trinity-hall, at ten o'clock at night, of certain of his friends, and said, "That he would go to Jerusalem;" alluding belike to the words and example of Christ in the gospel, going up to Jerusalem, what time he was appointed to suffer his passion. And so Bilney, meaning to give over his life for the testimony of Christ's gospel, told his friends that he would go up to Jerusalem, and so would see them no more: and immediately departed to Norfolk, and there preached first privily in households, to confirm the brethren and sisters, and also to confirm the Anchress, whom he had converted to Christ. Then preached he openly in the fields, confessing his fact, and preaching publicly the doctrine which he before had abjured, to be the very truth, and willed all men to beware by him, and never to trust to their fleshly friends in causes of religion. And so setting forward in his journey towards the celestial Jerusalem, he departed from thence to the Anchress in Norwich, and there gave her a New Testament of Tindal's translation, and the Obedience of a Christian Man. Whereupon he was apprehended, and carried to prison, there to remain till bishop Nix sent up for a writ to burn him.

In the mean season, the friars and religious men, with the residue of their doctors, civil and canon, resorted to him, busily labouring to persuade him not to die in these opinions, saying, "He should be damned, body and soul, if he so continued." Among whom, first were sent to him by the bishop, Dr. Call, minister (as they call him) or provincial of the grey-friars, and Dr. Stokes, an Augustine friar; who lay with him in prison in disputation, till the writ came that he should be burned.

Dr. Call, by the word of God, through the means of Bilney's doctrine and good life, whereof he had good experience, was somewhat reclaimed to the gospel's side. Dr. Stokes remained obdurate.

Thomas Bilney, after his examination and condemnation before Dr. Pelles, doctor of law, and chancellor, first was degraded by suffragan Underwood, according to their popish custom, by the assistance of all the friars and doctors of the same suit. Which done, he was immediately committed to the lay-power, and to the two sheriffs of the city, of whom Thomas Necton was one. This Thomas Necton was Bilney's special good friend, and sorry to accept him to such execution as followed. But such was the tyranny of that time, and dread of the chancellor and friars, that he could not otherwise do, but needs must receive him. Who, notwithstanding, as he could not bear in his conscience himself to be present at his death; so for the time that he was in custody, he caused him to be more friendly looked unto, and more wholesomely kept concerning his diet, than he was before.

After this, the Friday following at night, which was before the day of his execution, being St. Magnus-day (St. Magnus

day,) the said Bilney had divers of his friends resorting unto him in the Guildhall, where he was kept. Amongst whom, one of the said friends finding him eating with such a cheerful heart and quiet mind as he did, said, That he was glad to see him at that time, so shortly before his heavy and painful departure, so heartily to refresh himself. Whereunto he answered, "O, I follow the example of the husbandmen of the country, who having a ruinous house to dwell in, yet bestow costs as long as they may, to hold it up. And so do I now with this ruinous house of my body, and with God's creatures, in thanks to him, refresh the same, as ye see." Then sitting with his said friends in godly talk to their edification, some put him in mind, that though the fire which he should suffer the next day should be of great heat unto his body, yet the comfort of God's Spirit should cool it, to his everlasting refreshing. At this word the said Thomas Bilney, putting his hand towards the flame of the candle burning before them, (as also he did divers times besides,) and feeling the heat thereof, "O, (said he,) I feel by experience, and have known it long by philosophy, that fire by God's ordinance is naturally hot; but yet I am persuaded by God's holy word, and by the experience of some spoken of in the same, that in the flame they felt no heat, and in the fire they felt no consumption; and I constantly believe, howsoever that the stubble of this my body shall be wasted by it, yet my soul and spirit shall be purged thereby; a pain for the time, whereon notwithstanding followeth joy unspeakable." And here he much treated of this place of scripture: "Fear not, for I have redeemed thee, and called thee by thy name, thou art mine own. When thou goest through the water, I will be with thee, and the strong floods shall not overflow thee. When thou walkest in the fire, it shall not burn thee, and the flame shall not kindle upon thee; for I am the Lord thy God, the holy One of Israel." Which he did most comfortably speak of, as well in respect of himself, as applying it to the particular use of his friends there present. Of whom some received such benefit therein, that they caused the whole sentence to be fairly written in tables, and some in their books. The comfort whereof in divers of them, was never taken from them to their dying day.

The Saturday next following, when the officers of execution, as the manner is, with their glevs and halberts, were ready to receive him, and to lead him to the place of execution without the city gate, called Bishopsgate, in a low valley commonly called the Lollards' Pit, under St. Leonard's hill, environed about with great hills, (which place was chosen for the people's quiet, sitting to see the execution,) at the coming forth of the said Thomas Bilney out of the prison-door, one of his friends came to him, and with few words, as he durst, spake to him, and prayed him in God's behalf to be constant, and to take his death as patiently as he could. Whereunto the said Bilney answered, with a quiet and mild countenance, "Ye see when the mariner is entered his ship to sail on the troublous sea, how he for a while is tossed in the billows of the same; but yet in hope that he shall once come to the quiet haven, he beareth in better comfort the perils which he feeleth: So am I now toward this sailing; and whatsoever storms I shall feel, yet shortly after shall my ship be in the haven, as I doubt not thereof by the grace of God, desiring you to help me with your prayers to the same effect."

And so he going forth in the streets, giving much alms by the way by the hands of one of his friends, and accompanied with one doctor Warner, doctor of divinity, and parson of Winterton, whom he did choose, as his old acquaintance, to be with him for his ghostly comfort; he came at the last to the place of execution, and descended down from the hill to

the same, apparelled in a layman's gown, with his sleeves hanging down, and his arms out, his hair being piteously mangled at his degradation, (a little body in person, but always of a good upright countenance,) and drew near to the stake prepared; and somewhat tarrying the preparation of the fire, he desired that he might speak some words to the people, and there standing, thus he said:

"Good people! I am come hither to die, and born I was to live under that condition, naturally to die again; and that ye might testify that I depart out of this present life as a true Christian man, in a right belief towards Almighty God, I will rehearse unto you in a firm faith the articles of my creed." And then he began to rehearse them in order, as they be in the common Creed, with oft elevating his eyes and hands to Almighty God; and at the article of Christ's incarnation, having a little meditation in himself, and coming to the word crucified, he humbly bowed himself, and made great reverence, and then proceeded in the articles; and coming to these words, "I believe the Catholic church," there he paused, and spake these words, "Good people, I must here confess to have offended the church, in preaching once against the prohibition of the same, at a poor cure belonging to Trinity-hall in Cambridge, where I was fellow, earnestly entreated thereunto by the curate and other good people of the parish, shewing, that they had no sermon there of long time before: and so in my conscience moved, I did make a poor collation unto them, and thereby ran into the disobedience of certain authority in the church, by whom I was prohibited; howbeit, I trust at the general day, charity, that moved me to this act, shall bear me out at the judgment-seat of God:" and so he proceeded on, without any manner of words of recantation, or charging any man for procuring his death.

This once done, he put off his gown, and went to the stake, and kneeling upon a little ledge coming out of the stake, whereon he should afterwards stand to be better seen, he made his private prayer with such earnest elevation of his eyes and hands to heaven, and in so good quiet behaviour, that he seemed not much to consider the terror of his death, and ended at the last his private prayers with the 143d psalm, beginning, "Hear my prayer, O Lord; consider my desire." And the next verse he repeated in deep meditation thrice. "And enter not into judgment with thy servant; for in thy sight shall no man living be justified." And so finishing that psalm, he ended his private prayers.

After that, he turned himself to the officers, asking them if they were ready; and they answered, Yea. Whereupon he put off his jacket and doublet, and stood in his hose and shirt, and went unto the stake, standing upon that ledge, and the chain was cast about him; and standing thereon, the said Dr. Warner came to him to bid him farewell, but spoke but few words for weeping. Unto whom the said Thomas Bilney did most gently smile, and inclined his body to speak to him a few words of thanks, and the last were these: "O, master doctor, feed your flock, feed your flock! that when the Lord cometh, he may find you so doing: and farewell, good master doctor, and pray for me;" and so he departed without any answer, sobbing and weeping.

And while he thus stood upon the ledge at the stake, certain friars, doctors, and priors of their houses, being there present, (as they were uncharitably and maliciously present at his examination and degradation, &c.) came to him, and said, "O, master Bilney, the people be persuaded that we be the causes of your death, and that we have procured the same; and thereupon it is like that they will withdraw their charitable alms from us all, except you declare your charity



towards us, and discharge us of the matter." Whereupon the said Thomas Bilney spake with a loud voice to the people, and said, "I pray you, good people, be never the worse to these men for my sake, as though they should be the authors of my death; it was not they." And so he ended.

Then the officers put reeds and faggots about his body, and set fire on the reeds, which made a very great flame, which sparked and deformed the appearance of his face, he holding up his hands, and knocking upon his breast, crying sometimes "Jesus," and sometimes "Credo." Which flame was blown away from him by the violence of the wind, (which was that day, and two or three days before, notably great; in which it was said, that the fields were marvellously plagued by the loss of corn;) and so for a little pause he stood without flame, the flame departing and recouring thrice ere the wood took strength to be sharper to consume; and then he gave up the ghost, and his body being withered, bowed down upon the chain. Then one of the officers with his halbert smote out the staple in the stake behind him, and suffered his body to fall into the bottom of the fire, laying wood on it; and so he was consumed.

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#### SOME ACCOUNT OF THE SUPPRESSION OF THE MONASTERIES BY HENRY VIII. AND THE REASON WHICH INDUCED HIM TO CAST OFF HIS SUBJECTION TO THE ROMAN PONTIFF.

THE part which Henry VIII. took in the Reformation, is generally known: but the motives, which led him to act that part, have seldom been laid before the public. It cannot be attributed to his love of religion; for he was a monster of iniquity: nor can it be attributed to his hatred to the pope; for though that might have operated as one cause, it was not the grand and primary one, for he was still a Papist at heart. A desire to possess himself of immense power and riches was that which dictated all the measures he made use of; it was that which led him to suppress the monasteries, to proclaim himself Head of the Church, and thus erect a petty popedom in the British dominions. But what awakened this ambition in the breast of the English monarch? It appears to owe its rise solely to that curious and interesting pamphlet written by a person of the name of Fish, about the year 1527, entitled *The Supplication of Beggars*; the whole of which, with some account of its author, and the means by which it came into the king's hands, are here circumstantially related from Mr. Fox's Acts and Monuments, vol. 2. p. 228, &c.

This work led Henry, in the 27th year of his reign, to dissolve all the lesser monasteries not having £200 per annum, of which there were above 370; and to seize on all their lands, rents, and houses, with their stock of cattle, corn, utensils, &c. In the 31st year of his reign, all the great abbeyes, to the number of 645, had the same fate. And in the 37th year, 90 colleges, 110 hospitals, and 2374 chantries and free chapels, were granted by the parliament, at the king's desire, to supply his necessities; besides the houses, lands, and goods, of the knights of Jerusalem, which he had suppressed in the 32d year of his reign. Reader, behold from the following account, what a great matter a little fire kindleth.

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#### *The Story of Mr. Simon Fish.*

Before the time of master Bilney, and the fall of cardinal Wolsey, I should have placed the Story of *Simon Fish*, with the book called *The Supplication of Beggars*; declaring by

what means it came to the king's hand, and what effect thereof followed after, in the reformation of many things, especially of the clergy. But the missing of a few years in this matter breaketh no great square in our story, though it be now entered here, which should have come in six years before. The manner and circumstance of the matter is as follows:

After that the light of the gospel, working mightily in Germany, began to spread its beams here also in England, great stir and alteration followed in the hearts of many; so that coloured hypocrisy, false doctrine, and painted holiness, began to be discerned more and more by the reading of God's word. The authority of the bishop of Rome, and the glory of his cardinals, were not so high but such as had the light of God's grace began to discern Christ from Antichrist; that is, true sincerity from counterfeit religion. In the number of whom was the said Mr. Simon Fish, a gentleman of Gray's inn.

It happened the first year that this gentleman came to London to dwell, which was about the year of our Lord 1525, that there was a certain play or interlude made by one Mr. Roo, of the same inn, gentleman, in which play was some matter against Cardinal Wolsey. And where none durst take upon them to play that part which touched the said cardinal, this aforesaid Mr. Fish took upon him to do it. Whereupon great displeasure ensued against him upon the cardinal's part, insomuch, as he being pursued by the said cardinal, the same night that this tragedy was played was compelled to leave his own house, and so fled over the sea to Tindal. Upon occasion whereof, the next year following this book was made, being about the year 1527; and so not long after, in the year, as I suppose, 1528, was sent over to the lady Ann Bullen, who then lay at a place not far from the court. Which book her brother seeing in her hand, took it and read it, and gave it to her again, willing her earnestly to give it to the king; which she did.

This was, as I gather, about the year of our Lord 1528. The king after he had received the book, demanded of her who had made it? Whereunto she answered, and said, "A certain subject of his, one Fish, who was fled out of the realm for fear of the cardinal." After the king had kept the book in his bosom three or four days, as is credibly reported, such knowledge was given by his servants to the wife of the said Simon Fish, that she might boldly send for her husband without all peril or danger. Whereupon she thereby being encouraged, came first and made suit to the king for the safe return of her husband; who understanding whose wife she was, shewed a marvellous gentle and cheerful countenance towards her, asking where her husband was. She answered, "If it like your grace, not far off." Then (said he) fetch him, and he shall come and go safe without peril, and no man shall do him harm. Saying, moreover, that he had much wrong that he was from her so long; who had been absent now the space of two years and a half. In which time the cardinal was deposed, and Mr. More sat in his place of the chancellor.

Thus Fish's wife being emboldened by the king's words, went immediately to her husband, being lately come over, and lying privily within a mile of the court, and brought him to the king; which appeareth to be about the year of our Lord 1530. When the king saw him, and understood he was the author of the book, he came and embraced him with a loving countenance; who after long talk for the space of three or four hours, as they were riding together on hunting, at length dismissed him, and bade him take home his wife, for she had taken great pains for him. Who answered,



the king again, and said, he durst not do so, for fear of Sir Thomas More, then chancellor, and Stokesley, then bishop of London.

The king taking the signet off his finger, willed to have him recommended to the lord-chancellor, charging him not to be so hardy to work him any harm. Master Fish, receiving the king's signet, went and declared his message to the lord-chancellor, who took it as sufficient for his own discharge; but he asked him if he had any thing for the discharge of his wife, (for she a little before had by chance displeased the friars, for not suffering them to say their gospels in Latin in her house, as they did in others, unless they would say it in English.) Whereupon the lord-chancellor, though he had discharged the man, yet not leaving his grudge towards the wife, the next morning sent his man for her to appear before him; who, had it not been for her young daughter, who then lay sick of the plague, had been like to come to much trouble.

Of which plague her husband, the said Mr. Fish, died within half a year, and she was afterwards married to one Mr. James Bainham, Sir Alexander Bainham's son, a worshipful knight of Gloucestershire; which Mr. James Bainham not long after was burned, as shall shortly appear.

There is another note, of one *Edmund Moddis*, the king's footman, touching the same matter:

This master Moddis being with the king in talk of religion, and of the new books that were come from beyond the seas, said, "If it might please his grace to pardon him, and such as he would bring to his grace, he should see such a book as was marvellous to hear of." The king demanded who they were? He said, 'Two of your merchants, George Elyot and George Robinson. The king also appointed a time to speak with them. When they came before his presence in a privy closet, he demanded what they had to say, or to shew him? One of them said, "That there was a book come to their hands, which they had there to shew his grace." When he saw it, he demanded if any of them could read it? "Yea," said George Elyot, "if it please your grace to hear it."—"I thought so," (said the king,) "for if need were, thou canst say it without book."

The whole book being read out, the king made a long pause, and then said, "If a man should pull down an old stone wall, and begin at the lower part, the upper part thereof might chance to fall upon his head." And then he took the book, and put into his desk, and commanded them, upon their allegiance, that they should not tell to any man that he had seen the book, &c. The following is a copy of the aforesaid book:

*A certain Book, entitled, "THE SUPPLICATION OF BEGGARS, scattered about at the Procession in Westminster, on Candlemas Day, before King HENRY VIII. made and compiled by Mr. Fish.*

*To the King our Sovereign Lord,*

MOST lamentably complaineth their woful misery unto your highness, your poor daily beadmen, the wretched hideous monsters, on whom scarcely for horror any eye dare look, the foul unhappy sort of lepers, and other sore people, needy, impotent, blind, lame, and sick, that live only by alms, how that their number is daily so sore increased, that all the alms of all the well-disposed people of this your realm is not half enough for to sustain them, but that for very constraint they die for hunger. And this most pestilent mischief is come upon your said poor beadmen, by the reason that there

is, in the times of your noble predecessors passed, craftily crept into this your realm, another sort, not of impotent, but of strong and counterfeit holy, and idle beggars and vagabonds, which, since the time of their first entry, by all the craft and wiliness of Satan, are now increased under your sight, not only into a great number, but also into a kingdom.

These are not the shepherds, but ravenous wolves going in sheep's clothing, devouring the flock,—bishops, abbots, priors, deacons, archdeacons, suffragans, priests, monks, canons, friars, pardoners, and sumners. And who is able to number this idle ravenous sort, which setting all labour aside, have begged so importunately, that they have gotten into their hands, more than the third part of all your realm! The goodliest lordships, manors, lands, and territories, are theirs; besides this, they have the tenth part of all the corn, meadow, pasture, grass, wood, colts, calves, lambs, pigs, geese, and chickens. Over and besides, the tenth part of every servant's wages, the tenth part of wool, milk, honey, wax, cheese, and butter; yea, and they look so narrowly upon their profits, that the poor wives must be accountable to them for every tenth egg, or else she getteth not her rights at Easter, and shall be taken as an heretic. Hereto have they their four offering days. What money pull they in by probates of testaments, privy tithes, and by men's offerings to their pilgrimages, and at their first masses! Every man and child that is buried must pay somewhat for masses and dirges, to be sung for him, or else they will accuse their friends and executors of heresy. What money get they by mortuaries, by hearing of confessions, by hallowing of churches, altars, super-altars, chapels, and bells, by cursing of men, and absolving them again for money! What a multitude of money gather the pardoners in a year! How much money get the sumners by extortion in a year, by citing the people to the commissary's court, and afterwards releasing them for money? Finally, the infinite number of begging friars, what get they in a year!

Here, if it please your grace to mark, you shall see a thing far out of joint. There are within your realm of England 52,000 parish churches. And this standing, that there be but 10 households in every parish, yet are there 520,000 households. And of every of these households, hath every of the five orders of friars a penny a quarter for every order; that is, for all the five orders, five pence a quarter for every house; that is, for all the five orders, 20 pence a year of every house. *Summa*, five hundred and twenty thousand quarters of angels, that is, 260,000 half angels. *Summa*, 130,000 angels. *Summa totalis*, 430,333 pounds 6 shillings and 8 pence sterling.—Whereof not 100 years passed they had not one penny.

O, grievous, and painful exaction, thus yearly to be paid; from which the people of your noble predecessors, the kings of the ancient Britons, ever stood free! And this will they have, or else they will procure him that will not give it to them to be taken as an heretic. What tyrant ever oppressed the people like this cruel and vengeable generation! What subjects shall be able to help their prince, that be after this fashion yearly polled! What good Christian people can be able to succour us, poor lepers, blind, sore, and lame, that be thus yearly oppressed! Is it any marvel that your people so complain of poverty? Is it any marvel that the taxes, fifteenths, and subsidies, that your grace most tenderly, of great compassion, hath taken among your people to defend them from the threatened ruin of their commonwealth, have been so slothfully, yea, painfully, levied, seeing almost the uttermost penny that might have been levied, hath been gathered before yearly by this ravenous insatiable generation?

Neither the Danes nor the Saxons, in the time of the ancient Britons, should ever have been able to have brought their armies from so far hither into your land, to have conquered it, if they had at that time such a sort of idle gluttons to feed at home. The noble king Arthur had never been able to have carried his army to the foot of the mountains, to resist the coming down of Lucius the emperor, if such yearly exactions had been taken of his people. The Greeks had never been able to have continued so long at the siege of Troy, if they had had at home such an idle sort (number) of cormorants to feed. The ancient Romans had never been able to have put all the whole world under their obeisance, if their people had been thus yearly oppressed. The Turk now in your time should never have been able to get so much ground of Christendom, if he had in his empire such a sort of locusts to devour his substance. Lay then these sums to the aforesaid third part of the possessions of the realm, that ye may see whether it draw nigh unto the half of the whole substance of the realm, or no; so shall ye find that it draweth very far above.

Now let us then compare the number of this unkind idle sort, unto the number of lay-people, and we shall see whether it be indifferently shifted, or not, that they should have half. Compare them to the number of men, so are they not the hundredth person. Compare them to men, women, and children, so are they not the four-hundredth person in number. One part, therefore, into four hundred parts divided, were too much for them, except they did labour. What an unequal burden is it, that they have half with the multitude, and are not the four-hundredth person of their number! What tongue is able to tell, that ever there was any commonwealth so sore oppressed since the world first began!

And what doth all this greedy sort of sturdy, idle, holy thieves, with these yearly exactions that they take of the people? Truly nothing, but exempt themselves from the obedience of your grace. Nothing but transmute all rule, power, lordship, authority, obedience, and dignity, from your grace unto them. Nothing but that all your subjects should fall into disobedience and rebellion against your grace, and be under them, as they did unto you noble predecessor, king John; which because that he would have punished certain traitors that had conspired with the French king, to have deposed him from his crown and dignity, (among the which a clerk called Stephen, whom afterward against the king's will the pope made bishop of Canterbury, was one,) interdicted his land. For the which matter your most noble realm wrongfully (alas, for shame!) hath stood tributary, not unto any kind of temporal prince, but unto a cruel devilish blood-sucker, drunken in the blood of the saints and martyrs of Christ ever since.

Here were an holy sort of prelates, that thus cruelly could punish such a righteous king, all his realm, and succession, for doing right! Here were a charitable sort of holy men, that could thus interdict a whole realm, and pluck away the obedience of the people from their natural liege lord and king, for none other cause but for his righteousness! Here were a blessed sort, not of meek shepherds, but of blood-suckers, that could set the French king upon such a righteous prince, to cause him to lose his crown and dignity, to make effusion of the blood of his people, unless this good and blessed king, of great compassion, more fearing and lamenting the shedding of the blood of his people than the loss of his crown and dignity, against all right and conscience, submitted himself unto them!

O, case most horrible, that ever so noble a king, realm, and succession, should thus be made to stoop to such a sort

of blood-suckers! Where was his sword, power, crown, and dignity, whereby he might have done justice in this matter? Where was their obedience, that should have been subject under his high power in this matter? yea, where was the obedience of all his subjects, that for maintenance of the commonwealth should have holpen him manfully to have resisted these blood-suckers, to the shedding of their blood? Was it not altogether by their policy translated from this good king unto them?

Yea, and what do they more?—Truly nothing, but apply themselves, by all the sleights they may, to have to do with every man's wife, every man's daughter, and every man's maid; that cuckoldry and bawdry should reign over all among your subjects, that no man should know his own child, that their bastards might inherit the possessions of every man, to put the right begotten children clean besides their inheritance, in subversion of all estates and godly order. These be they, that by their abstaining from marriage do hinder the generation of the people, whereby all the realm at length, if it should be continued, shall be made desert and uninhabited.

These be they that have made an hundred thousand idle whores in your realm, which would have gotten their living honestly, in the sweat of their faces, had not their superfluous riches enticed them to unclean lust and idleness. These be they that corrupt the whole generation of mankind in your realm; that catch the foul disease of one woman, and bear it unto another; that be burnt with one woman, and bear it unto another; that catch the leprosy of one woman, and bear it unto another. Yea, some one of them shall boast among his fellows, that he hath meddled with an hundred women. These be they that, when they have once drawn men's wives to such incontinency, spend away their husbands' goods, make the women to run away from their husbands, yea, run away themselves both with wife and goods, bringeth both man, wife, and children, to idleness, theft, and beggary. Yea, who is able to number the great and broad bottomless ocean sea, full of evils, that this mischievous and sinful generation may lawfully bring upon us unpunished!

Where is your sword, power, crown, and dignity, that should punish by punishment of death, even as other men are punished, the felonies, rapes, murders, and treasons, committed by this sinful generation? Where is their obedience, that should be under your high power in this matter? Is it not altogether translated, and exempt from your grace unto them? Yes, truly, what an infinite number of people might have been increased to have peopled the realm, if this sort of folk had been married like other men! What breach of matrimony is there brought in by them; such truly as was never since the world began, among the whole multitude of the heathen! Who is she who will set her hands to work, to get three pence a day, and may have at least twenty pence a day to sleep an hour with a friar, a monk, or a priest? What is he that would labour for a groat a day, and may have at least twelve pence a day to be bawd to a priest, a monk, or a friar? What a sort are there of them that marry priests' sovereign ladies, but to cloak the priests' incontinency, and that they may have a living of the priests themselves for their labour? How many thousands doth such lubricity bring to beggary, theft, and idleness, which should have kept their good name, and have set themselves to work, had not been this excessive treasure of the spirituality? What honest man dare take any man or woman into his service, that hath been at such a school with a spiritual man?

O, the grievous shipwreck of the commonwealth, which

in ancient time, before the coming of these ravenous wolves, was so prosperous, that then there were but few thieves; yea, theft at that time was so rare, that Cæsar was not compelled to make penalty of death upon felony, as your grace may well perceive in his institutes. There was also at that time but few poor people, and yet they did not beg, but there was given them enough unasked, for there was at that time none of these ravenous wolves to ask it from them; as it appeareth in the Acts of the Apostles. Is it any marvel though there be now so many beggars, thieves, and idle people? Nay, truly. What remedy? Make laws against them! I am in doubt whether ye be able. Are they not stronger in your own parliament-house than yourself? What a number of bishops, abbots, and priors, are lords of your parliament! Are not all the learned men of your realm in fee with them, to speak in your parliament-house for them, against your crown, dignity, and commonwealth of your realm, a few of your own learned council only excepted? What law can be made against them, that may be available? Who is he (though he be grieved very sore) that for the murder of his ancestor, ravishment of his wife, of his daughter, robbery, trespass, maim, debt, or any other offence, dare lay it to their charge by any way of action? And if he do, then is he by and by, by their wiliness, accused of heresy; yea, they will so handle him ere he pass, that except he will bear a faggot for their pleasure, he shall be excommunicated, and then be all his actions dashed.

So captive are your laws unto them, that no man whom they list to excommunicate, may be admitted to sue any action in any of your courts. If any man in your sessions dare be so hardy to indict a priest of any such crime, he hath, ere the year go out, such a yoke of heresy laid on his neck, that it maketh him wish he had not done it. Your grace may see what a work there is in London; how the bishop rageth for indicting of certain curates of extortion and incontinency, the last year, in the wardmote quest. Had not Richard Hunn, lately burnt for heresy, (see page 169,) commenced an action of *præmunire* against a priest, he had been yet alive, and no heretic at all, but an honest man. Did not divers of your noble progenitors, seeing their crown and dignity run into ruin, and to be thus craftily translated into the hands of this mischievous generation, make divers statutes for the reformation thereof, among which the statute of mortmain was one, to the intent that after that time they should have no more given unto them? But what availeth it? Have they not gotten into their hands more lands since, than any duke in England hath, the statute notwithstanding? Yea, have they not for all that translated into their hands, from your grace, half your kingdom thoroughly, the only name remaining to you for your ancestors' sake? So you have the name, and they the profit. Yea, I fear, if I should weigh all things to the utmost, they would also take the name to them, and of one kingdom make twain; the Spiritual Kingdom, as they call it, (for they will be named first,) and your Temporal Kingdom. And which of these two kingdoms, suppose you, is like to overgrow the other, yea, to put the other clean out of memory? Truly, the kingdom of the blood-suckers, for to them is given daily out of your kingdom; and that which is once given them, never cometh from them again: such laws have they, that none of them may either give or sell any thing. What law can be made so strong against them, that they, either with money, or else with other policy, will not break or set at nought? What kingdom can endure, that ever giveth thus from him, and receiveth nothing again? O, how all the substance of your realm, your sword, power, crown, dignity, and obedience of your people, runneth head-

long into the unsatiable whirlpool of these greedy gulfs, to be swallowed and devoured!

Neither have they any other colour to gather these yearly exactions into their hands, but that they say they pray for us to God, to deliver our souls out of the pains of purgatory; without whose prayers, they say, or at least without the pope's pardon, we could never be delivered thence. Which if it be true, then it is good reason that we give them all these things, although it were an hundred times as much. But there be many men of great literature and judgment, that for the love they have unto the truth, and unto the commonwealth, have not feared to put themselves into the greatest infamy that may be, in abjection of all the world, yea, in peril of death, to declare their opinion in this matter; which is, that there is no purgatory, but that it is a thing invented by the covetousness of the spirituality, only to translate all kingdoms from other princes unto them, and that there is not one word spoken of it in all the holy scripture. They say also, that if there were a purgatory, and also if that the pope with his pardons may for money deliver one soul thence, he may deliver him as well without money; if he may deliver one, he may deliver a thousand; if he may deliver a thousand, he may deliver them all, and so destroy purgatory; and then he is a cruel tyrant, without all charity, if he keep them there in prison and in pain till men will give him money.

Likewise say they of all the whole sort of the spirituality, That if they will pray for no man, but for them that give them money, they are tyrants, and lack charity, and suffer those souls to be punished and pained uncharitably for lack of their prayers. This sort of folks they call heretics, these they burn, these they rage against, put to open shame, and make them bear faggots; but whether they be heretics, or no, well I wot that this purgatory, and the pope's pardons, are all the cause of the translation of your kingdom so fast into their hands. Wherefore it is manifest it cannot be of Christ; for he gave more to the temporal kingdom, he himself paid tribute to Cæsar, he took nothing from him, but taught that the high powers should be always obeyed; yea, himself, although he were most free Lord of all, and innocent, was obedient to the high powers unto death. This is the great reason why they will not let the New Testament go abroad in your mother-tongue, lest men should espy that they, by their cloaked hypocrisy, do translate thus fast your kingdom into their hands; that they are not obedient unto your high power; that they are cruel, unclean, unmerciful, and hypocrites; that they seek not the honour of Christ, but their own; that remission of sins is not given by the pope's pardon, but by Christ, for the sure faith and trust that we have in him.

Here may your grace well perceive, that except you suffer their hypocrisy to be disclosed, all is like to run into their hands; and as long as it is covered, so long shall it seem to every man to be a great impiety not to give them. For this I am sure your grace thinketh, as the truth is, I am as good a man as my father; why may I not as well give them as much as my father did? And of this mind, I am sure, are all the lords, knights, squires, gentlemen, and yeomen, in England; yea, and until it be disclosed, all your people will think that your statute of mortmain was never made with any good conscience, seeing that it taketh away the liberty of your people, in that they may not as lawfully buy their souls out of purgatory, by giving to the spirituality, as their predecessors did in time past.

Wherefore, if ye will eschew the ruin of your crown and dignity, let their hypocrisy be uttered, and that shall be more speedful in this matter than all the laws that may be made,

be they never so strong; for to make a law to punish any offender, except it were more to give other men an example to beware how they commit such like offences, what should it avail? Did not Dr. Alen most presumptuously now in your time, against his allegiance, all that ever he could, to pull from you the knowledge of such pleas as belong unto your high courts, unto another court, in derogation of your crown and dignity? Did not also Dr. Hersey, and his accomplices, most heinously, as all the world knoweth, murder in prison that honest merchant, Richard Hunn, for that he sued your writ of *premunire* against a priest that wrongfully held him in plea in a spiritual court, for a matter whereof the knowledge belongeth unto your high courts? And what punishment was there done, that any man may take example of, to beware of like offence? Truly none, but that the one paid five hundred pounds, as it is said, to the building of your chamber; and when that payment was once passed, the captains of his kingdom, because he fought so manfully against your crown and dignity, have heaped to him benefice upon benefice, so that he is rewarded ten times as much. The other, as it is said, paid six hundred pounds for him and his accomplices; which, because that he had likewise fought so manfully against your crown and dignity, was immediately, as he had obtained your most gracious pardon, promoted by the captains of the kingdom with benefice upon benefice, to the value of four times as much. Who can take example of punishment, to beware of such like offence? Who is he of their kingdom, that will not rather take courage to commit like offence, seeing the promotions that fell to these men for their so offending? So weak and blunt is your sword to strike at one of the offenders of this crooked and perverse generation!

And this is by reason that the chief instrument of your law, yea, the chief of your council, and he which hath your sword in his hand, to whom also all the other instruments are obedient, is always a spiritual man, which hath ever such an inordinate love unto his own kingdom, that he will maintain that, though all the temporal kingdoms and commonwealths of the world should therefore utterly be undone. Here leave we out the greatest matter of all, lest that we declaring such an horrible carrion of evil against the ministers of iniquity, should seem to declare the one only fault, or rather the ignorance of our best beloved minister of righteousness, which is to be hid till he may be learned, by these small enormities that we have spoken of, to know it plainly himself.

But what remedy to relieve us, your poor sick, lame, and sore headmen? To make many hospitals for the relief of the poor people? Nay, truly. The more the worse: for ever the fat of the whole foundation hangeth on the priests' beards. Divers of your noble predecessors, kings of this realm, have given lands to monasteries, to give a certain sum of money yearly to the poor people, whereof for the ancient of the time they give never one penny. They have likewise given to them, to have a certain number of masses said daily for them, whereof they say never a one. If the abbot of Westminster should sing every day as many masses for his founders, as he is bound to do by his foundation, a thousand monks were too few. Wherefore if your grace will build a sure hospital that never shall fail, to relieve us all, your poor headmen, then take from them all these things. Set these sturdy loobies abroad in the world to get them wives of their own, to get their living with their labour in the sweat of their faces, according to the commandment of God, (Genesis the first,) to give other idle people, by their example, occasion to go to labour.

Tie these holy idle thieves to the carts, to be whipped naked about every market town till they fall to labour, that they by their importunate begging take not away the alms that the good Christian people would give unto us, sore, impotent, miserable people, your headmen. Then shall as well the number of your aforesaid monstrous sort, as of the bawds, whores, thieves, and idle people, decrease. Then shall these great yearly exactions cease. Then shall not your sword, power, crown, dignity, and obedience of your people, be translated from you. Then shall you have full obedience of your people. Then shall the idle people be set to work. Then shall matrimony be much better kept. Then shall the generation of your people be increased. Then shall your commons increase in riches. Then shall the gospel be preached. Then shall none beg our alms from us. Then shall we have enough, and more than shall suffice us; which shall be the best hospital that ever was founded for us. Then shall we daily pray to God for your most noble estate long to endure.

After that the clergy of England, and especially the cardinal, understood these books of the Beggars' Supplication, aforesaid, to be strewn abroad in the streets of London, and also before the king, the said cardinal caused not only his servants diligently to gather them up, that they should not come into the king's hands, but also, when he understood that the king had received one or two of them, he came unto the king's majesty, saying, "If it shall please your grace, here are divers seditious persons which have scattered abroad books containing manifest errors and heresies;" desiring his grace to beware of them. Whereupon the king, putting his hand in his bosom, took out one of the books, and delivered it unto the cardinal. Then the cardinal, together with his bishops, consulted how they might provide a speedy remedy for this mischief, and thereupon determined to give out a commission to forbid the reading of all English books, and namely, this Book of Beggars, and the New Testament of Tindal's translation; which was done out of hand by Cuthbert Tonsal, bishop of London, who sent out his prohibition unto his archdeacons with all speed, for the forbidding of that book and divers other more; the tenor of which prohibition here followeth:

*A Prohibition sent out by Cuthbert Tonsal, bishop of London, to the Archdeacons of his diocese, for the calling in of the New Testaments translated into English, with divers other books; the catalogue whereof hereafter ensueth.*

"Cuthbert, by the permission of God, bishop of London, unto our well-beloved in Christ, the archdeacon of London, or to his official; health, grace, and benediction. By the duty of our pastoral office, we are bound diligently with all our power to foresee, provide for, root out, and put away, all those things which seem to tend to the peril and danger of our subjects, and specially the destruction of their souls. Wherefore, we having understanding, by the report of divers credible persons, and also by the evident appearance of the matter, that many children of iniquity, maintainers of Luther's sect, blinded through extreme wickedness, wandering from the way of truth, and the Catholic faith, craftily have translated the New Testament into our English tongue, intermeddling therewith many heretical articles and erroneous opinions, pernicious and offensive, seducing the simple people, attempting by their wicked and perverse interpretations to profanate the majesty of the scripture, which hitherto hath remained undefiled, and craftily to abuse the most holy word of God, and the true sense of the same; of the which trans-

lation there are many books imprinted, some with glosses, and some without, containing in the English tongue that pestiferous and most pernicious poison dispersed throughout all our diocese of London in great number; which truly, without it be foreseen, without doubt will contaminate and infect the flock committed unto us with most deadly poison and heresy, to the grievous peril and danger of the souls committed to our charge, and the offence of God's divine majesty:—Wherefore we, Cuthbert, the bishop aforesaid, grievously sorrowing for the premises, willing to withstand the craft and subtlety of the ancient enemy and his ministers, which seek the destruction of my flock, and with a diligent care to take heed unto the flock committed to my charge, desiring to provide speedy remedies for the premises, do charge you jointly and severally, and by virtue of your obedience straitly enjoin and command you, that by our authority you warn, or cause to be warned, all and singular, as well exempt as not exempt, dwelling within your archdeacons'ries, that within thirty days' space, whereof ten days shall be for the first, ten for the second, and ten for the third and peremptory term, under pain of excommunication, and incurring the suspicion of heresy, they do bring in, and really deliver unto our vicar-general, all and singular such books as contain the translation of the New Testament in the English tongue; and that you do certify us, or our said commissary, within two months after the day of the date of these presents, duly, personally, or by your letters, together with these presents, under your seals, what you have done in the premises, under pain of contempt.

“Given under our seal, the three-and-twentieth of October, in the fifth year of our consecration, anno 1526.”

The like commission in like manner and form was sent to the other three archdeacons of Middlesex, Essex, and Colchester, for the execution of the same matter under the bishop's seal.

*The Names of the Books that were forbidden at this time, together with the New Testament.*

The Supplication of Beggars.  
The Revelation of Antichrist, of Luther.  
The New Testament of Tindal.  
The Wicked Mammon.  
The Obedience of a Christian Man.  
An Introduction to Paul's Epistle to the Romans.  
A Dialogue betwixt the Father and the Son.  
Oeconomica Christiana.  
Unio dissidentium.  
Piæ Precationes.  
Captivitas Babylonica.  
Johannes Huss in Oseam.  
Zuinglius in Catabaptistas.  
De Pueris instituendis.  
Brentius de administranda Republica.  
Luther ad Galatas.  
De Libertate Christiana.  
Luther's Exposition upon the Pater Noster.

Besides these books here before mentioned, within a short time after there were a great number more of other books in like manner prohibited by the king's proclamation, through the bishop's procurement, anno 1529. The catalogue whereof, with the names and the authors, may be seen in Fox, vol. 2. p. 234.

The New Testament, in the catalogue above recited, began first to be translated by William Tindal, and so came

forth in print about the year of our Lord 1529, wherewith Cuthbert Tonstal, bishop of London, with Sir Thomas More, being sore aggrieved, devised how to destroy that false erroneous translation, as he called it. It happened that one Augustine Packington, a mercer, was then at Antwerp, where the bishop was. This man favoured Tindal, but shewed the contrary unto the bishop. The bishop being desirous to bring his purpose to pass, told him that he would gladly buy up all those New Testaments. Packington, hearing this, said, “My lord, I can do more in this matter than most merchants that be here, if it be your pleasure; for I know the Dutchmen and strangers that have bought them of Tindal, and have them here to sell; so that if it be your lordship's pleasure, I must disburse money to pay for them, or else I cannot have them; and so I will assure you to have every book of them that is printed and unsold.” The bishop, thinking he had God by the toe, said, “Do your diligence, gentle master Packington, to get them for me, and I will pay you whatsoever they cost; for I intend to burn them all at Paul's cross.” Then Packington went unto William Tindal, and declared the whole matter; and so, upon compact made between them, the bishop of London had the books, Packington had the thanks, and Tindal the money.

After this, Tindal corrected the same New Testaments again, and caused them to be newly imprinted, so that they came thick and threefold over into England. When the bishop perceived that, he sent for Packington, and said to him, “How cometh this, that there are so many New Testaments abroad? You promised me that you would buy them all.” Then answered Packington, “Surely I bought all that were to be had. But I perceive they have printed more since. I see it will never be better so long as they have letters and stamps: wherefore you were best to buy the stamps too, and so you shall be sure.” At which answer the bishop smiled, and so the matter ended.

A short time after, it happened that *George Constantine* was apprehended by Sir Thomas More, who was then chancellor of England, suspected of certain heresies during the time that he was in the custody of master More. After divers communications, amongst other things master More asked of him, saying, “Constantine, I would have thee be plain with me in one thing that I will ask, and I promise thee I will shew thee favour in all other things whereof thou art accused. There is beyond the sea, Tindal, Joy, and a great many of you; I know they cannot live without help. There are some that help and succour them with money, and thou being one of them, hadst thy part thereof, and therefore knowest from whence it came. I pray thee tell me, who be they that help them thus?” “My lord,” quoth Constantine, “I will tell you truly; it is the bishop of London that hath holpen us, for he hath bestowed among us a great deal of money upon New Testaments, to burn them, and that hath been, and yet is, our only succour and comfort.” “Now by my troth, (quoth More,) I think even the same; for so much I told the bishop before he went about it.”

The books which in this proclamation generally are restrained and forbidden, be afterward in the register more especially named by the bishops. Whereof the most part were in Latin, and some were in English, as these and others before-mentioned.

#### *Catalogue.*

A Disputation between the Father and the Son.  
A Book of the old God and new.  
Godly Prayers.  
The Christian State of Matrimony.



The Burying of the Mass.

The Sum of the Scripture.

Matins and Even-song, Seven Psalms, and other heavenly Psalms, with the Comminations, in English.

An Exposition upon the viith chap. of the first Epistle to the Corinthians.

The Chapters of Moses, called Genesis.

The Chapters of Moses, called Deuteronomy.

The Matrimony of Tindal.

David's Psalter, in English.

The Practice of Prelates.

Hoc Lutus Animæ, in English.

A, B, C, against the Clergy.

The Examination of William Thorpe, &c.

Upon this fierce and terrible Proclamation aforesaid, thus devised and set out in the king's name, anno 1525, the bishops, who ware the procurers hereof, had that now which they would have: neither did there lack on their part any study unapplied, any stone unremoved, any corner unsearched, for the diligent execution of the same. Whereupon ensued a grievous persecution and slaughter of the faithful. Of whom the first that went to wreck was Thomas Bilney, of whom sufficiently before hath been said; and the next was Richard Bayfield, as in the story here followeth.

#### *Martyrdom of RICHARD BAYFIELD.*

FOLLOWING the order of years and of times, as the course of our history requires, next after Thomas Bilney, we have to treat of the martyrdom of *Richard Bayfield*, who in the month of November, 1532, was burned in Smithfield.

This Richard Bayfield, some time a monk of Bury, was converted by Dr. Barns, and two godly men of London, brickmakers, master Maxwell and master Stacy, wardens of their company; who were grafted in the doctrine of Jesus Christ, and through their godly conversation converted many men and women, both in London and in the country; and once a year, at their own cost, went about to visit the brethren and sisters scattered abroad. Dr. Barns at that time much resorted to the abbey of Bury, where Bayfield was, to one Dr. Ruffam, who both had been students at Louvain together. At that time it happened, that this Bayfield, the monk, was chamberlain of the house, to provide lodging for the strangers, and to see them well entertained; who delighted much in Dr. Barns' talk; and at the last, Dr. Barns gave him a new Testament in Latin, and the other two gave him Tindal's Testament in English, with a book, called *The Wicked Mammon*, and *The Obedience of a Christian Man*; wherein he so prospered in two years' space, that he was cast into the prison of his house, there sore whipped, with a gag in his mouth, and then put in the stocks, and so continued in the same torment three-quarters of a year, before Dr. Barns could get him out; which he brought to pass by the means of Dr. Ruffam aforesaid; and so he was committed to Dr. Barns, to go to Cambridge with him. By that time he had been there a good while, he profited so much, that he never returned home again to his abbey, but went to London to Maxwell and Stacy, and they kept him secretly awhile, and so conveyed him beyond the sea; Dr. Barns being then in the Fleet for God's word.

This Bayfield mightily prospered in the knowledge of God, and was beneficial to master Tindal and master Frith; for he brought substance with him, and was their own hand, and sold all their works and the German works, both in France and in England; and at the last coming to London, to Mr.

Smith's house in Bucklesbury, there was he betrayed, and dogged from that house to his bookbinder's in Mark-lane, and there taken, and carried to Lollards' Tower, and from thence to the Coal-house, by reason that one parson Patmore, parson of Muchhaddam, in Essex, then lying in Lollards' Tower, was in the doctrine and in the kingdom of Christ there confirmed by him. This parson Patmore, after long trouble, abjured, and was condemned by the bishops to perpetual prison, and delivered afterwards by the king's pardon. He was taken because he married his priests in those days. He had always corn plenty; and when the markets were very dear, he would send corn thither, to bring down the prices.

This Richard Bayfield, being in the Coal-house, was worse handled than he was before in the Lollards' Tower; for there he was tied both by the neck, middle, and legs, standing upright by the walls, divers times manacled, to accuse others that had bought his books; but he accused none, but stood to his religion and confession of his faith, even unto the very end, and was in the consistory of Paul's thrice put to his trial, whether he would abjure or no. He said he would dispute for his faith; and so did, to their great shame; Stokesley, then being his judge, with the assistance of Winchester and other bishops, whereof here followeth now the circumstance in order to be seen.

The articles laid to Richard Bayfield, by the aforesaid bishops, were these, anno 1531, November 10.

#### *Articles laid to Richard Bayfield.*

First, That he had been many years a monk, professed of the order of St. Bennet, of St. Edmundsbury, in the diocese of Norwich.

2. That he was a priest, and had administered and continued in the same order the space of nine or ten years.

3. That since the feast of Easter last, he being beyond the sea, bought and procured divers and many books and treatises of sundry sorts, as well of Martin Luther's own works, as of divers other of his damnable sect, and of Oecolampadius, the great heretic, both in Latin and English; the names of which books were contained in a little bill written with his own hand.

4. That in the year of our Lord 1528, he was detected, and accused to Cuthbert, then bishop of London, for affirming and holding certain articles contrary to the holy church, and especially that all laud and praise should be given to God alone, and not to saints or creatures.

5. That every priest might preach the word of God, by the authority of the gospel, and not to run to the pope or cardinals for license.

6. That he judicially abjured the said articles before the said bishop, and did renounce and forswear them, and all other articles contrary to the determination of holy church, promising that from thenceforth he would not fall into any of them, nor any other errors.

7. That he made a solemn oath upon a book, and the holy evangelists, to fulfil such penance as should be enjoined him by the said bishop.

8. After this abjuration, it was enjoined to him for penance, that he should go before the cross in procession, in the parish-church of St. Butolphs, at Billingsgate, and to bear a faggot of wood upon his shoulder.

9. It was enjoined him in penance, that he should provide an habit requisite and meet for his order and profession, as shortly as he might, and that he should come or go no where without such an habit: the which he had not fulfilled.

10. That it was likewise enjoined him in penance, that he

should some time before the feast of the Ascension, then next ensuing his abjuration, go home unto the monastery of Bury, and there remain, according to the vow of his profession: which he had not fulfilled.

11. That he was appointed by the said bishop of London, to appear before the said bishop, the five and twentieth day of April next after his abjuration, to receive the residue of his penance: and after his abjuration, he fled beyond the sea, and appeared not.

12. That the twentieth day of June next following his abjuration, he did appear before the said bishop Tonsal, in the chapel of the bishop of Norwich's palace, and there it was newly enjoined him, in part of penance, that he should provide him an habit convenient for his order and profession, within eight days then next following: which he had not done.

13. That it was there again enjoined him, that he should depart from the city, diocese, and jurisdiction of London, and no more to come within it, without the special license of the bishop of London, or his successor for the time being: which he had not fulfilled.

*The Answer of Richard Bayfield to the Articles prefixed.*

To the first article he confessed, that he was professed a monk in the monastery aforesaid, in the year 1514.

To the second article he answered, that he was a priest, and took orders anno 1518.

To the third article he confessed the bill and schedule to be written with his hand, which is annexed therunto, and that he brought over the said books and works a year and a half past, and a great number of every sort. Being further demanded, for what intent he brought them into the realm? he answered, To the intent that the gospel of Christ might be set forward, and God the more glorified in this realm amongst Christian people; and that he had sold and dispersed many of those books before named, to sundry persons within this realm, and to divers of the diocese of London. Being further demanded, whether Martin Luther was condemned as an heretic by the pope? he answered, that he heard say, that Martin, with all his sect and adherents, were and are condemned as heretics by the pope. And being demanded whether Zuinglius was of Luther's sect? he answered, that he never spake with him. Being asked, whether Zuinglius was a Catholic? he answered, that he could not tell. Being inquired whether the books contained in the schedules did contain any errors in them? he said, he could not tell, neither could he judge. Also he confessed, that the common fame hath been within these two or three years, that Oecolampadius and Zuinglius be heretics, also that such as lean to Martin Luther be heretics. Also he confessed, that being beyond the sea, he heard say, before he brought into this realm the books contained in the said bills, that the king had by proclamation prohibited, that no man should bring into this realm any of Martin Luther's books, or of his sect.

Which confession thus ended, the bishop appointed him to appear the next day.

The books which Mr. Bayfield had dispersed in London, and elsewhere, and for doing of which he was condemned, were the following, according to the catalogue made out by the bishop of London:

Martin Luther, Of the Abrogating of the private Mass. The Declarations of Martin Luther upon the Epistles of St. Peter. Luther upon the Epistles of St. Paul and Jude. Luther upon Monastical Vowers. Luther's Commentary

upon the Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians. Johannes Oecolampadius upon the Exposition of these words, *Hoc est corpus meum*. The Annotations of Oecolampadius upon the Epistle of St. Paul unto the Romans. Oecolampadius's Commentary upon the three last Prophets, Haggai, Zachariah, and Malachi. The Sermons of Oecolampadius upon the Catholic Epistles of St. John. A book of Annotations upon Genesis, gathered by Huldricus Zuinglius. The Commentaries of Pomeran upon four chapters of the first Epistle to the Corinthians. Annotations of Pomeran upon Deuteronomy and Samuel. Pomeran upon the Psalms. The Commentaries of Francis Lambert, of Avignon, upon the Gospel of St. Luke. A Congest of all Matters of Divinity by Francis Lambert. The Commentaries of Francis Lambert upon the prophet Joel. The Commentaries of Francis Lambert upon the prophets Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, and Hosea. A new Gloss of Philip Melancthon upon the Proverbs of Solomon. The Commentaries of Philip Melancthon upon the Epistle of St. Paul to the Colossians. The Annotations of Philip Melancthon upon the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans, and upon the Epistle to the Colossians. Solomon's Sentences, translated according to the Hebrew, by Philip Melancthon. Most wholesome Annotations upon the Gospel of Saint Mark, by Christopher Hegendrophinus. The Commentaries of John Brentius upon Job. The Commentary of John Brentius upon Ecclesiastes of Solomon. Homilies of Brentius upon the Gospel of St. John. The Annotations of Andrew Althomarus and Brentius upon the Epistle of St. James. The Commentaries of Bucer upon Zephaniah. Bucer upon the four Evangelists. The Process Consistorial of the Martyrdom of John Huss. A brief Commentary of Martin Luther unto Otho Brunfelsius, as touching the life, doctrine, and martyrdom, of John Huss. Felinus upon the Psalter. His Exposition upon Isaiah. His Exposition upon Jeremiah. Capito upon Hosea. Capito upon Habakkuk. *Unio dissidentium*. The Pandect of Otho. The Catalogue of famous Men. An Answer of Tindal unto sir Thomas More. A Disputation of Purgatory, made by John Frith, in English. A Prologue to the fifth Book of Moses called Deuteronomy; the first Book of Moses, called Genesis. A Prologue to the third Book of Moses, called Leviticus. A Prologue to the fourth book of Moses, called Numbers. A Prologue to the second book of Moses, called Exodus. The Practice of Prelates. The New Testament in English, with an Introduction to the Romans. The Parable of the Wicked Mammon. The Obedience of a Christian Man. A, B, C, of Thorpe. The Sum of Scripture. The Primer, in English. The Psalter in English. A Dialogue betwixt the Gentleman and the Plowman.

*The following is the Sentence of Condemnation pronounced on Mr. Bayfield, by the Bishop of London.*

"In the name of God, Amen. We, John, by the permission of God, bishop of London, rightfully and lawfully proceeding in this behalf, do dismiss thee, Richard Bayfield, alias Somersan, being pronounced by us a relapsed heretic, and degraded by us from all ecclesiastical privilege, out of the ecclesiastical court, pronouncing that the secular power here present should receive thee under their jurisdiction; earnestly requiring and desiring, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that the execution of this worthy punishment to be done upon thee and against thee, in this behalf, may be so moderated, that there be neither overmuch cruelty, neither too much favourable gentleness, but that it may be to the health and salvation of thy soul, and to the extirpation, fear, terror, and conversion of all other heretics, unto the unity of the Catho-

lie faith. This our final decree, by this our sentence definitive, we have caused to be published in form aforesaid."

Then Bayfield said, That he was not culpable in the articles that were objected against him, and desired that the heresies, contained in the books which he brought over, might be declared in open audience. Then the bishop asked him, Whether he could shew any cause why he should not be delivered over unto the secular power, and be pronounced as a relapse, and suffer punishment as a relapse. The said Bayfield declared or propounded no cause, but said, that he brought over those books for lack of money, and not to sow any heresies; and with a vehement spirit, he said unto the bishop of London, The life of you of the spirituality is so evil, that ye be heretics, and ye do not only live evil, but do maintain evil living, and also do prevent what true living is from being known; and said that their living is against Christ's gospel, and that their belief was never taken of Christ's church. Then did the bishop, after long deliberation had, (for so much as the said Richard Bayfield, he said, could shew no cause why he should not be declared as a relapse,) read the decree and sentence against him: by which, amongst other things, he condemned him as an heretic, and pronounced him to be punished with the punishment due unto such as fall again into heresy, and by his words did degrade him, and also declared that he should be actually degraded.

The aforesaid sentence being so read by the bishop of London, he proceeded immediately to the actual and solemn degrading of the said Richard Bayfield, alias Somersau, and there solemnly and actually degraded him before the people; which thing being done, he dismissed him by the sentence aforesaid from the ecclesiastical court. Whereupon the secular power, being there present, received him into their jurisdiction, without any writ in that behalf obtained, but only by virtue of the bishop's letters, by the statute of king Henry IV. in that behalf provided, and directed unto them under the bishop's seal.

And so he was delivered to the sheriffs to carry to Newgate, being commanded to bring him again upon Monday following into Paul's upper quire, there to give attendance upon the bishop of London, with the residue, till they had done with him; and by and by the sheriffs were commanded to have him into the vestry, and then to bring him forth again in Antichrist's apparel, to be degraded before them. When he had degraded him, kneeling upon the highest step of the altar, he took his crosier-staff, and smote him on the breast, that he threw him down backwards, and brake his head, so that he fainted; and when he came to himself again, he thanked God that he was delivered from the malignant church of Antichrist, and that he was come into the true sincere church of Jesus Christ militant here in earth: and I trust anon, said he, to be in heaven with Jesus Christ, and the church triumphant, for ever. And so was he led forth through the quire to Newgate, and there rested about an hour in prayer; and so went to the fire in his apparel manfully and joyfully, and there, for lack of a speedy fire, was half an hour alive; and when the left arm was on fire and burned, he rubbed it with his right hand, till it fell from his body; and he continued quietly in prayer to the end.

[From these deeds of superstition and cruelty, the mind turns with eagerness, to solace itself with a view of the present age of Bibles, Schools, and Missionaries, in this Protestant land:—No priestly tyrant now intercepts the sale of the word of life—it even knocks for *gratuitous* reception at the cabins of the poor; while schools open their doors to teach its use; and missionaries enforce its heavenly doctrines.]

*Martyrdom of JOHN TEWKESBURY, Leather-seller, of London.*

John Tewkesbury was converted by reading Tindal's Testament, and the book entitled The Wicked Mammon. He had also the Bible written out. In all points of religion he openly did dispute in the bishop's chapel in his palace. He was very expert in the doctrine of justification, and all other articles of his faith, and prompt in his answers, in such sort as Toustal and all his learned men were ashamed that a leather-seller should so dispute with them, with such power of the scriptures and heavenly wisdom, that they were not able to resist him. This disputation continued eight days. The process of whose examinations, articles, and answers, here follow, as they are out of the bishop's register extracted.

On Wednesday the 21st day of April, in the year of our Lord 1529, John Tewkesbury was brought into the consistory at London, before Cuthbert, bishop of London, and his assistants, Henry, bishop of St. Asse, and John, abbot of Westminster. Unto whom the bishop of London declared that he had at divers times exhorted him to recant the errors and heresies which he held and defended, even as he did then again exhort him not to trust too much to his own wit and learning, but unto the doctrine of the holy mother the church. Who made answer, that in his judgment he did not err from the doctrine of the holy mother the church. And at the last, being examined upon errors which, they said, were in the said book, called the Wicked Mammon, he answered thus: Take ye the book and read it over, and I think in my conscience ye shall find no fault in it. And being asked by the said bishop, whether he did rather give credit to his book or to the gospel? he answered, that the gospel is and ever hath been true. And, moreover, being particularly examined what he thought of this article, That the Jews of good intent and zeal slew Christ? he answered, Look ye the book through, before and after as it lieth, and ye shall find a better tale in it than ye make of it; and further thought, that whosoever translated the New Testament, and made the book, (meaning the Wicked Mammon,) he did it of good zeal, and by the Spirit of God.

Being further asked by the said bishop of London, whether he would stand to the contents of his book? he answered, Look ye the book before and after, and I will be content to stand upon it. Then being examined, whether that all good works must be done without respect of any thing? he answered, That a man should do good works for the love of God only, and for no hope of any reward higher nor lower in heaven; for if he should, it were presumption. Which things being done, the bishop said further to John Tewkesbury thus: I tell thee, before God, and those which are here present, in examination of my conscience, that the articles above-named, and many other more contained in the same book, are false, heretical, and condemned by the holy church: how thinkest thou? And so asked him again what he thought of those articles. And after many exhortations, he commanded him to answer determinately, under pain of the law; saying further unto him, That if he refused to answer, he must declare him an open and obstinate heretic, according to the order of the law. Which things so done, the bishop asked John Tewkesbury again, whether the said book, called the Wicked Mammon, were good?

To which interrogatory he answered, That he thought in his conscience there is nothing in the book but that which is true. And to this article objected, i. e. That faith only justifieth, without works; he answered, that it is well said

Whereunto the bishop said again, That the articles before objected, with divers other contained in the book, called the Wicked Mammon, were false, erroneous, damnable, and heretical, and reprov'd and condemn'd by the church; and before God, and all those that were present, for the discharge of his conscience, he had often and very gently exhorted the said John Tewkesbury, that he would revoke and renounce his errors; otherwise, if he did intend to persevere in them, he must declare him an heretic, which he would be very sorry to do. These things thus done, the bishop oftentimes offer'd him, that he should choose what spiritual or temporal man he would, to be his counsellor, and gave him time as before to deliberate with himself until the next sitting.

Also, in the same month of April, in the year of our Lord aforesaid, the bishop of London, Cuthbert Tonsal, sitting in the consistory, with Nicholas of Ely, John of Lincoln, and John of Bath and Wells, &c. this John Tewkesbury was brought before them. After certain articles being repeated unto him, the bishop of London brought before him a certain book, called the Wicked Mammon, asking him, whether the book was of the same impression and making, as was his books that he had sold to others? who answered and said, it was the same. Whereupon the bishop of London asking him again, whether the book contained the same error, or no? he answered again, saying, I pray God, that the condemnation of the gospel, and translation of the Testament, be not to your shame, and that you be not in peril for it; for the condemnation of it and of the other is all one.—Further he said, that he had studied the holy scripture by the space of these seventeen years, and as he may see the spots of his face through the glass, so in reading the New Testament he knoweth the faults of his soul.

In the next session, however, he submitted himself, and abjured his opinions, and was enjoined penance as followeth; which was the 8th of May;

Imprimis, That he should keep well his abjuration, under pain of relapse.

Secondly, That the next Sunday following, in Paul's church, in the open procession, he should carry a faggot, and stand at Paul's cross with the same.

That the Wednesday following, he should carry the same faggot about Newgate market and Cheapside.

That on Friday after he should take the same faggot again at St. Peter's church in Cornhill, and carry it about the market of Leadenhall.

That he should have two signs of faggots embroidered; one on his left sleeve, the other on his right, which he should wear all his lifetime, unless he were otherwise dispensed withal.

That on Whitsunday-eve he should enter into the monastery of St. Bartholomew, in Smithfield, and there abide, and not come out, unless he were released by the bishop of London.

That he should not depart out of the city or diocese of London, without the special license of the bishop or his successors. Which penance he entered into the eighth day of May, anno 1529.

And thus much concerning his first examination, which was in the year 1529, at what time he was enforced through infirmity to retract and abjure his doctrine. Notwithstanding, John Tewkesbury, afterwards confirmed by the grace of God, and moved by the example of Bayfield aforesaid, that was burned in Smithfield, did return and constantly abide in the testimony of the truth, and suffered for the same. Two years after, being apprehended again, he was brought before

sir Thomas More and the bishop of London; where certain articles were objected of him, the chief whereof are the following:

Imprimis, That he confessed that he was baptized, and intended to keep the Catholic faith.

Secondly, That he affirmeth, that the abjuration, oath, and subscription, that he made before Cuthbert, late bishop of London, was done by compulsion.

Thirdly, That he had the books of the Obedience of a Christian Man, and of the Wicked Mammon, in his custody, and hath read them since his abjuration.

Fourthly, That he affirmeth, that he suffered the two faggots that were embroidered on his sleeve to be taken from him, for that he deserved not to wear them.

Fifthly, He saith, that faith only justifieth, which worketh by love.

Sixthly, He saith, that Christ is a sufficient mediator for us, and therefore no prayer is to be made unto saints, Whereupon they laid unto him this verse of the anthem, *Salve, Regina, advocata nostra*, &c. "Hail, Queen of heaven, our advocate," &c. To which he answered, that he knew none other advocate but Christ alone.

Seventhly, He affirmeth, that there is no purgatory after this life, but that Christ our Saviour is a sufficient purgation for us.

Eighthly, He affirmeth, that the souls of the faithful, departing this life, rest with Christ.

Ninthly, He affirmeth, that a priest, by receiving of orders, receiveth more grace, if his faith be increased, or else not.

Tenthly, and last of all, He believeth, that the sacrament of the flesh and blood of Christ, is not the very body of Christ, in flesh and blood, as it was born of the Virgin Mary.

Whereupon the bishop's chancellor asked the said Tewkesbury, if he could shew any cause why he should not be taken for an heretic, falling into his heresy again, and receive the punishment of an heretic? Whereunto he answered, That he was wronged before, and if he be condemned now, he reckoneth that he is wronged again.

Then the chancellor caused the articles to be read openly, with the answers unto the same; which the said Tewkesbury confessed; and thereupon the bishop pronounced sentence against him, and delivered him unto the sheriffs of London for the time being, which were Richard Gresham and Edward Altam; who burned him in Smithfield upon St. Thomas's eve, being the 20th of December, in the year 1529.

#### *The Apprehension of one EDWARD FREESE, a Painter.*

Edward Freese was born in York, and was apprentice to a painter in the same city, and by the reason of working for his master in Bearsie abbey, or by some such occasion, was known unto the abbot of the same house; for he was a boy of a pregnant wit, and the abbot favoured him so much that he bought his years of his master, and would have made him a monk. And the lad not liking that kind of living, and not knowing how to get out, because he was a novice, ran away, after a long space, and came to Colchester in Essex; and remaining there according to his former vocation, was married, and lived like an honest man. After he had been there a good time, he was hired to paint certain cloths for an inn in Colchester: and in the upper border of the cloths he wrote certain sentences of scripture; and by that he was plainly known to be one of them which they call heretics.

And on a time, he being, at his work in the same inn, they of that town, when they had seen his work, went about to

take him; and he having some information thereof, thought to shift for himself, but yet was taken forcibly in the yard of the same inn, and after this he was brought to London, and so to Fulham, to the bishop's house, where he was cruelly imprisoned, with certain others of Essex, that is to wit, one Johnson and his wife, Wylie and his wife, and his son,—and father Bate of Rowshedge. They were fed with fine manchet made of saw-dust, or at the least a great part thereof, and were so straitly kept, that their wives and their friends could not come to them. After the painter had been there a long space, by much entreaty he was removed to Lollards' Tower. His wife, while he was at Fulham, being desirous to see her husband, and pressing to come in at the gate, being then big with child, the porter lift up his foot, and struck her on the belly, that at length she died of the same; but the child was destroyed immediately.

After that, they were all put in the stocks for a long time, and then were let loose in their prisons again. Some had horselocks on their legs, and some had other irons.

This painter would ever be writing on the walls with chalk or a coal, and in one place he wrote, "Dr. Dodipoll would make me believe the moon was made of green cheese." And because he would be writing many things, he was manacled by the wrists, so long till the flesh of his arms was grown higher than his irons. By the means of his manacles he could not comb his head, and he remained so long manacled that his hair was matted together.

After the death of his wife, his brother sued to the king for him, and after long suit he was brought out in the consistory at Paul's, and, as his brother did report, they kept him three days without meat before he came to his answer. Then, what by the long imprisonment and much evil handling, and for lack of sustenance, the man became deranged, and could say nothing, but look and gaze upon the people like a wild man; and if they asked him a question, he could say nothing but, "My lord is a good man." And thus, when they had spoiled his body, and destroyed his understanding, they sent him back again to Beardsie-abbey. But he came away again from thence, and would not tarry amongst them: but he never came to his perfect mind to his dying day.

His brother, of whom I before spake, whose name was Valentine Freese, and his wife, gave their lives at one stake in York, for the testimony of Jesus Christ.

Also, the wife of the said father Bate, while he was at Fulham, made many supplications to the king, without redress, and at last she delivered one to his own hands, and he read it himself; whereupon she was appointed to go into Chancery-lane, to one whose name, as is thought, was master Selyard, and at last she got a letter of the said Selyard, to the bishop; and when she had it, she thought all her suit well bestowed, hoping that some good should come to her husband thereby. And, because the wicked officers in those days were crafty, and desirous of his blood, (as some others had proved their practice,) some of her friends would needs see the contents of her letter, and not suffer her to deliver it to the bishop: and as they thought, so they found indeed; for it was after this manner: After commendations had, &c.

"Look what you can gather against father Bate; send me word by your trusty friend, Sir William Saxie, that I may certify the king's majesty," &c.

Thus the poor woman, when she thought her suit had been done, was in less hope of her husband's life than before. But within short space it pleased God to deliver him: for he got out in a dark night, and so he was caught no more, but died within a short time after.

In this year also, as we do understand by divers notes of old registers, and otherwise, *Friar Roy* was burned in Portugal; but what his examination, or articles, or order of his death, was, we could not learn. But what his doctrine was, it may be easily judged by the testimonies which he here left in England.

In the beginning of this year which we are now about, through the complaint of the clergy, made to the king, the Translation of the New Testament, with a great number of other books, were forbidden. For the bishops coming into the star chamber the 25th day of May, and coming with the king's council, after many pretences and long debating, alleged that the translations of Tindal and Joy were not truly translated, and moreover, that in them were prologues and prefaces, that smelled of heresy, and railed against the bishops; wherefore all such books were prohibited, and commandment given by the king to the bishops, that they, calling to them the best learned men of the universities, should cause a new translation to be made, so that the people might not be ignorant of the law of God. Notwithstanding this commandment, the bishops did nothing at all to the setting forth of any new translation; which caused the people much to study Tindal's translation, by reason whereof many things came to light, as ye shall hereafter hear.

This year also, in the month of May, the bishop of London caused all the New Testaments of Tindal's translation, and many other books which he had bought, to be brought unto Paul's church-yard, and there openly to be burned.

#### *Martyrdom of JAMES BAINHAM, Lawyer.*

*James Bainham*, gentleman, son to one Mr. Bainham, a knight of Gloucestershire, being virtuously brought up by his parents in the studies of good letters, had knowledge both of the Latin and the Greek tongue. After that, he gave himself up to the study of the law, being a man of virtuous disposition and godly conversation, mightily given to prayer, an earnest reader of scripture, a great maintainer of the godly, a visitor of the prisoners, liberal to scholars, very merciful to his clients, using equity and justice to the poor, very diligent in giving counsel to all the needy, widows, fatherless, and afflicted, without money or reward; briefly, a singular example to all lawyers.

This Mr. Bainham, as is before noted, married the wife of Simon Fish aforesaid; for the which he was the more suspected, and at last was accused to Sir Thomas More, chancellor of England, and arrested with a sergeant at arms, and carried out of the Middle Temple to the chancellor's house at Chelsea, where he continued in free prison a while, till the time that Sir Thomas More saw he could not prevail in perverting of him to his sect. Then he cast him into prison in his own house, and whipped him at the tree in his garden, called the Tree of Troth, and after sent him to the Tower to be racked; and so he was, Sir Thomas More being present himself, till in a manner he had lamed him, because he would not accuse the gentlemen of the Temple of his acquaintance, nor would shew where his books lay; and because his wife denied them to be at his house, she was sent to the Fleet, and their goods confiscated.

After they had thus practised against him what they could by tortures and torments, then was he brought before John Stokesley, bishop of London, the fifteenth day of December, anno 1531, in the said town of Chelsea, and there examined upon these articles and interrogatories ensuing

First, Whether he believed there were any purgatory souls hence departed?



Whereunto he made answer as followeth: "If we walk in the light, even as he is in the light, we have society together with him, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son hath cleansed us from all sin. If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just, and will forgive us our sins, and will purge us from all our iniquities."

Secondly, Whether the saints hence departed are to be honoured and prayed unto, to pray for us?

To which he answered on this wise: "My little children, I write this unto you, that you sin not. If any man do sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the Just; and he is the propitiation for our sins, also for the sins of the whole world." And further, upon occasion of these words, *Omnes sancti Dei, orate pro nobis*: All ye saints of God, pray for us. Being demanded what he meant by these words, *Omnes sancti*? he answered, That he meant them by those that were alive, as St. Paul did by the Corinthians, and not by those that be dead; for he prayed not to them, he said, because he thought that they which be dead cannot pray for him.—Item, When the whole church is gathered together, they use to pray one for another, or desire one to pray for another, with one heart, and that the will of the Lord may be fulfilled, and not ours; and I pray, said he, as our Saviour Christ prayed at his last hour, "Father, take this cup from me, if it be possible; yet thy will be fulfilled."

Thirdly, He was demanded, whether he thought that any souls departed were yet in heaven, or no?

To this he answered and said, That he believed that they be there as it pleased God to have them, that is to say, in the faith of Abraham; and that herein he would commit himself to the church.

Fourthly, It was demanded of him, whether he thought it necessary to salvation for a man to confess his sins to a priest?

Whereunto his answer was this, That it was lawful for one to confess and acknowledge his sins to another. As for any other confession, he knew none. And further he said, That if he came to the sermon, or any other service where the word of God is taught, and there take repentance for his sin, he believed his sins forthwith to be forgiven of God, and that he needed not to go to any confession.

Fifthly, That he should say and affirm that the truth of the holy scriptures hath been hid, and appeared not these 800 years, neither was known before now?

To this he said, That he meant no otherwise, but that the truth of holy scripture was never, these 800 years past, so plainly and expressly declared unto the people, as it hath been within these six years.

Sixthly, He was demanded further, for what cause holy scripture hath been better declared within these six years, than it hath been these 800 years before?

Whereunto he answered, To say plainly, he knew no man to have preached the word of God sincerely and purely, and after the sense of scripture, except Mr. Crome and Mr. Latimer; and said, moreover, that the New Testament now translated into English, doth preach and teach the word of God, and that before that time men did preach but only that folks should believe as the church did believe; and then if the church erred, men should err too. Howbeit, the church, said he, of Christ cannot err: and that there were too churches, that is, the church of Christ militant, and the church of Antichrist; and that this church of Antichrist may and doth err, but the church of Christ doth not.

Seventhly, Whether he knew any person that died in the true faith of Christ, since the apostles' time?

He said he knew Bayfield, and thought that he died in the true faith of Christ.

Eighthly, he was asked what he thought of purgatory?

He answered, If any such thing had been moved to St. Paul, of purgatory after this life, he thought St. Paul would have condemned it for an heresy.

Ninthly, he was demanded, whether Luther, being a friar, and taking a nun out of religion, and afterwards marrying her, did well or no, and what he thought therein?

He answered, That he thought nothing; and when they asked him, whether it was lechery or no? he made answer, he could not say so.

As concerning the sacrament of anointing, being willed to say his mind, he answered and said, It was but a ceremony, neither did he wot what a man should be the better for such anointing and anointing. The best was, that some good prayers was to be read thereat.

Likewise, touching the sacrament of baptism, his words were these: That as many as repent, and put on Christ, shall be saved; i. e. as many as die to sin, shall live by faith with Christ. Therefore it is not we that live after that, but Christ in us. And so, whether we live or die, we are God's by adoption, and not by the water only, but by water and faith; that is, by keeping the promise made. For ye are kept by grace and faith, saith St. Paul, and that not of yourselves, for it is the gift of God.

He was asked, moreover, of matrimony, whether it was a sacrament or not? and whether it conferred grace, being commanded in the old law, and not yet taken away?

His answer was, That matrimony is an order or law that the church of Christ hath made and ordained, by the which men may take to them women, and not sin.

Lastly, for his books of scripture, and for his judgment of Tindal, because he was urged to confess the truth, he said, That he had the New Testament translated into the English tongue by Tindal, within this month, and thought he offended not God in using and keeping the same, notwithstanding that he knew the king's proclamation to the contrary, and that it was prohibited in the name of the church at Paul's cross. But for all that, he thought the word of God had not forbid it; confessing, moreover, that he had in his keeping, within this month, these books, *The Wicked Mammon*, *The Obedience of a Christian Man*, *The Practice of Prelates*, *The Answer of Tindal to Thomas More's Dialogues*, *The book of Frith against Purgatory*, *The Epistle of George Gee, alias George Clerk*; adding, furthermore, that in all these books he never saw any errors; and if there were any such in them, then, if they were corrected, it were good that the people had the said books. And as concerning the New Testament in English, he thought it perfectly good, and that the people should have it as it is. Neither did he ever know, he said, that Tindal was a naughty fellow. And to these answers he subscribed his name.

This examination was the 15th day of December. The next day following, which was the 16th day of December, the said James Bainham appeared again before the bishop of London, in the aforesaid place of Sir Thomas More, at Chelsea; where, after the guise and form of their proceedings, first his former articles with his answers were again repeated, and his hand brought forth. Which done, they asked him, whether he would persist in that which he had said, or else would return to the Catholic church, from whence he was fallen, and to which he might be yet received, as they said; adding, moreover, many fair, enticing, and alluring words, that he would reconcile himself; saying, the time was yet that he might be received; the bosom of

his mother was open for his. Otherwise, if he would continued stubborn, there was no remedy.

Now was the time either to save, or else utterly to cast himself away. Which of these ways, he would take, the case present now required a present answer, for else the sentence definitive was ready there to be read, &c.

To conclude in a few words; Bainham wavering in a doubtful perplexity, between life on the one hand, and death on the other, at length giving over to the adversaries, gave answer unto them, that he was contented to submit himself in those things wherein he had offended, excusing, that he was deceived by ignorance. Then the bishop requiring him to say his mind plainly of his answers above declared, what he thought thereof, whether they were true or no?

To this Bainham said, That it was too high for him to judge. And then being asked by the bishop, whether there was any purgatory? he answered and said, He would not believe that there was any purgatory after this life.

Upon other articles being examined and demanded, he granted as followeth, That he could not judge whether Bayfield died in the true faith of Christ, or no. That a man making a vow, cannot break it without deadly sin. That a priest, promising to live chaste, may not marry a wife. That he thinketh the apostles to be in heaven. That Luther did naught in marrying a nun. That a child is the better for confirmation. That it is an offence to God, if any man keep books prohibited by the church, the pope, the bishop, or the king; and said, that he pondered those points more now than he did before, &c.

Upon these answers, the bishop thinking to keep him in safe custody to further trial, committed him to one of the counters.

The time thus passing on, which bringeth all things to their end, in the month of February next following, in the year of our Lord 1532, the aforesaid James Bainham was called for again to the bishop's consistory, before his vicar-general, and other his assistants. To whom Foxford, the bishop's chancellor, recited again his articles and answers above mentioned; protesting that he intended not to receive him to the unity of the holy mother church, unless he knew the said Bainham to be returned again purely and unfeignedly to the Catholic faith, and to submit himself penitently to the judgment of the church. To whom Bainham spake to this effect, saying, That he doth believe the holy church, and holdeth the faith of the holy mother the Catholic church.

Wherefore the chancellor offering to him a bill of his abjuration, after the form of the pope's church conceived, required him to read it. Who was contented; and read to the clause of the abjuration, containing these words, "I voluntarily, as a true penitent person returned from my heresies, utterly abjure," &c. And there he stopped, and would read no further; saying, that he knew not the articles contained in his abjuration to be heresy, therefore he could not see why he should refuse them. Which done, the chancellor proceeded to the reading of the sentence definitive, coming to this place of the sentence, The doctrine and determination of the church, &c. and there paused, saying, He would reserve the rest till he saw his time. Whom then Bainham desired to be good unto him, affirming that he did acknowledge that there was a purgatory; that the souls of the apostles were in heaven, &c. Then began he again to read the sentence: but Bainham again desired him to be good to him. Whereupon he ceased the sentence, and said, that he would accept this his confession for that time as sufficient.

So Bainham for that present was returned to his prison again. Who then the first day after, which was the eighth

day of February, appeared, as before, in the consistory; when the aforesaid chancellor repeating again his articles and answers, asked if he would abjure and submit himself? Who answered, That he would submit himself as a good Christian man should. Again, the chancellor the second time asked if he would abjure? I will, said he, forsake all my articles, and will meddle no more with them. And so being commanded to lay his hand upon the book, read his abjuration openly. After the reading whereof, he burst out into these words, saying, "That because there were many words in the said abjuration which he thought obscure and difficile, he protested that by his oath he intended not to go from such defence, which he might have had before his oath." Which done, the chancellor asked him why he made that protestation? Bainham said, "For fear lest any man of ill-will do accuse me hereafter. Then the chancellor taking the definitive sentence in his hand, disposing himself, as appeared, to read the same: Well, master Bainham, said he, take your oath, and kiss the book, or else I will do mine office against you. And so immediately he took the book in his hand and kissed it, and subscribed the same with his hand.

Which done, the chancellor receiving the abjuration at his hand, put him to his fine, first to pay twenty pounds to the king. After that, he enjoined him penance, to go before the cross in procession at Paul's, and to stand before the preacher during the sermon at Paul's cross, with a faggot upon his shoulder, the next Sunday, and so to return with the sumner to the prison again, there to abide the bishop's determination: and so the 17th day of February he was released, and dismissed home. Where he had scarce a month continued, but he bewailed his fact and abjuration, and was never quiet in his mind and conscience, until the time he had uttered his fall to all his acquaintance, and asked God and all the world forgiveness before the congregation in those days, in a ware house in Bow-lane. And immediately the next Sunday after, he came to St. Austin's, with the New Testament in his hand, in English, and the Obedience of a Christian Man, in his bosom; and stood up there before the people in his pew, there declaring openly, with weeping, that he had denied God, and prayed all the people to forgive him, and to beware of his weakness, and not to do as he did: "For, (said he,) if I should not return again unto the truth, (having the New Testament in his hand,) this word of God would damn me both body and soul at the day of judgment. And there he prayed every body rather to die than to do as he did; for he would not feel such an hell again as he did feel, for all the world's good. Besides this, he wrote also certain letters to the bishop, to his brother, and to others. So that shortly after he was apprehended, and so committed to the Tower of London.

#### *The Process against James Bainham in case of relapse.*

The 19th day of April, 1532, Mr. Richard Foxford, vicar-general to the bishop of London, accompanied with certain divines, and Matthew Greston the register; sitting judicially, James Bainham was brought before him by the lieutenant of the Tower. Before whom the vicar-general rehearsed the articles contained in his abjuration before made, and shewed him a bound book, which the said Bainham acknowledged to be his own writing, saying, that it was good. Then he shewed him more of a certain letter sent unto the bishop of London; which also he acknowledged to be his: objecting also to the said Bainham, that he had made and read the abjuration which he had before recited; shewing him, moreover, certain letters which he had written unto his brother, which he confessed to be his own writing.

The 20th day of April, in the year aforesaid, the said James Bainham was brought before the vicar-general in the church of All-saints, of Barking and there questioned concerning his former opinions.

The last appearance of Mr. Bainham was on the 20th day of April, in the year aforesaid, before master John Foxford, vicar-general of the bishop of London, and Mr. Richard Gresham, sheriff of London, and a great company of others; before whom James Bainham was brought forth by the lieutenant of the Tower: in whose presence the vicar-general rehearsed the merits of the cause of inquisition of heresy against him, and proceeded to the reading of the abjuration.

After all the articles were read contained in the abjuration, the said Bainham spake these words, "If a Turk, a Jew, or a Saracen, do trust in God, and keep his law, he is a good Christian man." Then master Nicholas Wilson declared unto him, That the church did believe the very body of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar. Bainham answered, The bread is not Jesus Christ; for Christ's body is not chewed with teeth: therefore it is but bread.

This done, the official declared unto him the depositions of the witnesses which were come in against him, and objected unto him, that a little before Easter he had abjured all heresies, as well particularly as generally. Then the said vicar-general, after he had taken deliberation and advice with the learned his assistants, did proceed to the reading of the definitive sentence against him, and also published the same in writing; whereby, among other things besides his abjuration, he pronounced and condemned him as a relapsed heretic, damnably fallen into sundry heresies, and so to be left unto the secular power; that is to say, to one of the sheriffs being there present. After the pronouncing of which sentence, master Nicholas Wilson counselled and admonished the said James, that he would conform himself to the church. To whom he answered, "I trust I am a child of God, which ye blind asses do not perceive." And last of all, departing from his judgment, he spake these words, "Master Wilson, nor you my lord-chancellor, shall not prove by scripture that there is any purgatory." Then the sentence of condemnation was given against him; and after this sentence, James Bainham was delivered into the hands of Sir Richard Gresham, sheriff, then being present, who caused him by his officers to be carried unto Newgate, and the said James Bainham was burned in Smithfield the last day of April, 1532.

This Mr. Bainham, during his imprisonment, was very cruelly handled. For almost the space of a fortnight he lay in the bishop's coal-house in the stocks, with irons upon his legs. Then he was carried to the lord-chancellor's, and there chained to a post two nights. Then he was carried to Fulham, where he was cruelly handled by the space of a fortnight. Then to the Tower, where he lay a fortnight, scourged with whips to make him revoke his opinions. From thence he was carried to Barking, then to Chelsea, and there condemned; and so to Newgate to be burned.

At whose burning, this is worthy of observation: that as he was at the stake in the midst of the flaming fire, which fire had half consumed his arms and legs, he spake these words, "O ye Papists, behold I ye look for miracles, and here now you may see a miracle; for in this fire I feel no more pain than if I were in a bed of down; but it is to me as a bed of roses." These words he spake in the midst of the flaming fire, when his legs and arms were half consumed.

#### *One Trapnel, martyr.*

Also, much about the same time, was one *Trapnel* burned in a town called Bradford, within the county of Wilts.

#### *John Bent, martyr.*

About this time one *John Bent*, a tailor, dwelling in a village called Urchevant, was burned in the town of Devizes, in the county of Wilts, for denying the sacrament of the altar, as they term it.

How *impolitic* is persecution! Most of these glorious sufferers for conscience sake,

lived unknown,  
Till persecution dragg'd them into fame,  
And chas'd them up to heaven.

*The History of THREE MEN, hanged for the burning of the Rood, or Crucifix, of Dover-Court, collected out of a Letter of Robert Gardiner, who was one of the doers of the same.*

In the same year of our Lord 1532, there was an idol, named the Rood of Dover-court, whereunto was much and great resort of people. For at that time there was a great rumour blown abroad amongst the ignorant sort, that the power of the idol of Dover court was so great, that no man had power to shut the church door where he stood, and therefore they let the church door, both night and day, continually stand open, to gain their report the better credit. Which once being conceived in the heads of the vulgar, seemed a great marvel unto many men. But to many again, whom God had blessed with his Spirit, was greatly suspected, especially by these whose names here follow: Robert King of Dedham, Robert Debam of Eastbergholt, Nicholas Marsh of Dedham, and Robert Gardiner of Dedham; whose consciences were sore burdened to see the honour and power of the almighty living God so to be blasphemed by such an idol. Wherefore they were moved by the Spirit of God, to travel out of Dedham, in a wondrous goodly night, both hard frost and fair moonshine, although the night before and the night after were exceedingly foul and rainy. It was, from the town of Dedham to the place where the crucifix stood, ten miles. Notwithstanding, they were so willing in the enterprise, that they went these ten miles without pain, and found the church door open, according to the talk of the ignorant people: for there durst no unfaithful body shut it. Which happened well for the purpose; for they found the idol, which had as much power to keep the door shut as to keep it open; and for a proof thereof, they took the idol from his shrine, and carried him a quarter of a mile from the place where he stood, without any resistance of the said idol. Whereupon they struck fire with a flint-stone, and suddenly set him on fire, and burned him.

This done, there went a great talk abroad that they should have great riches in that place. But it was very untrue; for it was not their thought or enterprise, as they themselves afterwards confessed: for there was nothing taken away but his coat, his shoes, and tapers. The tapers did help to burn him, the shoes they had again, and the coat, one Sir Thomas Rose did burn; but they had neither penny, halfpenny, gold, groat, nor jewel.

Notwithstanding, three of them were afterwards indicted of felony, and hanged in chains within half a year after, or thereabout. *Robert King* was hanged in Dedham at Burchet; *Debam* was hanged at Cataway-Cawsey; *Nicholas Marsh* was hanged at Dover court. Which three persons, through the Spirit of God, at their death did more edify the people in godly learning, than all the sermons that had been preached there a long time before. The fourth man of this company, named *Robert Gardiner*, escaped their hands,

and fled; but he was cruelly sought for, to have had the like death. But the living Lord preserved him; to whom be all honour and glory, world without end.

The same year, and the year before, there were many images cast down and destroyed in many places: as the images of the crucifix in the highway by Cogshal, the image of St. Petronil in the church of great Horksleigh, the image of St. Christopher by Sudbury, and another image of St. Petronil, in a chapel of Ipswich.

Also, *John Seward*, of Dedham, overthrew the cross in Stoke-park, and took two images out of a chapel in the same park, and cast them into the water.

*The Story, Examination, Death, and Martyrdom, of*  
JOHN FRITH.

Among all other lamentable chances, there hath been none a long time which seemed unto me more grievous, than the death and cruel handling of *John Frith*, so learned and excellent a young man, that scarcely there was his equal amongst all his companions; and, besides, withal had such a godliness of life joined with his doctrine, that it was hard to judge in whether of them he was more commendable, being greatly praise-worthy in them both. Of the great godliness which was in him, this may serve for experiment sufficient, for that notwithstanding his other manifold and singular gifts and ornaments of the mind, wherewithal he might have opened an easy way unto honour and dignity, notwithstanding he chose rather wholly to consecrate himself to the church of Christ, excellently shewing forth and practising in himself the precepts so highly commended by the philosophers, touching the life of man: which life, they say, is given unto us in such sort, that how much the better the man is, so much the less he should live unto himself, but unto others; and that we should think a great part of our birth to be due unto our parents, a greater part unto our country, and the greatest part of all to be bestowed upon the church, if we will be counted good men. First of all, he began his study at Cambridge. He had also a wonderful promptness of wit, and a ready capacity to receive and understand any thing, insomuch that he seemed not to be sent unto learning, but also born for the same purpose. Neither was there any diligence wanting in him equal unto that towardness, or worthy of his disposition. Whereby it came to pass, that he was not only a lover of learning, but also became an exquisitely learned man. In which exercise when he had diligently laboured certain years, not without great profit, both in Latin and Greek, at the last he got acquaintance with William Tindal, through whose instructions he first received into his heart the seed of the gospel.

At that time Thomas Wolsey, cardinal of York, prepared to build a college in Oxford, very sumptuous, which had the name and title of Frideswide, (but now named Christ's Church,) not so much, as it is thought, for the love and zeal that he bare unto learning, as for an ambitious desire of glory and renown, and to leave a perpetual name unto posterity. But that building, he, being cut off by the stroke of death, (for he was sent for unto the king, accused of certain crimes, and in the way by immoderate purgations killed himself,) left partly begun and imperfect, for nothing else save only the kitchen was fully finished. Whereupon Rodolphus Gualterus, a learned man, being then in Oxford, and beholding the college, said these words in Latin, *Egregium opus, Cardinalis iste instituit collegium, et absolvit popinam*. How large and ample those buildings should have been, what

sumptuous cost should have been bestowed upon the same, may easily be perceived by that which is already builded, as the kitchen, the hall, and certain chambers; whereas there is such curious graving and workmanship of stone-cutters, that all things on every side did glitter for the excellency of the workmanship, for the fineness of the matter, with the gilt antiques and embossings, in so much that if all the rest had been finished to that determinate end as it was begun, it might well have excelled not only all colleges of students, but also palaces of princes. This ambitious cardinal gathered together into that college whatsoever excellent thing there was in the whole realm, either vestments, vessels, or other ornaments, besides provision of all kind of precious things. Besides that, he also appointed unto that company all such men as were found to excel in any kind of learning and knowledge, most of them picked young men, of grave judgment and sharp wits; who conferring together upon the abuses of religion being at that time crept into the church, were therefore accused of heresy unto the cardinal, and cast into a prison within a deep cave under the ground of the same college where their salt fish was laid; so that through the filthy stench thereof they were all infected, and certain of them taking their death in the same prison, shortly upon the same being taken out of the prison into their chambers, there deceased.

After the death of these men, John Frith, with others, by the cardinal's letter, which sent word that he would not have them so straitly handled, were dismissed out of prison, upon condition not to pass above ten miles out of Oxford. Which Frith, after hearing of the examination of Dalaber and Garret, two of his comrades, who then bore faggots, went beyond the sea, and after two years he came over for exhibition of the prior of Reading, as was thought, and had the prior over with him.

Being at Reading, it happened that he was there taken for a vagabond, and brought to examination; where the simple man, who could not craftily enough colour himself, was set in the stocks. Where after he had sitten a long time, and was almost pined with hunger, and would not for all that declare what he was, at the last he desired that the schoolmaster of the town might be brought to him; which at that time was one Leonard Cox, a man very well learned. As soon as he came unto him, Frith by and by began in the Latin tongue to bewail his captivity.

The schoolmaster by and by, being overcome with his eloquence, did not only take pity and compassion upon him, but also began to love and embrace such an excellent wit and disposition unlooked for, especially in such an estate and misery. Afterward, they conferring more together upon many things, as touching the universities, schools, and tongues, fell from the Latin into the Greek: wherein Frith did so inflame the love of that schoolmaster toward him, that he brought him into marvellous admiration, especially when the schoolmaster heard him so promptly by heart rehearse Homer's verses out of his first book of the Iliad. Whereupon the schoolmaster went with all speed unto the magistrates, grievously complaining of the injury which they did shew unto so excellent and innocent a young man.

Thus Frith, through the help of the schoolmaster, was freely dismissed out of the stocks, and set at liberty, without punishment. But this his safety continued not long, through the great hatred and deadly persecution of sir Thomas More, who at that time being chancellor of England, persecuted him both by land and sea, besetting all the ways and havens, yea, and promising great rewards, if any man could bring him any news or tidings of him.

Thus Frith being on every part beset with troubles, not knowing which way to turn him, seeketh for some place to hide him in. Thus fleeing from one place to another, and often changing both his garments and place, yet could he be in safety in no place; no, not long amongst his friends. So that at the last, being traitorously taken, he was sent unto the Tower of London, where he had many conflicts with the bishops, but especially in writing with sir Thomas More. The first occasion of his writing was this: Upon a time he had communication with a certain old familiar friend of his, touching the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. The whole effect of which disputation consisted especially in these four points:

First, That the matter of the sacraments is no necessary article of faith under pain of damnation.

Secondly, That forasmuch as Christ's natural body in like condition hath all properties of our body, sin only excepted, it cannot be, neither is it agreeable unto reason, that he should be in two places or more at once, contrary to the nature of our body.

Thirdly, Moreover, it shall not seem meet or necessary, that we should in this place understand Christ's words according to the literal sense, but rather according to the order and phrase of the speech, comparing phrase with phrase, according to the analogy of the scripture.

Fourthly, Last of all, how that it ought to be received according to the true and right institution of Christ, albeit that the order which at this time is crept into the church, and is used now-a-days by the priests, do never so much differ from it.

And forasmuch as the treatise of this disputation seemed somewhat long, his friend desired him that such things as he had reasoned upon, he would briefly commit unto writing, and give unto him for the help of his memory. Frith, although he was unwilling, and not ignorant how dangerous a thing it was to enter into such a contentious matter, at the last, notwithstanding, he being overcome by the entreaty of his friend, rather followed his will than looked to his own safeguard.

There was at that time in London, a tailor, named William Holt, who feigning great friendship towards this party, instantly required of him to give him license to read over that same writing of Frith's; which when he unadvisedly did, the other by and by carried it unto More, being then chancellor. Which thing afterwards was occasion of great trouble, and also of death, unto the said Frith. For More having gotten a copy of his book, not only by this sycophant, but also two other copies, which at the same time in a manner were sent him by other promoters, he whetted his wits, and called his spirits together as much as he might, meaning to refute his opinion by a contrary book.

What dexterity of wit was in him, and excellency of doctrine, it may appear not only by his books which he wrote of the sacrament, but also in them which he intitled *Of Purgatory*. In which quarrel he withstood the violence of three most obstinate enemies; that is to say, of Rochester, More, and Rastal; whereof the one by the help of the doctors, the other by wresting of the scripture, and the third by the help of natural philosophy, had conspired against him. But he, as a Hercules, fighting not against two only, but even with them all three at once, did so overthrow and confound them, that he converted Rastal to his part.

Besides all these commendations of this young man, there was also in him a friendly and prudent moderation in uttering of the truth, joined with a learned godliness. Which virtue hath always so much prevailed in the church of Christ,

that without it all other good gifts of knowledge, be they never so great, cannot greatly profit, but oftentimes do very much hurt.

But now, forasmuch as we treat of the story of John Frith, I cannot choose but must needs earnestly and heartily embrace the prudent and godly moderation which was in that man, who maintaining his quarrel of the sacrament of the Lord's supper, no less godly than learnedly, yet he did it so moderately, without any contention, that he would never seem to strive against the Papists, except he had been driven to it even of necessity. In all other matters where necessity did not move him to contend, he was ready to grant all things for quietness sake, as his most modest reason and answers did declare.

For when as More, disputing in a certain place upon the sacrament, laid against him the authority of Dr. Barnes, for the presence of the body and blood in the sacrament; he answered unto More and his companions, that he would promise under this condition, That if the sentence of Luther and Barnes might be holden as ratified, he would never speak more words of it. For in that point they did both agree with him, that the sacrament was not to be worshipped, and that idolatry being taken away, he was content to permit every man to judge of the sacrament, as God should put it into their hearts: for then there remained no more poison, that any man ought or might be afraid of. Wherefore if they did agree in that which was the chiefest point of the sacrament, they should easily accord and agree in the remnant.

John Frith, after he had now sufficiently contended in his writings with More, Rochester, and Rastal, More's son-in-law, he was at the last carried to Lambeth, first before the bishop of Canterbury, and afterwards unto Croydon, before the bishop of Winchester, to plead his cause. Last of all, he was called before the bishops in a common assembly at London; where he steadfastly defended himself, but was not heard.

And thus much hitherto as touching the articles and disputation of John Frith, which was done with all moderation and uprightness. But when as no reason could prevail against the force and cruelty of these furious foes, the 20th day of June, in the year of our Lord 1533, he was brought before the bishops of London, Winchester, and Lincoln; who sitting in St. Paul's upon Friday the 20th day of June, ministered certain interrogatories upon the sacrament of the supper, and purgatory, unto the said Frith, as is above declared. To which, when he answered and shewed his mind in form and effect, he afterwards subscribed to his answers, with his own hand, in these words:

*"Ego, Frithus, ita sentio, et quemadmodum sentio, ita dixi, scripsi, asserui, et affirmavi."*

That is to say,

"I, Frith, thus do think, and as I think so have I said, written, taught, and affirmed, and in my books have published."

But when by no means, he could be persuaded to recant these articles aforesaid, neither be brought to believe that the sacrament is an article of faith, but said, *Fiat iudicium et justicia*; he was condemned by the bishop of London to be burned, and sentence given against him.

When his sentence was read, the bishop of London directed his letter to Sir Stephen Peacock, mayor of London, and the sheriffs of the same city, for the receiving of the aforesaid John Frith into their charge. Who being so delivered over unto them the 4th day of July, in the year aforesaid, was by them carried into Smithfield to be burned; and when he was tied unto the stake, there it sufficiently appeared with what



constancy and courage he suffered death. For when the faggots and fire were put unto him, he willingly embraced the same; thereby declaring with what uprightness of mind he suffered his death for Christ's sake, and the true doctrine, to which that day he gave with his blood a perfect and firm testimony. The wind made his death somewhat the longer, which bore away the flame from him unto his fellow that was tied to his back; but he had established his mind with such patience, God giving him strength, that, even as though he had felt no pain in that long torment, he seemed rather to rejoice for his fellow, than to be careful for himself.

*ANDREW HEWET, burned with Mr. Frith.*

*Andrew Hewet*, born in Feversham, in the county of Kent, a young man of the age of four-and-twenty years, was apprentice with one master Warren, a tailor, in Watling-street. And as it happened that he went upon a holiday into Fleet-street, towards St. Dunstan's, he met with one William Holt, which was foreman with the king's tailor, at that present called master Malte; and being suspected by the same Holt, who was a dissembling wretch, to be one that favoured the gospel, after a little talk had with him, he went into an honest house about Fleet-bridge, which was a bookseller's house. Then Holt, thinking he had found good occasion to shew forth some fruit of his wickedness, sent for certain officers, and searched the house, and finding the same Andrew, apprehended him, and carried him to the bishop's house, where he was cast into irons; and being there a good space, by the means of a certain honest man he had a file conveyed unto him; wherewith he filed off his irons, and when he spied his time he got out of the gate. But being a man unskillful to hide himself, for lack of good acquaintance, he went into Smithfield, and there met with one Withers, who was an hypocrite as Holt was; which Withers understanding how he had escaped, and that he knew not whither to go, pretending a fair countenance unto him, willed him to go with him, promising that he should be provided for; and so kept him in the country where he had to do, from Low-Sunday to Whitsuntide, and then brought him to London, to the house of one John Chapman, in Hosier-lane, near Smithfield, and there left him by the space of two days.

Then he came to the said Chapman's house again, and brought Holt with him; and when they met with the said Andrew, they seemed as though they meant him very much good. And Holt, for his part, said, That if he should bring any man into trouble, (as the voice was that he had done the said Andrew,) it were pity but that the earth should open and swallow him up; insomuch that they would needs sup here that night, and prepared meat at their own charges. At night they came, and brought certain guests with them; because they would have the matter to seem as though it had come out by others. When they had supped, they went their way, and Holt took out of his purse two groats, and gave them to the said Andrew, and embraced him in his arms. As they were gone out, there came in one John Tibauld, who was banished from his own house by an injunction, for he had been four times in prison for Christ's sake.

And within an hour after that Holt and Withers were gone, the bishop's chancellor, and one called serjeant Weaver, came and brought with them the watch, and searched the house, where they found the said John Chapman and the forenamed Andrew, and John Tibauld, whom they bound with ropes which serjeant Weaver had brought with him, and so carried them to the bishop's house; but Andrew

Hewet they sent unto the Lollards' Tower, and kept Chapman and Tibauld asunder, watched with two priests' servants. The next day bishop Stokesley came from Fulliam, and, after they were examined with a few threatening words, Chapman was committed to the stocks, and Tibauld was shut up in a close chamber: but by God's provision he was well delivered out of prison, although he could not enjoy his house and land, because of the bishop's injunction, but was fain to sell all that he had in Essex; for the tenor of his injunction was, that he should not come within seven miles of his own house. And the aforesaid Chapman, after five weeks' imprisonment, (whereof three weeks he sat in the stocks,) by much suit made unto the lord-chancellor, who at that time was lord Audley, after many threatenings, was delivered. But the said Andrew Hewet, after long and cruel imprisonment, was condemned to death, and burned with John Frith: whose examination here followeth.

The 20th day of the month of April, Andrew Hewet was brought before the chancellor of the bishop of London, where was objected against him, That he believed the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, to be but a signification of the body of Christ, and that the host consecrated was not the very body of Christ. Now forsomuch as this article seemed heinous unto them, they would do nothing in it without the consent of learned counsel: whereupon the bishop of London, associated with the bishops of Lincoln and Winchester, called him again before them. Where he being demanded what he thought as touching the sacrament of the Lord's supper? answered, "Even as John Frith doth." Then said one of the bishops unto him, Dost thou not believe that it is really the body of Christ, born of the Virgin Mary? "So (said he) do not I believe." Why not? said the bishop. "Because (said he) Christ commaunded me not to give credit rashly unto all men who say, Behold, here is Christ, and there is Christ; for many false prophets shall rise up, saith the Lord."

Then certain of the bishops smiled at him; and Stokesley, the bishop of London, said, Why, Frith is an heretic, and already judged to be burned; and except thou revoke thine opinion, thou shalt be burned also with him. "Truly, (said he,) I am content therewithal." Then the bishop asked him, if he would forsake his opinions? Whereunto he answered, "That he would do as Frith did." Whereupon he was sent unto the prison to Frith, and afterwards they were carried together to the fire. The bishops used many persuasions to allure this good man from the truth, to follow them; but he, manfully persisting in the truth, would not recant. Wherefore, the 4th day of July, in the afternoon, he was carried into Smithfield with Frith, and there burned.

When they were at the stake, one Dr. Cook, a parson in London, openly admonished all the people, that they should in no wise pray for them, no more than they would do for a dog. At which words Frith smiling, desired the Lord to forgive them. These words did not a little move the people unto anger, and not without good cause. Thus these two blessed martyrs committed their souls into the hands of God.

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*The HISTORY of the PERSECUTION and DEATH of THOMAS BENET, burned in Exeter: collected and testified by John Vowel, alias Hoker.*

This *Thomas Benet* was born in Cambridge, and by order of degree of the university there made master of arts, and, as some think, was also a priest, a man doubtless very well learned, and of a godly disposition, being of the acquaintance

and familiarity of Thomas Bilney, the famous and glorious martyr of Christ. This man, the more he did grow and increase in the knowledge of God and his holy word, the more he did mislike and abhor the corrupt state of religion then used; and therefore thinking his own country to be no safe place for him to remain in, and being desirous to live in more freedom of conscience, he did forsake the university, and went into Devonshire, in the year of our Lord 1524, and first dwelled in a market-town named Torrington, both town and country being to him altogether unknown, as he was also unknown to all men there. Where, for the better maintenance of himself and his wife, he taught young children, and kept a school for the same purpose. But that town not serving his expectation, after his abode one year there, he came to the city of Exeter, and there hiring a house in a street called the Butcher-row, did exercise the teaching of children, and by that means sustained his wife and family. He was of a quiet behaviour, of a godly conversation, and of a very courteous nature, humble to all men, and offensive to nobody. His greatest delight was to be at all sermons and preachings, whereof he was a diligent and attentive hearer. The time which he had to spare from teaching, he gave wholly to his private study in the scriptures, having no dealings nor conferences with any body, saving with such as he could learn and understand to be favourers of the gospel, and zealous of God's true religion: of such he would be inquisitive, and most desirous to join himself unto them. And therefore understanding that one William Strowd, of Newnham, in the county of Devonshire, esquire, was committed to the bishop's prison in Exeter, upon suspicion of heresy, although he was never before acquainted with him, yet did he send his letters of comfort and consolation unto him. Wherein, to avoid all suspicion which might be conceived of him, he did disclose himself, and utter what he was, and the cause of his being in the country; writing, among other things, these words, *Ut ne scortator aut immundus essem, uxorem duxi, cum qua hisce sex annis ab istorum Antichristianorum manibus in Devonia latitavi*: That is to say, Because I would not be a whoremonger, or an unclean person, therefore I married a wife, with whom I have hidden myself in Devonshire, from the tyranny of the Antichristians, these six years.

But as every tree and herb hath its due time to bring forth its fruit, so did it appear by this man. For he daily seeing the glory of God to be so blasphemed, idolatrous religion so embraced and maintained, and that most false usurped power of the bishop of Rome so extolled, was so grieved in conscience and troubled in spirit, that he could not be quiet till he did utter his mind therein. Wherefore dealing privately with certain of his friends, he did plainly open and disclose how blasphemously and abominably God was dishonoured, his word contemned, and his people, whom he so dearly bought, were by blind guides carried headlong to everlasting damnation; and therefore he could no longer endure, but must needs and would utter their abominations, and, for his own part, for the testimony of his conscience, and for the defence of God's true religion, would yield himself most patiently, as near as God would give him grace, to die and to shed his blood therein; alleging, that his death should be more profitable to the church of God, and for the edifying of his people, than his life would be. To whose persuasions, when his friends had yielded, they promised to pray to God for him, that he might be strong in the cause, and continue a faithful soldier to the end. Which done, he gave order for the bestowing of such books as he had; and very shortly after, in the month of October, he wrote his

mind in certain scrolls of paper, which in secret manner he put upon the doors of the cathedral church of the city; in which was written, "The Pope is Antichrist; and we ought to worship God only, and no saints."

These bills being found, there was no small ado, and no little search made for the heretic that should set up these bills; and the mayor and his officers were not so busy to make searches to find out this heretic, but the bishop and all his doctors were as hot as coals, and enkindled as though they had been stung with wasps. Wherefore, to keep the people in their former blindness, order was taken that the doctors should haste up to the pulpit every day, and confute this heresy. Nevertheless, this Thomas Benet, keeping his own doings in secret, went the Sunday following to the cathedral church to the sermon, and by chance sat down by two men, who were the busiest in all the city in seeking and searching for heretics; and they, beholding this Benet, said the one to the other, "Surely this fellow by all likelihood is the heretic that hath set up the bills, and it were good to examine him." But when they had well beheld him, and the quiet and sober behaviour of the man, his attentiveness to the preacher, his godliness in the church, being always occupied in his book, (which was a Testament in the Latin tongue,) were astonished, and had no power to speak unto him, but departed, and left him reading in his book.

To be short: the brains of the canons and priests, the officers and commons of the city, were very earnestly busied how or by what means such an enormous heretic, which had pricked up those bills, might be espied and known; but it was long first. At last the priests found out a toy—to curse him, whatsoever he were, with book, bell, and candle; which curse, at that day, seemed most fearful and terrible. The manner of the curse was after this sort:

One of the priests, apparelled all in white, ascended the pulpit; the other rabblement, with certain of the two orders of friars, and certain superstitious monks of St. Nicholas' house, standing round about him, and the cross, as the custom was, being holden up with holy candles of wax fixed to the same, he began his sermon with this theme of Joshua, *Est blasphemia in castris*: There is blasphemy in the army. And so made a long protestation, but not so long as tedious and superstitious; and so concluded, That the foul and abominable heretic which had put up such blasphemous bills, was for that his blasphemy damnable cursed; and besought God, our Lady, St. Peter, patron of that church, with all the holy company of martyrs, confessors, and virgins, that it might be known what heretic had put up such blasphemous bills, that God's people might avoid the vengeance.

The manner of the cursing of the said Benet, was marvelous to behold; forasmuch as at that time there were few or none, unless a sheerman or two, whose houses were searched for bills at that time, and for books, that knew any thing of God's matters, or how God doth turn their curses into blessings in such cases.—Then said the prelate, "By the authority of God the Father Almighty, and of the blessed Virgin Mary, of St. Peter and Paul, and of the holy saints, we excommunicate, we utterly curse and ban, commit and deliver to the devil of hell, him or her, whatsoever he or she be, that have, in spite of God and of St. Peter, whose church this is, in spite of all holy saints, and in spite of our most holy father the pope, God's vicar here on earth, and in spite of the reverend father in God, John, our diocesan, and the worshipful canons, masters, and priests, and clerks, which serve God daily in this cathedral church, fixed up with wax, such cursed and heretical bills, full of blasphemy, upon the doors of this and other holy churches within this city.—

Excommunicate plainly be he or she plenally, or they, and delivered over to the devil, as perpetual malefactors, and schismatics. Accursed might they be, and given body and soul to the devil. Cursed be they, he, or she, in cities and towns, in fields, in ways and paths, in houses, out of houses, and in all other places, standing, lying, or rising, walking, running, waking, sleeping, eating, drinking, and whatsoever thing they do besides. We separate them, him, or her, from the threshold, and from all the good prayers of the church, from the participation of the holy mass, from all sacraments, chapels, and altars, from holy bread and holy water, from all the merits of God's priests and religious men, and from all their cloisters, from all their pardons, privileges, grants, and immunities, which all the holy fathers, popes of Rome, have granted to them; and we give them over utterly to the power of the fiend: and let us quench their souls, if they be dead, this night in the pains of hell fire, as this candle is now quenched and put out, (and with that he put out one of the candles :) and let us pray to God, if they be alive, that their eyes may be put out, as this candle light is, (so he put out the other candle :) and let us pray to God, and to our Lady, and to St. Peter and Paul, and all holy saints, that all the senses of their bodies may fail them, and that they may have no feeling, as now the light of this candle is gone, (and so he put out the third candle :) except they, he, or she, come openly now and confess their blasphemy, and by repentance, as in them shall lie, make satisfaction unto God, our Lady, St. Peter, and the worshipful company of this cathedral church; and as this holy cross staff now falleth down, so might they, except they repent, and shew themselves."—Then one took away the cross, and the staff fell down. But, alas! what a shout and noise was there! what a terrible fear! what holding up of hands to heaven! what curse was so terrible!

Now this fond foolish mockery being done, which was to a Christian heart a thing ridiculous, Benet could no longer forbear, but fell to great laughter, but within himself, and for a great space could not cease; by which thing the poor man was espied. For those that were next to him, wondering at that great curse, and believing that it could not but light on one or other, asked good Benet, for what cause he should so laugh? "My friends, (said he,) who can forbear, seeing such merry conceits and interludes played of the priests."—Straightway a noise was made, "Here is the heretic! here is the heretic! Hold him fast! hold him fast!" With that there was a great confusion of voices, and much clapping of hands, and yet they were uncertain whether he were the heretic or not. Some say, that upon the same he was taken and apprehended; others report, that his enemies being uncertain of him, departed, and so he went home to his house: where he being not able to digest the lies there preached, renewed his former bills, and caused his boy early in the morning following to set up the said bills on the gates of the church-yard. As the boy was setting one of the said bills upon a gate, called The Little Stile, it chanced that one W. S. going to the cathedral church to hear a mass, called Barton's mass, which was then daily said about five of the clock in the morning, found the boy at the gate; and asking him whose boy he was? did charge him to be the heretic which had set up the bills upon the gates; wherefore pulling down the bill, he brought the same, together with the boy, before the mayor of the city; and thereupon Benet, being known and taken, was violently committed to ward.

On the morrow began both the canons, and heads of the city joined with them, to fail to examination. With whom for that day he had not much communication, but confessed

and said to them, "It was even I that put up those bills, and if it were to do, I would do it again; for in them I have written nothing but what is very truth." Couldst not thou, said they, as well have declared thy mind by thy mouth, as by putting up bills of blasphemy? "No, (said he,) I put up the bills, that many should read and hear what abominable blasphemers ye are, and that they might the better know your Antichrist, the pope, to be that boar out of the wood, which destroyeth and throweth down the hedges of God's church; for if I had been heard to speak but one word, I should have been clapped fast in prison, and the matter of God hidden. But now I trust more of your blasphemous doings will thereby be opened and come to light; for God will so have it, and no longer will suffer you."

The next day after, he was sent unto the bishop, who first committed him to prison, called the Bishop's Prison; where he was kept in stocks and strong irons, with as much favour as a dog should find. Then the bishop associating unto him one Dr. Brewer, his chancellor, and others of his lewd clergy and friars, began to examine him, and to say, That contrary to the Catholic faith he denied praying to saints, and also denied the supremacy of the pope. Whereunto he answered in such sober manner, and so learnedly proved and defended his assertions, that he did not only confound and put to silence his adversaries, but also brought them in great admiration of him, the most part having pity and compassion on him. The friars took great pains with him to persuade him from his erroneous opinions, to recant and acknowledge his fault, touching the bills. But they did but dig after day; for God hath appointed him to be a blessed witness of his holy name, and to be at defiance with all their persuasions.

The officers searched his house for bills and books, and cruelly and shamefully handled his wife, charging her with divers enormities. But she, like a good woman, took all things patiently that they did unto her; like as in other things she was contented to bear the cross with him, as to fare hardly with him at home, and to live with coarse meat and drink, that they might be the more able somewhat to help the poor, as they did to the uttermost of their power.

Amongst all other priests and friars, Gregory Basset was most busy with him. This Gregory Basset was learned, and had a pleasant tongue, and not long before was fallen from the truth, for which he was imprisoned in Bristol long time, at whose examination was ordained a great pan of fire, where his holy brethren, as the report went abroad, menaced him to burn his hands off; whereupon he there before them recanted, and became afterwards a mortal enemy to the truth all his life. This Gregory, as it is said, was fervent with the poor man, to please the canons of that church, and marvellously tormented his brains how to turn him from his opinions; yea, and he was so diligent and fervent with him, that he would not depart the prison, but lay there night and day; who notwithstanding lost his labour; for good Benet was at a point not to deny Christ before men. So Gregory, as well as the other holy fathers, lost his spurs, inasmuch that he said in open audience, that there was never so obstinate an heretic.

The principal point between Basset and him was touching the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, whom in his bills he named Antichrist, the thief, the mercenary, and murderer of Christ's flock: and these disputations lasted about eight days; where at sundry times repaired to him both the black and gray friars, with priests and monks of that city. They that had some learning, persuaded him to believe the church, and shewed by what tokens she is known. The others, unlearned, rail'd and said, that the devil tempted him; and

spit upon him, calling him heretic. But he prayed to God to give them a better mind, and to forgive them: For, said he, I will rather die than worship such a beast, the very whore of Babylon, and a false usurper, as manifestly doth appear by his doings. They asked, What he did that he had not power and authority to do, being God's vicar?—He doth, quoth he, sell the sacraments of the church for money; he selleth remission of sins daily for money; and so do you likewise, for there is no day but ye say divers masses for souls in feigned purgatory; yea, and ye spare not to make lying sermons to the people, to maintain your false traditions, and foul gains. The whole world doth begin now to note your doings, to your utter confusion and shame.—The shame, say they, shall be to thee, and such as thou art, thou foul heretic. Wilt thou allow nothing done in holy church? What a perverse heretic art thou!—I am, said he, no heretic, but a Christian man, I thank Christ, and with all my heart will allow all things done and used in the church to the glory of God, and edifying of my soul; but I see nothing in your church, but that maintaineth the devil.—What is our church? said they.—It is not my church, quoth Benet; God give me grace to be of a better church, for verily your church is the plain church of Antichrist, the malignant church, the second church, a den of thieves, and armoury of poison, and as far wide from the true universal and apostolic church as heaven is distant from the earth.

Dost not thou think, said they, that we pertain to the universal church?—Yes, quoth he, but as dead members, unto whom the church is not beneficial: for your works are the devices of man, and your church a weak foundation; for ye say and preach, That the pope's word is equal with God's word in every degree.—Why, said they, did not Christ say to Peter, "To thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven?"—He said that, quoth he, to all as well as to Peter; and Peter had no more authority given him than they, or else the churches planted in every kingdom by their preaching are no churches. Doth not St. Paul say, Upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets? Therefore I say plainly, that the church that is built upon a man, is the devil's church or congregation, and not God's. And as every church this day is appointed to be ruled by a bishop or pastor ordained by the word of God, in preaching and administration of the sacraments, under the prince the supreme governor under God; so, to say that all the churches, with their princes and governors, be subjects unto one bishop, is detestable heresy; and the pope, your god, challenging this power to himself, is the greatest schismatic that ever was in the church, and most foul whore; of whom John in the Revelation speaketh; chap. xvii. v. 1—18.

O thou blind and unlearned fool, said they, is not the confession and consent of all the world, as we confess and consent, That the pope's holiness is the supreme head and vicar of Christ?—That is, said Benet, because they are blinded and know not the scriptures: but if God would of his mercy open the eyes of princes to know their office, his false supremacy would soon decay.—We think, said they, thou art so malicious, that thou wilt confess no church.—Look, said he, where they are that confess the true name of Jesus Christ, and where only Christ is the head, and under him the prince of the realm, to order all bishops, ministers, and preachers, and to see them do their duties in setting forth the only glory of God, by preaching the word of God; and where it is preached, that Christ is our only advocate, mediator, and patron, before God his Father, making intercession for us, and where the true faith and confidence in Christ's death and passion, and his only merits and deserving, are extolled,

and our own depressed; where the sacrament is duly, without superstition or idolatry, administered in remembrance of his blessed passion, and only sacrifice upon the cross once for all, and where no superstition reigneth; of that church will I be.

Then said a black friar unto him, (God knoweth, a block-head,) Do we not preach the gospel daily?—Yes, said he; but what preaching of the gospel is that, when therewith ye extol superstitious things, and make us believe that we have redemption through pardons and bulls from Rome, a *poma et culpa*, as ye term it? and by the merits of your orders ye make many brethren and sisters, ye take yearly money of them, ye bury them in your coats, and in shrift ye beguile them; yea, and do a thousand superstitious things more; a man may be weary to speak of them.—I see, said the friar, thou art a damned wretch; I will have no more talk with thee.

Then stepped up a gray friar, a doctor, (God knoweth, of small intelligence,) and laid before him great and many dangers.—I take God to record, said Benet, my life is not dear to me, I am content to depart from it, for I am weary of it, seeing your detestable doings, to the utter destruction of God's flock, and for my part I can no longer forbear: I had rather by death (which I know is not far off) depart this life, that I may no longer be partaker of your detestable idolatries and superstitions, or be subject unto Antichrist your pope.—Our pope, said the friar, is the vicar of God, and our ways are the ways of God.—I pray you, said Benet, depart from me, and tell me not of your ways. He is only my way, which saith, I am the way, the truth, and the life. In this way will I walk, his doings shall be my example, not yours, nor your false popes. His truth will I embrace, not the lies and falsehood of you and your pope. His everlasting life will I seek, the true reward of all faithful people. Away from me, I pray you; vex my soul no longer; ye shall not prevail. There is no good example in you, no truth in you, no life to be hoped for at your hands. Ye are all more vain than vanity itself. If I should hear and follow you thus, everlasting death should hang over me, a just reward for all them that love the life of this world. Away from me, your company I like not.—Thus a whole week, night and day, was Benet plied by these and such other hypocrites.

It would be endless to declare all things done and said to him in the time of his imprisonment, and the hate of the people that time, by means of ignorance, was hot against him: notwithstanding, they could never move his patience. He answered to every matter soberly, and that more by the aid of God's Spirit than by any worldly study. I think he was at the least fifty years old. Being in prison, his wife provided sustenance for him, and when she lamented, he comforted her, and gave her many good and godly exhortations, and prayed her to move him nothing to apply unto his adversaries.

Thus when these goodly canons and priests, with the monks and friars, had done what they could, and perceived that he would by no means relent, then they proceeding unto judgment, drew out their bloody sentence against him, and condemned him, as the manner is, to be burned. Which being done, and the writ which they had procured *De Comburendo*, being brought from London, they delivered him the 15th of January, 1531, unto sir Thomas Denis, knight, then sheriff of Devonshire, to be burned.

The mild martyr rejoicing his end to approach so near, as the sheep before the shearer, yielded himself with all humbleness to abide and suffer the cross of persecution. And being brought to his execution, in a place called Livery-doie, without Exeter, he made his most humble confession and prayer

unto Almighty God, and requested all the people to do the like for him, whom he exhorted with such gravity and sobriety, and with such a pithy oration, to seek the true honouring of God, and the true knowledge of him; as also to leave the devices and imaginations of man's inventions; that all the hearers and beholders of him were astonished and in great admiration; insomuch that the most part of the people, as also the scribe who wrote the sentence of condemnation against him, did pronounce and confess that he was God's servant, and a good man.

Nevertheless, two esquires, namely, Thomas Carew and John Barnehouse, standing at the stake by him, first with fair promises and goodly words, but at length through threatenings, willed him to revoke his errors, and to call to our Lady and the saints, and to say, *Precor Sanctam Mariam, et omnes Sanctos Dei, &c.* To whom he with all meekness answered, saying, "No, no; it is God only upon whose name we must call, and we have no other advocate unto him but only Jesus Christ, who died for us, and now sitteth at the right hand of the Father, to be an advocate for us; and by him must we offer and make our prayers to God, if we will have them to take place, and be heard." With which answer the aforesaid Barnehouse was so enkindled, that he took a furze-bush upon a pike, and, being set on fire, thrust it unto his face, saying, "Ah, whoreson heretic! pray to our Lady, and say, *Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis*, "or, by God's wounds, I will make thee do it."

To whom the said Thomas Benet, with an humble and meek spirit, most patiently answered, "Alas, sir, trouble me not." And holding up his hands, he said, *Pater, ignosce illis*: Father, forgive them. Whereupon the gentlemen caused the wood and furzes to be set on fire, and therewith this godly man lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven; saying, *O Domine, recipe spiritum meum*: Lord, receive my spirit. And so continuing in his prayers, did never stir nor strive, but most patiently abode the cruelty of the fire, until his life was ended. For which the Lord be praised, and send us his grace and blessing, that at the latter day we may with him enjoy the bliss and joy provided and prepared for the elect children of God.

This Benet was burned in a jerkin of neat's leather; at whose burning (such was the fierce rage of the blind people) that well was he or she that could catch a stick or furze to cast into the fire.

Hitherto we have run over, good reader, the names, the acts, and doings, of them which have sustained death, and the torment of burning, for Christ's cause, through the rigorous proclamation above specified, set out in the name of king Henry, but indeed procured by the bishops; which proclamation was so straitly looked upon, and executed so to the uttermost in every point, by the said popish prelates, that no good man could peep out with his head never so little, but he was caught by the back, and brought either to the fire, (as were these above mentioned,) or else were compelled to abjure their religion: wherof there was a great multitude, as well men as women.

We now enter into the story of the good martyr of God, William Tindal; who, as he was a special organ of the Lord, appointed to shake the inward roots and foundation of the pope's proud prelacy; so the great prince of darkness, with his imps, having a special malice against him, left no way unsought how craftily to entrap him, and maliciously to spill his life; as by the process of his story here following may appear.

*The LIFE and STORY of the true Servant and Martyr of God, WILLIAM TINDAL; who, for his notable pains and travel, may well be called the "Apostle of England, in the sixteenth Century."*

William Tindal, the faithful minister and martyr of Christ, was born about the borders of Wales, some time before 1500, and brought up from a child in the university of Oxford, where he by long continuance increased as well in the knowledge of tongues and other liberal arts, as in the knowledge of the scriptures, whereunto his mind was singularly addicted; insomuch, that in Magdalen-hall he read privately to certain students and fellows of Magdalen-college, some parcel of divinity, instructing them in the knowledge and truth of the scriptures; whose manners also and conversation being correspondent to the same, were such, that all they that knew him reputed and esteemed him to be a man of most virtuous disposition, and unspotted life.

From the university of Oxford he removed to Cambridge, where after he had likewise made his abode a certain space, being now further ripened in the knowledge of God's word, he left that university also, and went to one Mr. Welch, a knight of Gloucestershire, and was there schoolmaster to his children, and in good favour with his master. This gentleman, as he kept a good ordinary commonly at his table, there resorted to him many times sundry abbots, deans, archdeacons, with divers other doctors and great beneficed men; who there, together with Mr. William Tindal, sitting at the same table, did use many times to enter into conversation, and talk of learned men, as of Luther, and of Erasmus; also of divers controversies and questions upon the scripture.

Then Mr. Tindal, as he was learned and well practised in God's matters, so he spared not to shew unto them simply and plainly his judgment in matters: and when they at any time did vary from Tindal in opinions and judgment, he would shew them in the book, and lay plainly before them the open and manifest places of the scriptures, to confute their errors, and confirm his sayings. And thus continued they for a certain season, reasoning and contending together divers and sundry times, till at length they waxed weary, and bare a secret grudge in their hearts against him.

Not long after this, it happened that certain of these great doctors had invited Mr. Welch and his wife to a banquet; where they had talk at will and pleasure, uttering their ignorance without any gainsaying. Then Mr. Welch and his wife coming home, and calling for Mr. Tindal, began to reason with him about those matters, wherof the priest had talked before at their banquet. Mr. Tindal answering by scriptures, maintained the truth, and reproved their false opinions. Then said the lady Welch, a stout and a wise woman, as Tindal reported, "Well, there was such a doctor which may dispend an hundred pounds, and another two hundred pounds, and another three hundred pounds: and what, were it reason, think you, that we should believe you before them?" Mr. Tindal gave her no answer at that time; and also after that, because he saw it would not avail, he talked but little in those matters. At that time he was about the translation of a book called *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*, which being translated, he delivered to his master and lady; who, after they had read and well perused the same, the prelates were not called so often to the house, neither had they the cheer and countenance when they came, as before they had. Which they perceiving, and supposing no less but it came by the means of Mr. Tindal, refrained themselves, and at last utterly withdrew, and came no more there.



As this grew on, the priests of the country clustering together, began to storm against Tindal, railing against him in ale-houses and other places. Of whom Tindal himself, in his prologue before the first book of Moses, thus testifieth in his own words, and reporteth that he suffered much in that country by a sort of unlearned priests, being full rude and ignorant, saith he, God knoweth: which have seen no more Latin, than that only which they read in their proses and missals, which yet many of them can scarcely read, except it be *Albertus de Secretis Mulierum*, in which yet, though they be never so sorrowfully learned, they pore day and night, and make notes therein, and all to teach the midwives, as they say; and also another, called Lindwood, a book of constitutions to gather tithes, mortuaries, offerings, customs, and other pillage, which they call not their's, but God's part, the duty of holy church, to discharge their consciences withal. For they are bound that they shall not diminish, but increase all things unto the uttermost of their powers, which pertain to holy church. Thus these blind and rude priests, flocking together to the ale-house, (for that was their preaching place,) raged and railed against him, affirming, that his sayings were heresy; adding, moreover, unto his sayings, of their own heads, more than ever he spake, and so accused him secretly to the chancellor, and certain of the bishop's officers.

It followed, not long after this, that there was a sitting of the bishop's chancellor appointed, and warning was given to the priests to appear, amongst whom Mr. Tindal was also warned. And whether he had any misdoubt by their threatenings, or knowledge given that they would lay some things to his charge, it is uncertain; but certain this is, as he himself declared, that he doubted their privy accusations; so that he by the way, in going thitherwards, cried in his mind heartily to God, to give him strength to stand fast in the truth of his words.

Then when the time came of his appearance before the chancellor, he threatened him grievously, reviling at him as though he had been a dog, and laid to his charge many things whereof no accuser yet could be brought forth, (as commonly their manner is, not to bring forth the accuser,) notwithstanding that the priests of the country the same time were present. And thus Mr. Tindal, after those examinations, escaping out of their hands, departed home, and returned to his master again.

There dwelt not far off a certain doctor, that had been an old chancellor before to a bishop, who had been an old familiar acquaintance with Mr. Tindal, and also favoured him well. Unto whom Mr. Tindal went, and opened his mind upon divers questions of the scripture; for to him he durst be bold to disclose his heart. Unto whom the doctor said, "Do ye not know that the pope is very Antichrist, whom the scripture speaketh of? But beware what you say; for if you shall be perceived to be of that opinion, it will cost you your life." And said, moreover, "I have been an officer of his; but I have given it up, and defy him and all his works."

It was not long after, but Mr. Tindal happened to be in the company of a certain divine, accounted a learned man; and in communing and disputing with him, he drove him to that issue, that the said great doctor burst out into these blasphemous words, and said, "We were better to be without God's laws than the Pope's." Mr. Tindal hearing this, full of godly zeal, and not bearing that blasphemous saying, replied again, and said, "I defy the pope, and all his laws;" and further added, That if God spared him life, ere many years, he would cause a boy that driveth the plough to know more of the scripture than he did.

After this, the grudge of the priests increasing still more against Tindal, they never ceased barking at him, and laid many things to his charge, saying, that he was an heretic in sophistry, an heretic in logic, an heretic in divinity; that he bare himself bold of the gentlemen there in that country; but, notwithstanding, shortly he should be otherwise talked withal. To whom Mr. Tindal answering again, thus said, That he was contented they should bring him into any country in all England, giving him ten pounds a year to live with, and binding him to no more but to teach children, and to preach.

To be short, Mr. Tindal being so molested and vexed in the country by the priests, was constrained to leave that country, and to seek another place; and so coming to Mr. Welch, he desired him of his good will that he might depart from him, saying on this wise to him, "Sir, I perceive that I shall not be suffered to tarry long here in this country, neither shall you be able, though you would, to keep me out of the hands of the spirituality; and also what displeasure might grow thereby to you by keeping me, God knoweth; for the which I should be right sorry."

So that in fine, Mr. Tindal, with the good-will of his master, departed, and soon came up to London, and there preached a while, according as he had done in the country before; then went to the city of Bristol, and preached in the common place called St. Austin's Green. At length, he bethinking himself of Cuthbert Tonstal, then bishop of London, and especially for the great commendation of Erasmus, who in his annotations so extolled him for his learning, thus cast with himself, that if he might attain unto his service, he were a happy man. And so coming to Sir Henry Gifford, the king's comptroller, and bringing with him an oration of Socrates, which he had then translated out of Greek into English, he desired him to speak to the said bishop of London for him: which he also did, and willed him moreover to write an epistle to the bishop, and to go himself with him; which he did likewise, and delivered his epistle to a servant of his, named William Hebblethwaite, a man of his old acquaintance. But God, who secretly disposeth the course of things, saw that was not the best for Tindal's purpose, nor for the profit of his church; and therefore gave him to find little favour in the bishop's sight. The answer of whom was this, That his house was full, he had more than he could well find, and advised him to seek in London abroad, where he said he could lack no service, &c. And so remained he in London the space almost of a year, beholding and marking with himself the course of the world, and especially the demeanour of the preachers, how they boasted themselves, and set up their authority and kingdom; beholding also the pomp of the prelates, with other things more, which greatly displeased him. Insomuch that he understood not only there to be no room in the bishop's house for him to translate the New Testament, but also that there was no place to do it in all England. And, therefore, finding no place for his purpose within the realm, and having some aid and provision, by God's providence, ministered unto him by Humphrey Monmouth, and certain other good men, he took his leave of the realm, and departed into Germany. Where the good man, being inflamed with a tender care and zeal of his country, refused no labour nor diligence, how by all means possible to reduce his countrymen to the same taste and understanding of God's holy word, which the Lord had endued him withal.

Whereupon he considering in his mind, and partly also conferring with John Frith, thought with himself no way more to conduce thereunto, than if the scripture were turned

into the vulgar speech, that the poor people might also read and see the simple plain word of God. For first, he wisely casting in his mind, perceived by experience how that it was not possible to establish the lay people in any truth, except the scripture were so plainly laid before their eyes in their mother tongue, that they might see the process, order, and meaning of the text; for else, whatsoever truth should be taught them, these enemies of the truth would quench it again, either with apparent reasons of sophistry and traditions of their own making, founded without all ground of scripture, or else, juggling with the text, expound it in such a sense as to render it impossible to gather of the text, if the right process, order, and meaning thereof, were seen.

For these and such other considerations this good man was moved (and no doubt stirred up of God) to translate the scripture into his mother tongue, for the public profit of the simple vulgar people of the country; first undertaking the New Testament, which he first translated about the year of our Lord 1527. After that, he took in hand to translate the Old Testament, finishing the five books of Moses, with sundry most learned and godly prologues prefixed before every one, most worthy to be read by all good Christians, as the like also he did upon the New Testament.

He wrote also divers other works under sundry titles, amongst which is that most worthy monument of his, entitled *The Obedience of a Christian Man*; wherein with singular dexterity he instructed all men in the office and duty of Christian obedience; with divers other treatises, as, *The Wicked Mammon*, *The Practice of Prelates*, with expositions upon certain parts of the scripture; and other books also answering to sir Thomas More, and other adversaries of the truth.

The books of William Tindal being compiled, published, and sent over into England, it cannot be spoken what a door of light they opened to the eyes of the whole English nation, which before were many years shut up in darkness.

At his first departing out of the realm he took his journey into the further parts of Germany, as into Saxony, where he had conference with Luther, and other learned men in those quarters; where after that he had continued a certain season, he came down from thence into the Netherlands, and dwelt in the town of Antwerp, until the time of his apprehension.

Amongst his other books which he compiled, one work he made also for the declaration of the sacrament (as it was then called) of the altar; which he kept by him, considering how the people were not as yet fully persuaded in other matters tending to superstitious ceremonies and gross idolatry. Wherefore he thought as yet time was not come to put forth that work, but rather that it should hinder the people from other instructions, supposing that it would seem to them odious to hear any such thing spoken, or set forth at that time, sounding against their great goddess Diana, that is, against their mass, being had every where in great estimation, as was the goddess amongst the Ephesians, whom they thought to come from heaven.

Wherefore Mr. Tindal, being both prudent in his doings, and no less zealous in the setting forth of God's holy truth, after such sort as it might take most effect with the people, did forbear the putting forth of that work, not doubting but by God's merciful grace a time should come to have that abomination openly declared, as it is at this present day; for which the Lord Almighty be always praised, Amen.

These godly books of Tindal, and especially the New Testament of his translation, after that they began to come into men's hands, and to spread abroad, as they wrought great and singular profit to the godly; so the ungodly, envying

and disdainning that the people should be any thing wiser than they, and again, fearing lest by the shining beams of truth their hypocrisy and works of darkness should be discerned, began to stir with no small ado, like as, at the birth of Christ, Herod and all Jerusalem was troubled with him. But especially Satan the prince of darkness, envying the success of the gospel, set to his might also how to impeach and hinder the blessed labour of that man; as by this, and also by sundry other ways, may appear. For at what time Tindal had translated the fifth book of Moses, called *Deuteronomium*, minding to print the same at Hamburg, he sailed thitherward; where by the way, upon the coast of Holland, he suffered shipwreck, by which he lost all his books, writings, and copies, and so was compelled to begin all again anew. Thus having lost by that ship both money, his copies, and time, he came in another ship to Hamburg; where at his appointment Mr. Coverdale tarried for him, and helped him in the translation of the whole five books of Moses, from Easter to December, in the house of a worshipful widow, Mrs. Margaret Van Emmerson, anno 1529; a great sweating sickness being at the same time in the town. So having despatched his business at Hamburg, he returned afterwards to Antwerp.

When God's will was that the New Testament in the common tongue should come abroad, Tindal, the translator thereof, added to the latter end a certain epistle, wherein he desired them that were learned, to amend if ought were found amiss. Wherefore if any such default had been deserving correction, it had been the part of courtesy and gentleness for men of knowledge and judgment to have shewed their learning therein, and to have redressed that which was to be amended. But the spiritual fathers then being not willing to have the book to prosper, cried out that there were a thousand heresies in it, and that it was not to be corrected, but utterly to be suppressed. Some said it was not possible to translate the scripture into English; some, that it was not lawful for the lay people to have it in their mother-tongue; some, that it would make them all heretics. And to the intent to induce the temporal rulers also unto their purpose, they made matter; and said that it would make the people rebel against the king. All this Tindal himself, in his own prologue before the first book of Moses, declareth, and addeth further, shewing what great pains was taken in examining that translation, and comparing it with their own imaginations and terms, that with less labour he supposeth they might have translated themselves a great part of the Bible; shewing, moreover, that they scanned and examined every tittle and point in the said translation, in such sort, and so narrowly, that there was not one *i* therein, but if it lacked a dot over its head, they did note it, and numbered it unto the ignorant people for a heresy. So great were then the froward devices of the English clergy to drive the people from the text and knowledge of the scripture, which neither they would translate themselves, nor yet abide it to be translated by others; to the intent, as Tindal saith, that the world being kept still in darkness, they might sit in the consciences of the people, through vain superstition and false doctrine, to satisfy their lust, their ambition, and unsatiable covetousness, and to exalt their own honour above king and emperor, yea, and above God himself.

The bishops and prelates of the realm, thus incensed against the Old and New Testament of the Lord, newly translated by Tindal, and conspiring together with all their heads and counsels how to repeal the same, never rested before they had brought the king at last to their consent. By reason whereof a proclamation in all haste was devised

and set forth under public authority, but no just reason shewed, that the Testament of Tindal's translation, with other works more, both of his and of other writers, were inhibited and abandoned, as ye heard before; which was about the year of our Lord 1527. And yet not contented herewith, they proceeded further, how to entangle him in their nets, and to bereave him of his life. Which how they brought to pass, now it remaineth to be declared.

William Tindal being in the town of Antwerp, had been lodged about one whole year in the house of Thomas Pointz, an Englishman, who kept there an house of English merchants. About which time came thither one out of England, whose name was Henry Philips, his father being customer of Poole; a comely fellow, like as he had been a gentleman, having a servant with him; but wherefore he came, or for what purpose he was sent thither, no man could tell.

Mr. Tindal divers times was invited to dinner and supper amongst the merchants; by the means whereof this Henry Philips became acquainted with him, so that within short space Mr. Tindal had a great confidence in him, and brought him to his lodging to the house of Thomas Pointz, and had him also once or twice with him to dinner and supper, and further entered into such friendship with him, that through his procurement he lay in the same house; to whom he shewed moreover his books and other secrets of his study; so little did Tindal then mistrust his traitor.

But Pointz having no great confidence in the fellow, asked Mr. Tindal how he came acquainted with this Philips? Mr. Tindal answered, that he was an honest man, handsomely learned, and very comfortable. Then Pointz, perceiving that he bare such favour to him, said no more, thinking that he was brought acquainted with him by some friend of his. The said Philips being in the town three or four days, upon a time desired Pointz to walk with him forth of the town to shew him the commodities thereof, and, in walking together without the town, had communication of divers things, and some of the king's affairs; by which talk Pointz as yet suspected nothing, but after, by the sequel of the matter, he perceived more what the other intended. In the mean time, this he well perceived, that he bare no great favour either to the setting forth of any good thing, or to the proceedings of the king of England. But after, when the time was past, Pointz perceived this to be his mind, to feel if he could perceive by him, whether he might break with him in the matter, for lack of money to help him to his purpose: for he perceived before that he was monied, and would that Pointz should think no less; but by whom it was unknown. For he had desired Pointz before to help him to divers things, and such things as he named he required might be of the best; for, said he, I have money enough. But of this talk came nothing, but that men should think he had some things to do; for nothing else followed of his talk. So it was to be suspected, that Philips was in doubt to move this matter to any of the rulers or officers of the town of Antwerp, for fear it should come to the knowledge of some Englishmen, and by means thereof Mr. Tindal should have had warning.

So Philips went from Antwerp to the court of Brussels, which is from thence 24 English miles, the king having there no ambassador; for at that time the king of England and the emperor were at a controversy, for the question betwixt the king and the lady Catharine, who was aunt to the emperor, and the discord grew so much, that it was doubted lest there should have been war between the emperor and the king; so that Philips, as a traitor both against God and the king, was there the better retained, as also other traitors more besides him; who after he had betrayed Mr. Tindal

into their hands, shewed himself likewise against the king's own person, and there set forth things against the king. To make short, the said Philips did so much there, that he procured to bring from thence with him to Antwerp the emperor's procuror-general, with other officers.

Within a while after, Pointz sitting at his door, Philips' man came unto him, and asked whether Mr. Tindal were there, and said his master would come to him; and so departed. But whether his master Philips were in the town or not, it was not known; but at that time Pointz heard no more, neither of the master nor of the man. Within three or four days after, Pointz went forth to the town of Barrow, being 18 English miles distant from Antwerp, where he had business to do for the space of a month or six weeks; and in the time of his absence, Henry Philips came again to Antwerp, to the house of Pointz, and coming in, spake with his wife, asking her for Mr. Tindal, and whether he would dine there with him; saying, what good meat shall we have? She answered, such as the market will give. Then went he forth again, as it is thought, to provide and set the officers, which he brought with him from Brussels, in the street and about the door. Then about noon he came again, and went to Mr. Tindal, and desired him to lend him forty shillings; for, said he, I lost my purse this morning in the passage between this and Mechlin. So Mr. Tindal took him forty shillings; which was easy to be had of him, if he had it, for in the wily subtleties of this world he was simple and unexpert.

Then said Philips, Mr. Tindal, you shall be my guest here to-day.—No, said Mr. Tindal, I go forth this day to dinner, and you shall go with me, and be my guest, where you shall be welcome. So when it was dinner time, Mr. Tindal went forth with Philips; and at the going out of Pointz's house was a long narrow entry, so that two could not go in a front. Mr. Tindal would have put Philips before him, but Philips would in no wise, but put Mr. Tindal before; for that he pretended to shew great humility. So Mr. Tindal, being a man of no great stature, went before, and Philips, a tall comely person, followed behind him; who had set officers on either side of the door upon two seats, who being there, might see who came in the entry; and coming through the same entry, Philips pointed with his finger over Mr. Tindal's head down to him, that the officers which sat at the door might see that it was he whom they should take; as the officers that took Mr. Tindal afterwards told Pointz, and said to Pointz when they had laid him in prison, that they pitied to see his simplicity when they took him.

Then they took him, and brought him to the emperor's attorney, or procuror-general, where he dined. Then came the procuror-general to the house of Pointz, and sent away all that was there of Mr. Tindal's, as well his books as other things, and from thence Tindal was had to the castle of Filford, 18 English miles from Antwerp; and there he remained until he was put to death.

Then, by the help of English merchants, were letters sent in the favour of Tindal to the court of Brussels. Also, not long after, letters were directed out of England to the council at Brussels, and sent to the merchant adventurers to Antwerp, commanding them to see that with speed they should be delivered.—Then such of the chief of the merchants as were there at that time being called together, required the said Pointz to take in hand the delivery of those letters, with letters also from them in favour of Mr. Tindal to the lord of Barrow and others: which lord of Barrow, as it was told Pointz by the way, at that time was departed from Brussels, as the chief conductor of the eldest daughter of the king of Denmark, to be married to the Palesgrave, whose mother

was sister to the emperor, she being chief princess of Denmark. Who after he heard of his departure, did ride after the next way, and overtook him at Achon, where he delivered to him his letters. The which when he had received and read, he made no direct answer, but somewhat objecting, said, there were of their countrymen that were burned in England not long before; (as indeed there were Anabaptists burned in Smithfield.) And so Pointz said to him, Howbeit, whatsoever the crime was, if his lordship or any other nobleman had written requiring to have had them, he thought they should not have been denied.--Well, said he, I have no leisure to write, for the princess is ready to ride.

Then said Pointz, If it shall please your lordship, I will attend upon you unto the next baiting-place, (which was at Maestricht.) If you do so, said the lord, I will advise myself by the way what to write. So Pointz followed him from Achon to Maestricht, which are 15 English miles asunder; and there he received letters of him, one to the council there, another to the company of the merchant adventurers, and another also to the lord Cromwell in England.

So Pointz rode from thence to Brussels, and then and there delivered to the council the letters out of England, with the lord of Barrow's letters also, and received soon answer into England of the same letters; which he brought to Antwerp to the English merchants, who requested him to go with them into England. And he, very desirous to have Mr. Tindal out of prison, hesitated not to take pains, with loss of time in his own business, and diligently followed with the said letters, which he there delivered to the council; and was commanded by them to tarry until he had other letters, with which he was not despatched thence in a month after. At length the letters being delivered him, he returned again, and delivered them to the emperor's council at Brussels, and there tarried for answer of the same.

When the said Pointz had tarried three or four days, it was told him by one that belonged to the Chancery, that Mr. Tindal should have been delivered to him, according to the tenor of the letters: but Philips being there, followed the suit against Mr. Tindal; and hearing that he should be delivered to Pointz, and doubting lest he should be put from his purpose, he knew no other remedy but to accuse Pointz, saying, That he was a dweller in the town of Antwerp, and there had been a succourer of Tindal, and was one of the same opinion, and that all this was only his own labour and suit, to have Mr. Tindal at liberty, and no man's else.

Thus, upon his information and accusation, Pointz was attached by the procuror-general, the emperor's attorney, delivered to the keeping of two sergeants at arms; and the same evening was sent to him one of the chancery, with the procuror-general, who ministered to him an oath, that he should truly make answer to all such things as should be inquired of him, thinking they would have had no other examinations of him but of his message. The next day likewise they came again, and had him in examination, and so five or six days, one after another, upon not so few as an hundred articles, as well of the king's affairs as of the message concerning Tindal, of his aiders, and of his religion. Out of which examinations, the procuror-general drew twenty-three or twenty-four articles, and declared the same against the said Pointz, the copy whereof he delivered to him to make answer thereunto, and permitted him to have an advocate and proctor, that is, a doctor and proctor in the law; and order was taken, that eight days after he should deliver unto them his answer, and from eight days to eight days to proceed till the process were ended. Also, that he should send

no messenger to Antwerp, where his house was, being 24 English miles from Brussels, where he was prisoner, nor to any other place, but by the post of the town of Brussels: nor to send any letters, nor any to be delivered to him, but written in Dutch, and the procuror-general, who was party against him, to read them, to peruse and examine them thoroughly, contrary to all right and equity, before they were sent or delivered; neither might any be suffered to speak or talk with Pointz in any other tongue or language, except only in the Dutch tongue, so that his keepers (who were Dutchmen,) might understand what the contents of the letters or talk should be. Saying, that at one certain time the provincial of the white friars came to dinner where Pointz was prisoner, and brought with him a young novice, being an Englishman, whom the provincial after dinner, of his own accord, did bid to talk with the said Pointz, and so with him he was licensed to talk: the purpose and great policy therein was easy to be perceived. Between Pointz and the novice was much pretty talk, as of sir Thomas More, and the bishop of Rochester. After this, Pointz delivered up his answer to the procuror-general, and then after, at the days appointed, went forth with replication duplic, with other answers, each to other, in writing, what they could.

As the commissioners came to Pointz, Philips, the traitor, accompanied them to the door in following the process against him, as he also did against Mr. Tindal. Thus Pointz for Mr. Tindal was sore troubled, and long kept in prison; but at length, when he saw no other remedy, by night he made his escape. But good Tindal could not escape their hands, but remained in prison still. Who being brought unto his answer, was offered to have an advocate and a proctor; for in any criminal cause there, it shall be permitted to have counsel, to make answer in the law. But he refused to have any such, saying, that he would answer for himself; and so he did.

At last, after much reasoning, when no reason would serve, although he deserved no death, he was condemned by virtue of the emperor's decree, made in the assembly at Augsburg; and upon the same brought forth to the place of execution, was there tied to the stake, and then strangled first by the hangman, and afterwards with fire consumed, in the morning, at the town of Fillord, anno 1536, crying thus at the stake, with a fervent zeal and a loud voice, Lord, open the king of England's eyes!

Such was the power of his doctrine, and sincerity of his life, that during the time of his imprisonment, which endured a year and a half, it is said he converted his keeper, his daughter, and other of his household. Also, the rest that were with him conversant in the castle, reported of him, that if he were not a good Christian man, they could not tell whom to trust.

The procurator-general, the emperor's attorney, being there, left this testimony of him, That he was *homo doctus, pius, et bonus*, that is, a learned, a good, and a godly man.

As touching his translation of the New Testament, because his enemies did so much carp at it, pretending it to be so full of heresies: to answer therefore to their slanderous tongues and lying lips, thou shall hear and understand, what faithful dealing and sincere conscience he used in the same, by the testimony and allegation of his own words, written in the epistle of John Frith, as followeth, "I call God to record against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus, to give our reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of God's word against my conscience, nor would do this day, if all that is in earth, whether it be honour, pleasure, or riches, might be given me."

*The HISTORY of that worthy Martyr JOHN LAMBERT, otherwise named NICHOLSON, with his Troubles, Examination, and Answers, as well before the Archbishop of Canterbury, Warham, and other Bishops; as also before King Henry the Eighth; by whom at length he was condemned to death, and burned in Smithfield, in 1538.*

Immediately upon the ruin and destruction of the monasteries, the same year, and in the month of November, followed the trouble and condemnation of *John Lambert*, the faithful servant of Jesus Christ, and martyr of blessed memory. This Lambert being born and brought up in Norfolk, was first converted by Milney, and studied in the university of Cambridge; where after that he had sufficiently profited both in the Latin and Greek, and had translated out of both tongues sundry things into the English tongue, being enforced at last by violence of the times, he departed from thence to the parts beyond the seas, to Tindal and Frith, and there remained the space of a year and more, being preacher and chaplain to the English house at Antwerp, till he was disturbed by Sir Thomas More, and by the accusation of one Barlow was carried from Antwerp to London; where he was brought to examination, first at Lambeth, then at the bishop's house at Oxford, before Warham, the archbishop of Canterbury, and other adversaries, having five-and-forty articles ministered against him, whereunto he rendered answer again by writing.

The answers of John Lambert, to the five and forty articles, were directed and delivered to Dr. Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, as it appeareth about the year of our Lord 1532, at what time the said Lambert was in custody in the archbishop's house at Oxford, being there destitute of all help and furniture of books, as by his own words is to be gathered. But so the providence of God wrought for Lambert, that within short space after, anno 1533, the said archbishop Warham died; whereby it seemeth that Lambert for that time was delivered. In this mean while, Dr. Cranmer was sent over in embassy with the earl of Wiltshire, Dr. Stokesley, Dr. Kern, Dr. Benet, and other learned men, to the Bishop of Rome, lying then at Bononia, to dispute the matter of the king's marriage openly, first in the court of Rome, then in the court of the emperor. Where, after sundry promises and appointments made, yet when the time came, no man there appeared to dispute with them, in these two propositions: First, that no man, *jure divino*, could or ought to marry his brother's wife. Secondly, That the bishop of Rome by no means ought to dispense to the contrary.

After the death of William Warham, succeeded in that see the said Dr. Cranmer. Lambert in the mean season being delivered, partly by the death of this archbishop, partly by the coming of queen Anne, returned unto London, and there exercised himself about the Stocks, in teaching children both in the Greek and Latin tongue. And forso-much as priests in those days could not be permitted to have wives, he left his priesthood, and applied himself to that function of teaching, intending shortly after also to be free of the Grocers' company, and to be married. But God, who disposeth all men's purposes after the secret pleasure of his own will, did both intercept his marriage, and also his freedom, and married him to his Son Christ Jesus, as now consequently followeth to be declared. Thus then, after that John Lambert now had continued in his vocation of teaching, with great commendation, and no less advantage to the youth; it happened this present year, 1538, he was present at a sermon, in St. Peter's church at London. He that

preached was named Dr. Taylor, a man in those days not far disagreeing from the gospel, and afterwards in the time of king Edward was made bishop of Lincoln, but at last, in the time of queen Mary, was deprived from the same, and so ended his life among the confessors of Jesus Christ.

When the sermon was done, Lambert having gotten opportunity, went gently unto the preacher to talk with him, and uttered divers arguments wherein he desired to be satisfied. All the whole matter or controversy was concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. Taylor excusing himself at that present for other business, willed him to write his mind, and to come again at more leisure.

Lambert was contented, and so departed; who, within a while after, when he had written his mind, came again unto him. The sum of his arguments were ten, which he comprehended in writing, approving the truth of the cause, partly by the scriptures, and partly by good reason, and by the doctors. Which arguments, although they came not all unto our hands, yet such men as were present at those affairs reported them to be of great force and authority. And of a few which were borne away in memory, the first reason was this which followeth, gathered upon Christ's words, where it is said in the gospel, "This cup is the new testament," &c.

And if, saith he, these words do not change neither the cup, neither the wine, corporally into the New Testament, by like reason it is not agreeable that the words spoken of the bread, should turn the bread corporally into the body of Christ.

Another reason was this: That it is not agreeable to a natural body to be in two places or more at one time: wherefore it must follow of necessity, that either Christ had not a natural body, or else truly according to the common nature of a body it cannot be present in two places at once, and much less in many, that is to say, in heaven and in earth, on the right hand of his Father, and in the sacrament.

Moreover, a natural body cannot be without his form and shape, conditions and accidents, like as the accidents and conditions also cannot be without their subject or substance. Then forasmuch as in the sacrament there is no quality, quantity, or condition of the body of Christ, and finally no appearance at all of flesh; who doth not very plainly perceive that there is no transubstantiate body of his in the sacrament? And to reason by the contrary: all the proper conditions, signs, and accidents, whatsoever they be, pertaining to bread, we do see to be present in the sacrament, which cannot be there without the subject; therefore we must of necessity confess the bread to be there. He added also many other allegations out of the doctors.

But to be short, this Taylor, the preacher, whom I spoke of before, willing and desiring, as is supposed, of a good mind to satisfy Lambert in this matter, amongst other whom he took to counsel, he also conferred with Dr. Barnes. Which Barnes, although he did otherwise favour the gospel, and was an earnest preacher, notwithstanding seemed not greatly to favour this cause, fearing peradventure that it would breed some hinderance among the people to the preaching of the gospel, which was now in a good forwardness, if such sacramentaries should be suffered: he persuaded Taylor by and by to refer the matter to Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury.

Upon these originals Lambert's quarrel first began, and was brought unto this point, That through the sinister doing of many, it began of a private talk to be a public and common matter. For he was sent for by the archbishop, and brought into the open court, and forced to defend his cause openly; for the archbishop had not yet favoured the



doctrine of the sacrament, whereof afterwards he was an earnest professor. In that disputation it is said, that Lambert did appeal from the bishops to the king's majesty.

King Henry, for two years past, having shewed the part of an hard husband, at last beheaded queen Anne his wife. Which deed did not only greatly displease the German princes, (who for that only cause had broken off the league with him, anno 1536,) but also many good men in England.

A short time after this, abbeys began to be subverted, and all their goods to be confiscated and given abroad. For which causes, but especially for the late rejection of the bishop of Rome, the commons had conceived a very evil opinion of him, insomuch that the seditious sort rebelled against him.

At that time Stephen Gardiner, then bishop of Winchester, was in authority amongst the king's counsellors; who, as he was of a cruel nature, so was he no less of a subtle and crafty wit, ever looking for some occasion how to hinder the gospel; however, he was not long so greatly esteemed by the king, that he could much prevail to achieve his conceived purpose. But at length, upon this matter he thought he had a proper opportunity to accomplish his desire; he went straight unto the king, privily admonishing him, and with fair flattering words giving him most pernicious counsel; declaring how great hatred and suspicion were raised upon him in almost all places.

First, for abolishing the bishop of Rome's authority, then for subversion of the monasteries, and also for that the divorce of queen Katharine was yet fresh in men's minds: and now the time served, if he would take it, easily to remedy all these matters, and pacify the minds of them which were displeased and offended with him, if only in this matter of John Lambert he would manifest unto the people how stoutly he would resist heretics; and thus he should discharge himself of all suspicion.

The king, giving ear more willingly than prudently or godlily to this syren, immediately received the wicked counsel of the bishop, and by and by sent out a general commission, commanding all the nobles and bishops of his realm to come with all speed to London, to assist the king against heretics and heresies, which the king himself would sit in judgment upon.

These preparations made, a day was set for Lambert, where a great assembly of the nobles was gathered from all parts of the realm, not without much wonder and expectation in this so strange a case. All the seats and places were full of men round about the scaffold.

By and by the godly servant of Christ, John Lambert, was brought from the prison with a guard of armed men, even as a lamb to fight with many lions, and placed right over against where the king's royal seat was, so that now they tarried but for the king's coming to that place.

At last the king himself did come as judge of that great controversy, with a great guard, clothed all in white, and covering by that colour and dissembling the severity of bloody judgment.

On his right hand sat the bishops, and behind them the famous lawyers, clothed all in purple. On the left hand sat the peers of the realm, justices, and other nobles, in their order; behind whom sat the gentlemen of the king's privy chamber. And this was the manner and form of the judgment, which though it was terrible enough of itself to abash any innocent; yet the king's look, his cruel countenance, and his brows bent unto severity, did not a little augment this terror, plainly declaring a mind full of indignation far unworthy such a prince, especially in such a matter, and against so humble and obedient a subject.

When the king was sat in his throne, he beheld Lambert with a stern countenance, and then turning himself unto his counsellors, he called forth Dr. Day, bishop of Chichester, commanding him to declare unto the people the causes of this present assembly and judgment.

The whole effect of this oration tended in a manner to this purpose: That the king in this session would have all states, degrees, bishops, and all others, to be admonished of his will and pleasure, that no man should conceive any sinister opinion of him, that, now the authority and name of the bishop of Rome being utterly abolished, he would also extinguish all religion, or give liberty unto heretics to trouble the churches of England, without punishment; whereof he is the head. And, moreover, that they should not think that they were assembled at that present, to make any disputation upon the heretical doctrine; but only for this purpose, that by the industry of him and other bishops, the heresies of this man here present, (meaning Lambert,) and the heresies of all such like, should be refuted or openly condemned in the presence of them all.

When he had made an end of his oration, the king standing up upon his feet, leaning upon a cushion of white cloth of tissue, turning himself toward Lambert with his brows bent, as it were threatening some grievous thing to him, said these words, Ho, good fellow! what is thy name? Then the humble lamb of Christ, humbly kneeling down upon his knees, said, My name is John Nicholson, although of many I be called Lambert.—What, (said the king,) have you two names? I would not trust you having two names, although you were my brother.—*Lambert*: O most noble prince, your bishops forced me of necessity to change my name.

And after divers prefaces and much talk had in this manner, the king commanded him to go unto the matter, and to declare his mind and opinion, what he thought as touching the sacrament of the altar.

Then Lambert, beginning to speak for himself, gave God thanks, which had so inclined the heart of the king, that he himself would not disdain to hear and understand the controversies of religion; for that it happeneth oftentimes, through the cruelty of the bishops, that many good and innocent men in many places are privily murdered, and put to death, without the king's knowledge.

But now forasmuch as that high and eternal King of kings, in whose hands are the hearts of all princes, hath inspired and stirred up the king's mind, that he himself will be present to understand the causes of his subjects, specially whom God of his divine goodness hath so abundantly endued with so great gifts of judgment and knowledge, he doth not mistrust but that God will bring some great thing to pass through him, to the setting forth of the glory of his name.

Then the king, with an angry voice, interrupting his oration: I came not hither, said he, to hear mine own praises thus painted out in my presence; but briefly go to the matter, without any more circumstance. This he spake in Latin.

But Lambert being abashed at the king's angry words, contrary to all men's expectation, stayed a while, considering whither he might turn himself in these great straits and extremities.

But the king being hasty, with anger and vehemency said, Why standest thou still? answer as touching the sacrament of the altar: whether dost thou say, That it is the body of Christ, or wilt deny it? And with that word the king lifted up his cap.

*Lambert*. I answer with St. Augustine, That it is the body of Christ, after a certain manner.

*The king.* Answer me neither out of St. Augustine, neither by the authority of any other, but tell me plainly, whether thou sayest it is the body of Christ or no? These words the king spake again in Latin.

*Lambert.* Then I do deny it to be the body of Christ.

*The king.* Mark well, for now thou shalt be condemned even by Christ's own words, *Hoc est corpus meum*.

Then he commanded Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, to refute his assertion; who, first making a short preface unto the hearers, began his disputation with Lambert very modestly, saying, Brother Lambert, let this matter be handled between us indifferently, that if I do convince this your argument to be false by the scripture, you will willingly refuse the same; but if you shall prove it true by the manifest testimonies of the scripture, I do promise I will willingly embrace the same.

The argument was this, taken out of that place of the Acts of the Apostles, where as Christ appeared unto St. Paul by the way: disputing out of that place, that it is not disagreeable to the word of God, that the body of Christ may be in two places at once, which being in heaven was seen of St. Paul the same time upon earth; and if it may be in two places, why by the like reason may it not be in many places.

In this manner the archbishop began to refute the second argument of Lambert, which, as we have before said, was written and delivered by the said Lambert unto the preacher; for the king had first disputed against his first reason.

Lambert answered unto this argument, saying, That the *minor* was not thereby proved, that Christ's body was dispersed in two places or more, but remaineth rather still in one place, as touching the manner of his body. For the scripture doth not say, that Christ being upon the earth did speak unto Paul; but "That suddenly a light from heaven did shine round about him, and he falling to the ground heard a voice saying unto him, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? I am Jesus whom thou persecutest," &c. Here this place doth nothing let but that Christ, sitting in heaven, might speak unto Paul, and be heard upon earth; for they which were with Paul verily heard the voice, but did see no body.

The archbishop, on the contrary part, said, Paul himself doth witness, Acts ix. and xxvi. that Christ did appear unto him in the same vision.

But Lambert again said, that Christ did witness in the same place, "That he would again appear unto him, and deliver him out of the hands of the Gentiles:" notwithstanding, we read in no place that Christ did corporally appear unto him.

Thus, when they had contended about the conversion of St. Paul, and Lambert so answering for himself, that the king seemed greatly to be moved therewith, and the bishop himself that disputed to be entangled, and all the audience amazed; then the bishop of Winchester, which was appointed the sixth place of the disputation, fearing lest the argument should be taken out of his mouth, or rather being drowned with malice against the poor man, without the king's commandment, observing no order, before the archbishop had made an end, unshamefacedly kneeling down to take in hand the disputation, alleged a place out of the twelfth chapter of the Corinthians, where St. Paul saith, "Have I not seen Jesus?" and again in the fifteenth chapter: "He appeared unto Cephas; and afterwards unto James, then to all the apostles; but last of all he appeared unto me, as one born out of due time."

Hereunto Lambert answered, he did nothing doubt but

that Christ was seen and did appear; but he did deny that he was in two or in divers places according to the manner of his body.

Then again the king and the bishops raged against Lambert, insomuch that he was not only forced to silence, but also might have been driven into a rage, if his ears had not been acquainted with such taunts afore. After this, the other bishops, every one in his order, as they were appointed, supplied their places of disputation.

There were appointed ten in number, for the performing of this tragedy; for his ten arguments, which, as before we have declared, were delivered unto Taylor the preacher. It were too long in this place to repeat the reasons and arguments of every bishop; and no less superfluous, especially as they were all but common reasons, and nothing forcible, and such as by the long use of disputation have been beaten, and had little in them either worthy of the hearer or the reader.

Lambert in the mean time being compassed in with so many and great perplexities, vexed on the one side with checks and taunts, and pressed on the other side with the authority and threats of the personages; and partly being amazed with the majesty of the place in the presence of the king; and especially being wearied with long standing, which continued no less than five hours, from twelve o'clock until five at night; being brought in despair, that he should nothing profit in this purpose, and seeing no hope at all in speaking, was at this point that he chose rather to hold his peace.

Whereby it came to pass, that these bishops which last of all disputed with him, spake what they listed without interruption, save only that Lambert would now and then allege somewhat out of St. Augustine for the defence of his cause; in which author he seemed to be very prompt and ready. But for the most part, as I said, being overcome with weariness and other griefs, he held his peace, defending himself rather with silence, than with arguments which he saw would nothing at all prevail.

At the last, when the day was passed, and torches began to be lighted, the king minding to break up this pretended disputation, said unto Lambert in this wise, What sayest thou now, after all these great labours which thou hast taken upon thee, and all the reasons and instructions of these learned men? Art thou not yet satisfied? wilt thou live or die? what sayest thou? Thou hast yet free choice.

Lambert answered, I yield and submit myself wholly unto the will of your majesty.

Then, said the king, commit thyself unto the hands of God, and not unto mine.

Lambert: I commend my soul unto the hands of God, but my body I wholly yield and submit unto your clemency.

Then said the king, If you do commit yourself unto my judgment, you must die; for I will not be a patron unto heretics. And turning himself unto Cromwell, he said, Cromwell, read the sentence of condemnation against him. This Cromwell was at that time the chief friend of the gospellers.

And here it is much to be marvelled at, to see how unfortunately it came to pass in this matter, that through the pestiferous and crafty counsel of this one bishop of Winchester, Satan, which oftentimes doth raise up one brother to the destruction of another, did here perform the condemnation of this Lambert by no other ministers than gospellers themselves, Taylor, Barnes, Cranmer, and Cromwell; who afterwards, in a manner, all suffered the like for the gospel's sake.

This undoubtedly was the malicious and crafty subtlety of the bishop of Winchester, which desired rather that the sentence might be read by Cromwell, than by any other; so that if he refused to do it, he should likewise have incurred the like danger. But, to be short, Cromwell, at the king's commandment, taking the schedule of condemnation in hand, read the same; wherein was contained the burning of heretics, which either spake or wrote any thing, or had any books by them, repugnant or disagreeing from the papistical church and tradition touching the sacrament of the altar; also a decree that the same should be set upon the church porches, and be read four times in every year, in every church throughout the realm, whereby the worshipping of the bread should be the more firmly fixed in the hearts of the people. And in this manner was the condemnation of John Lambert. Wherein great pity it was, and much to be lamented, to see the king's highness that day so to oppose and set his power and strength so fiercely and vehemently, in assisting so many proud and furious adversaries against one poor soul.

But thus was John Lambert, in this bloody session, by the king judged and condemned to death; whose judgment now remaineth with the Lord against that day, when, before the tribunal seat of that great Judge, both princes and subjects shall appear, not to judge, but to be judged, according as they have done and deserved.

Upon the day that was appointed for this holy martyr of God to suffer, he was brought out of the prison at eight of the clock in the morning unto the house of the lord Cromwell, and so carried into his inward chamber, where, it is reported by many, that Cromwell desired of him forgiveness for what he had done.—There at the last, Lambert being admonished that the hour of his death was at hand, he was greatly comforted and cheered; and being brought out of the chamber into the hall, he saluted the gentlemen, and sat down to breakfast with them, shewing no manner of sadness or fear. When the breakfast was ended, he was carried straightway to the place of execution, where he should offer himself unto the Lord for a sacrifice of sweet savour, who is blessed in his saints for ever and ever.

As touching the terrible manner and fashion of the burning of this blessed martyr, here is to be noted, that of all other which have been burned and offered up at Smithfield, there was yet none so cruelly and piteously handled as he. For, after that his legs were consumed and burned up to the stumps, and that the wretched tormentors and enemies of God had withdrawn the fire from him, so that but a small fire and coals were left under him, then two that stood on each side of him, with their halberts pitched him upon their pikes, as far as the chain would reach. Then he lifting up such hands as he had, and his fingers' ends flaming with fire, cried unto the people in these words, "None but Christ! none but Christ! and so being let down again from their halberts, fell into the fire, and there ended his life.

Reader! magnify God, that popish kings, and popish prelates, have no longer any jurisdiction in these realms; and pray earnestly to him, that all obstructions to the investigation and avowal of religious truth, from the civil powers, may cease, to the ends of the earth!

#### *The Death of Robert Packington.*

Amongst other acts and matters passed and done this present year, which is of the Lord 1538, here is not to be silenced the unworthy and lamentable death of Robert Pack-

ington, mercer, of London, wrought and caused by the enemies of God's word and of all good proceedings. The story is this: the said Robert Packington, being a man of substance, and dwelling in Cheapside, used every day at five o'clock, summer and winter, to go to pray at a church then called St. Thomas of Acres, but now named Mercer's Chapel; and one morning amongst all other being a great misty morning, such as hath seldom been seen, even as he was crossing the street from his house to the church, he was suddenly murdered with a gun, which by the neighbours was plainly heard, and by a great number of labourers standing at Soper-lane end; he was both seen to go forth of his house, and the clap of the gun was heard, but the deed-doer was a great while unknown. Although many in the mean time were suspected, yet none could be found faulty therein, the murderer so covertly was conveyed: till at length, by the confession of Dr. Incent, dean of Paul's, on his death-bed, it was known, and by him confessed, that he himself was the author thereof, by hiring an Italian for forty crowns, or thereabout, to do the feat. For the testimony whereof, and also for the repentant words of the said Incent, the names both of them which heard him confess it, and of them which heard the witnesses report it, remain yet in memory.

The cause why he was so little favoured with the clergy, was this: For that he was known to be a man of great courage, and one time could both speak and also would be heard; for at the same time he was one of the burgesses of the parliament for the city of London, and had talked somewhat against the covetousness and cruelty of the clergy; wherefore he was had in contempt with them, and was thought also to have some talk with the king, for which he was the more had in disdain with them, and murdered by the said Dr. Incent, for his labour, as hath been above declared.

And thus much of Robert Packington, who was the brother of Augustine Packington before mentioned, who deceived bishop Tonsal in buying the new translated Testament of Tindal; whose piteous murder, although it was private and sudden, yet hath it so pleased the Lord not to keep it in darkness, but to bring it at length to light.

#### *The Burning of one Collins, at London.*

Neither is here to be omitted the burning of one Collins, sometime a lawyer, and a gentleman, who suffered the fire this year also in Smithfield, anno 1538. Whom although I do not here recite as in the number of God's professed martyrs, yet neither do I think him to be clean sequestered from the company of the Lord's saved flock and family, notwithstanding that the bishop of Rome's church did condemn and burn him for an heretic; but rather do recount him therefore, as one belonging to the holy company of saints. At leastwise this case of him, and of his end, may be thought to be such, as may well reprove and condemn their cruelty and madness, in burning so without discretion this man, being mad and distracted of his perfect wits, as he then was by this occasion, as here followeth.

This gentleman had a wife of exceeding beauty and comeliness, but notwithstanding, of so light behaviour and unchaste conditions, that she forsaking her husband, who loved her greatly, betook herself unto another paramour. Which when he understood, he took it very grievously and heavily, more than reason would. At last, being overcome with exceeding sorrow and heaviness, he fell mad, being at that time a student of the law in London. When he was thus deprived of his reason, by chance he came into a church, where the priest was saying mass, and was come to the place

where they used to hold up and shew the sacrament: Collins, being beside his wits, seeing the priest holding up the host over his head, and shewing it to the people, he in like manner counterfeiting the priest, took up a little dog by the legs, and held him over his head, shewing him unto the people. And for this he was by and by brought to examination, and condemned to the fire, and was burned, and the dog with him, the same year of our Lord in which John Lambert was burned, 1538.

*The Burning of Cowbridge, at Oxford, 1538.*

With this aforesaid Collins may also be adjoined the burning of *Cowbridge*, who likewise being mad and beside his right senses, was either the same or the next year following condemned by Longland, bishop of Lincoln, and committed to the fire by him to be burnt at Oxford. What his opinions and articles were wherewith he was charged, it needeth not here to rehearse; for as he was then a man mad, and destitute of sense and reason, so his words and sayings could not be sound. Yea, rather, what wise man would ever collect articles against him, which said, He could not tell what. And if his articles were so horrible and mad as Cope in his Dialogues doth declare them, then was he in my judgment a man more fit to be sent to Bedlam, than to be had to the fire in Smithfield to be burned. For what reason is it to require reason of a creature mad or unreasonable, or to make heresy of the words of a senseless man, not knowing what he affirmed?

But this is the manner and property of this holy mother church of Rome, that whatsoever cometh into their hands and inquisition, to the fire it must go. There is no other way; neither pity that will move, nor excuse that will serve, nor age that they will spare, nor any respect almost that they consider, as by these two miserable examples, both of Collins and Cowbridge, it may appear. Who rather should have been pitied, and all ways convenient sought how to reduce the silly wretches into their right minds again, according as the true pastors of Israel be commanded by the Spirit of God, to seek again the things that be lost, and to bind up the things that be broken.

But to end with this matter of Cowbridge; whatsoever his madness was before, or however erroneous his articles were, yet as touching his end, that is certain, that in the midst of the flame, he lifting up his head to heaven, soberly and discreetly called upon the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and so departed.

*William Leiton, and Puttedew, Martyrs.*

About the same time and year, or not much before, when John Lambert suffered at London, there was one *Puttedew* also condemned to the fire in Suffolk; who coming into the church, and merrily telling the priest, That after he had drunk up all the wine, alone, he afterwards blessed the hungry people with the empty chalice; was for the same immediately apprehended, and shortly after burned, leaving to us an experiment, *Quam parum sit tutum ludere cum sanctis*; How unsafe it is to jest with the saints; as the old saying was then: but rather, as we may say now, *Quam male tutum sit ludere cum impiis*; How very unsafe it is to sport with the wicked.

To the other: *William Leiton* was a monk of Aye, in the county of Suffolk, and was burned at Norwich, for speaking against a certain idol which was accustomed to be carried about the processions at Aye; and also for holding that the sacramental supper ought to be administered in both kinds; about the year and time aforesaid.

In the burning of another Suffolk man, named *N. Peke*, dwelling sometimes at Earlestoneham, and burnt at Ipswich, somewhat before the burning of these aforesaid, thus I find it recorded: That when he being fast bound to a stake, and furze set on fire round about him, was so scorched, that he was as black as any soot, one Dr. Reading there standing before him, with Dr. Heyre and Dr. Springwell, having a long white wand in his hand, did knock him upon his right shoulder, and said, "Peke, recant, and believe that the sacrament of the altar is the very body of Christ, flesh, blood, and bone, after that the priest hath spoken the words of consecration over it, and here have I in my hand to absolve thee for thy misbelief that hath been in thee;" having a scroll of paper in his hand. When he had spoken these words, Peke answered and said, "I defy it, and thee also;" and with a great violence he spit from him very blood, which came by reason that his veins brake in his body for extreme anguish. And when the said Peke had so spoken, then Dr. Reading said, To as many as shall cast a stick to the burning of this heretic, is granted forty days of pardon by my lord bishop of Norwich.

Then baron Curson, Sir John Audley, knight, with many others of estimation, being there present, did rise from their seats, and with their swords did cut down boughs, and throw them into the fire; and so did all the multitude of the people.

*Some Account of the Life and Death of LORD THOMAS CROMWELL.*

One of the greatest supports of the true religion, and the most zealous forwarder of the Reformation, was *Thomas Cromwell*, earl of Essex, who was the son of a blacksmith at Putney, and born in the year 1498. Though he had little advantage from education, yet having a fine natural understanding, he rose by degrees into the confidential favourite, and at last prime minister, of Henry VIII. and from the moment he possessed any influence in the cabinet, he employed it in promoting the Reformation, to his zeal for which he became at last a victim: for the more firmly to promote the Protestant cause, he contrived to marry the king to Anne of Cleves, whose friends were all Lutherans. Unfortunately, Henry took a disgust to this lady, which brought on Cromwell's ruin; the king, with his usual caprice and cruelty, taking this opportunity to sacrifice his minister to the Roman Catholic party, to whom he seemed desirous to reconcile himself as soon as he had Catharine Howard in view. In his zeal for Protestantism, Cromwell had introduced the unjustifiable mode of attainder in cases of treason and heresy; and his enemies (the ancient nobility and the Catholics) having preferred many complaints against him, availed themselves of his own law. He was attainted of treason and heresy, of neither of which he could be proved guilty; however, he was convicted unheard, and beheaded in 1540.

He was a great and good man, and the chief instrument of the suppression of the abbeys and monasteries, and of the destruction of images and relics. To him also we are indebted for the institutions of parish registers of births, marriages, and burials. The following prayer, repeated by him a few minutes before he was beheaded, gives us a very favourable opinion both of the soundness of his understanding, and the piety of his heart.

"O Lord Jesus, which art the only health of all men living, and the everlasting life of them which die in thee; I, wretched sinner, do submit myself wholly unto thy most

blessed will, and being sure that the thing cannot perish which is committed unto thy mercy, I now willingly leave this frail and wicked flesh, in sure hope that thou wilt in better wise restore it to me again at the last day, in the resurrection of the just. I beseech thee, most merciful Lord Jesus Christ, that thou wilt by thy grace make strong my soul against all temptations, and defend me with the buckler of thy mercy against all the assaults of the devil. I see and acknowledge that there is in myself no hope of salvation, but all my confidence, hope, and trust, is in thy most merciful goodness. I have no merits nor good works which I may allege before thee. Of sins and evil works, alas, I see a great heap; but yet through thy mercy I trust to be in the number of them to whom thou wilt not impute their sins, but wilt take and accept me for righteous and just, and to be the inheritor of everlasting life. Thou, merciful Lord, wert born for my sake; thou didst both suffer hunger and thirst for my sake; thou didst teach, pray, and fast, for my sake; all thy holy actions and works thou wroughtest for my sake; thou sufferedst most grievous pains and torments for my sake; finally, thou gavest thy most precious body and thy blood to be shed on the cross for my sake. Now, most merciful Saviour, let all these things profit me, which hast given thyself also for me. Let thy blood cleanse and wash away the spots and foulness of my sins. Let thy righteousness hide and cover my unrighteousness. Let the merits of thy passion and bloodshedding be satisfaction for my sins. Give me, Lord, thy grace, that the faith of my salvation in thy blood waver not in me, but may ever be firm and constant. That the hope of thy mercy and life everlasting never decay in me, that love wax not cold in me. Finally, that the weakness of my flesh be not overcome with the fear of death. Grant me, merciful Saviour, that when death hath shut up the eyes of my body, yet the eyes of my soul may still behold and look upon thee; and when death hath taken away the use of my tongue, yet my heart may cry and say unto thee, Lord, into thy hands I commend my soul; Lord Jesus, receive my spirit, Amen."

And thus having finished his prayer, after he had piously and lovingly exhorted them that were about him on the scaffold, he quietly committed his soul into the hands of God, and so patiently suffered the stroke of the axe.

*The History of ROBERT BARNES, THOMAS GARRET, and WILLIAM HIEROME, Divines.*

Like as, in foreign battles, the chief point of victory consisteth in the safety of the general or captain; even so when the valiant standard-bearer and stay of the church of England, Thomas Cromwell I mean, was made away, pity it is to behold what miserable slaughter of good men and good women ensued thereupon, whereof we have now to treat. For Winchester having not gotten his full purpose, and free swing to exercise his cruelty, wonder it was to see that *Aper Calydonius*, (or, as the scripture speaketh, that *wild boar*,) what troubles he raised in the Lord's vineyard. And lest by delays he might lose the occasion presently offered, he straightways made his first assaults upon *Robert Barnes*, *Thomas Garret*, and *William Hierome*, whom in the very same month, within two days after Cromwell's death, he caused to be put to execution.

First of all we will somewhat speak of Barnes, doctor of divinity.—This Barnes, after he came from the university of Louvain, went to Cambridge, where he was made prior and master of the house of the Augustines. At that time the knowledge of good letters was scarcely entered into the uni-

versity, all things being full of rudeness and barbarity, saving in very few, which were private and secret. Whereupon Barnes, having some feeling of better learning and authors, began in his house to read Terence, Plautus, and Cicero; so that what with his industry, pains, and labour, and with the help of Thomas Parnel, his scholar, whom he brought from Louvain with him, reading *Copia verborum et rerum*, he caused the house shortly to flourish with good letters, and made a great part of the house learned, (which before were drowned in barbarous rudeness,) as Mr. Cambridge, Mr. Field, Mr. Coleman, Mr. Burley, Mr. Coverdale, with divers others of the university, that sojourned there for learning's sake. After these foundations laid, then did he read openly in the house Paul's epistles, and put by Duns and Dorbel, and yet he was a questionary himself; and only because he would have Christ there taught, and his holy word, he turned their unsavoury problems and fruitless disquisitions to better matter of the holy scripture, and thereby in short space he made divers good divines. The same order of disputation which he kept in his house, he observed likewise in the university abroad, when he should dispute with any man in the common schools. And the first man that answered Dr. Barnes in the scriptures, was Mr. Stafford, for his form to be bachelor of divinity; which disputation was marvellous in the sight of the great blind doctors, and joyful to the godly-spirited.

Thus Barnes, what with his reading, disputation, and preaching, became famous and mighty in the scriptures, preaching ever against false bishops and hypocrites; and yet did not see his inward and outward idolatry, which he both taught and maintained, till that good Mr. Bilney, with others, converted him wholly unto Christ.

The first sermon that ever he preached of this truth, was the Sunday before Christmas-day, at St. Edward's church, belonging to Trinity-hall, in Cambridge, by the Pease-market; whose text was the epistle of the same Sunday, Rejoice in the Lord, &c. And for that sermon he was immediately accused of heresy, by two fellows of the King's hall. Then the godly learned in Christ, both of Pembroke-hall, St. John's, Peter's-house, Queen's-college, the King's-college, Gunwell-hall, and Benet-college, shewed themselves, and flocked together in open sight, both in the schools and at open sermons, at St. Mary's, and at the Austin's, and at other disputations; and then they conferred continually together.

The house that they resorted most commonly unto was the White-horse; which, for despite of them, to bring God's word into contempt, was called Germany. This house especially was chosen, because many of them of St. John's, the King's college, and the Queen's-college, came in on the back part.

At this time much trouble began to ensue: the adversaries of Dr. Barnes accused him in the Regent-house before the vice-chancellor, where his articles were presented with him, and received, he promising to make answer at the next convocation; and so it was done. Then Dr. Nottoris, a rank enemy to Christ, moved Dr. Barnes to recant; but he refused so to do: which appeareth in his book that he made to king Henry VIII. in English, confuting the judgment of cardinal Wolsey, and the residue of the bishops papistical; and so for the time stood steadfast. And this tragedy continued in Cambridge, one preaching against another, in trying out of God's truth, until within six days of Shrovetide. Then suddenly was sent down to Cambridge a sergeant of arms, called Gibson, dwelling in St. Thomas Apostles in London, who suddenly arrested Dr. Barnes openly in the court



education-house, to make all others afraid; and privately they had determined to make search for Luther's books, and all the German works, suddenly.

But good Dr. Farman, of the Queen's-college, sent word thereof to the chambers of those that were suspected, which were in number thirty persons. But, God be praised, they were conveyed away by the time that the sergeant at arms, the vice-chancellor, and the proctors, were at every man's chamber, going directly to the place where the books lay; whereby it was perceived, that there were some private spies amongst that small company. And that night they studied together, and gave him his answer; which answer he carried with him to London next morning. In the morning he was carried by the sergeant at arms, to cardinal Wolsey to Westminster, waiting there all day, and could not speak with him till night. Then, by reason of Dr. Gardiner, secretary to the cardinal, (of whose familiar acquaintance he had been before,) and Mr. Fox, master of the wards, he spake the same night with the cardinal in his chamber of state, kneeling on his knees. Then said the cardinal to them, Is this Dr. Barnes your man that is accused of heresy?—Yea, and please your grace, and we trust you shall find him reformatable, for he is both well learned and wise.

What, Mr. Doctor, (said the cardinal,) had you not a sufficient scope in the scriptures to teach the people, but that my golden shoes, my pollaxes, my pillars, my golden cushions, my crosses, did so sore offend you, that you must make us *ridiculum caput* amongst the people? We were jollily that day laughed to scorn. Verily it was a sermon more fit to be preached on a stage than in a pulpit; for at the last you said, I wear a pair of red gloves. I should say bloody gloves, (quoth you,) that I should not be cold in the midst of my ceremonies. And he answered, I spake nothing but the truth out of the scriptures, according to my conscience, and according to the old doctors. And then did he deliver him six sheets of paper written, to confirm and corroborate his sayings.

He received them, smiling on him, and saying, We perceive then that you intend to stand to your articles, and to shew your learning.

Yea, said Barnes, that I do intend, by God's grace, with your lordship's favour.

He answered, Such as you are do bear us little favour, and the Catholic church. I will ask you a question: whether do you think it more necessary that I should have all this royalty, because I represent the king's majesty's person in all the high courts of this realm, to the terror and keeping down of all rebellious treasons, traitors, and all the wicked and corrupt members of this commonwealth; or to be as simple as you would have us, to sell all these aforesaid things, and to give it to the poor, which shortly will get drunk with it, and to pull away this majesty of a princely dignity, which is a terror to all the wicked, and to follow your counsel in this behalf?

He answered, I think it necessary to be sold and given to the poor; for this is not comely for your calling, nor is the king's majesty maintained by your pomp and pollaxes, but by God, who saith, Kings and their majesty reign and stand by me.

Then answered he, Lo, master doctors, here is the learned wise man that you told me of! Then they kneeled down, and said, We desire your grace to be good unto him, for he will be reformatable.

Then said he, Stand you up; for your sakes and the university we will be good unto him. How say you, master doctor, do you not know that I am *legatus de latere*, and that

I am able to dispense in all matters concerning religion within this realm, as much as the pope may?—He said, I know it to be so.

Will you then be ruled by us, and we will do all things for your honesty, and the honesty of the university?

He answered, I thank your grace for your good-will; I will stick to the holy scriptures, and to God's book, according to the simple talent that God hath lent me.

Well, said he, thou shalt have thy learning tried to the uttermost, and thou shalt have the law.

Then he required him that he might have justice with equity: and forthwith he should have gone to the Tower, but that Gardiner and Fox became his sureties that night; and so he came home to Mr. Parnel's house again, and that night fell to writing again, and slept not, Mr. Coverdale, Mr. Goodwin, and Mr. Field, being his writers; and in the morning he came to York-place to Gardiner and Fox, and by and by he was committed to the sergeant at arms, to bring him into the Chapter-house at Westminster, before the bishops, and the abbot of Westminster, called Islip.

The same time when Dr. Barnes should appear before the cardinal, there were five Still-yard men to be examined for Luther's books and Lollardy; but after they spied Barnes, they set the others aside, and asked the sergeant at arms, what was his errand? He said, he had brought one Dr. Barnes to be examined of heresy; and presented both his articles and his accusers. Then immediately, after a little talk, they swore him, and laid his articles to him. Who like as he answered the cardinal before, so said he unto them; and then he offered the books of his probations unto them. Who asked him whether he had another for himself? and he said, Yea; shewing it unto them. Who then took it from him, and said they would have no leisure to dispute with him at that present, for other affairs of the king's majesty, which they had to do; and therefore bade him stand aside. Then they called the Still-yard men again one by one; and when they were examined, they called forth the master of the Fleet, and they were committed all to the Fleet. Then they called Dr. Barnes again, and asked him whether he would subscribe to his articles or no; and he subscribed willingly; and then they committed him and young master Parnel to the Fleet also with the other. There they remained till Saturday in the morning, and the warden of the Fleet was commanded that no man should speak with him.

On the Saturday he came again before them into the Chapter-house, and there with the Still-yard men remained till five o'clock at night. And after long disputations, threatenings, and scornings, they called him, to know whether he would abjure or burn? He was then in a great agony, and thought rather to burn than to abjure. But then was he said again to have the counsel of Gardiner and Fox, and they persuaded him rather to abjure than to burn, because they said he should do no more in time to come, and with divers other persuasions that were mighty in the sight of reason and foolish flesh. Upon that, kneeling upon his knees, he consented to abjure; and the abjuration being put in his hand, he abjured as it was there written, and then he subscribed with his own hand; and yet they would scarcely receive him into the bosom of the church, as they termed it. Then they put him to an oath, and charged him to execute, do, and fulfil, all that they commanded him; and he promised so to do.

Then they commanded the warden of the Fleet to carry him and his fellows to the place from whence he came, and to be kept in close prison, and in the morning to provide five faggots for Dr. Barnes and the Still-yard men. The

fifth Still-yard man was commanded to have a taper of five pounds weight to be provided for him, to offer to the rood of Northen, in Paul's, and all these things to be ready by eight of the clock in the morning; and that he, with all that he could make, with bills and gloves, and the knight marshal, with all his tipstuffs, should bring them to Paul's, and conduct them home again.

In the morning they were all ready by their hour appointed in Paul's church, the church being so full that no man could get in. The cardinal had a scaffold made on the top of the stairs for himself, with six-and-thirty abbots, mitred priors, and bishops, and he in his whole pomp, mitred, (which Barnes spake against,) sat there enthroned, his chaplains and spiritual doctors in gowns of damask and satin, and he himself in purple, even like a bloody Antichrist. And there was a new pulpit erected on the top of the stairs also, for the bishop of Rochester to preach against Luther and Dr. Barnes; and great baskets full of books standing before them within the rails, which were commanded, after the great fire was made before the rood of Northen, there to be burned, and these heretics after the sermon to go thrice about the fire, and to cast in their faggots.

Now, while the sermon was a-doing, Dr. Barnes and the Still-yard men were commanded to kneel down and ask God forgiveness, the Catholic church, and cardinal; and, after that, he was commanded at the end of the sermon to declare that he was more charitably handled than he deserved, or was worthy, his heresies were so horrible and so detestable; and once again kneeling on his knees, desired of the people forgiveness, and to pray for him; and so the cardinal departed under a canopy with all his mitred men with him, till he came to the second gate of Paul's, and then he took his mule, and the mitred men came back again. Then these poor men being commanded to come down from the stage, (whereon the sweepers use to stand when they sweep the church,) the bishops sat down again, and commanded the knight marshal and the warden of the Fleet with their company to carry them about the fire; and so were they brought to the bishops, and there for absolution kneeled down: when Rochester stood up, and declared unto the people how many days of pardon and forgiveness of sins they had for being at that sermon, and there did pardon Dr. Barnes, with the others, and shewed the people that they were received into the church again.

This done, the warden of the Fleet and the knight marshal were commanded to have them to the Fleet again, and charged that they should have the liberty of the Fleet as other prisoners had; and that their friends might resort unto them, and there to remain till the lord cardinal's pleasure was known.

After that Barnes there in the Fleet had continued the space of half a year, at length being delivered, he was committed to be a free prisoner at the Austin friars in London. When those caterpillars and bloody beasts had there undermined him, they complained again to the lord cardinal; whereupon he was removed to the Austin friars of Northampton, there to be burned. Yet he himself understanding nothing thereof, but supposing still that he should there remain and continue in free prison: at last one Mr. Hoone, who had brought him up, and was his special friend, having intelligence of the writ which should shortly be sent down to burn him, gave him counsel to feign himself to be desperate, and that he should write a letter to the cardinal, and leave it on his table where he lay, and a paper by, to declare whither he was gone to drown himself, and to leave his clothes in the same place; and there another letter to be

left to the mayor of the town to search for him in the water, because he had a letter written in parchment about his neck, closed in wax, for the cardinal, which should teach all men to beware by him. Upon this, they were seven days in searching for him; but he was conveyed to London in a poor man's apparel, and so tarried not there, but took shipping, and went by long seas to Antwerp, and so to Luther, and there fell to study till he had made an answer to all the bishops of the realm, and had made a book, entitled, *Acta Romanorum Pontificum*, and another book with a supplication to king Henry. Immediately it was told the cardinal, that he was drowned, and he said, *Perit memoria ejus cum sonitu*. But this did light upon himself shortly after, who wretchedly died at Leicester.

In the same season, Dr. Barnes was made strong in Christ, and got favour both of the learned in Christ, and foreign princes in Germany, and was great with Luther, Melancthon, Pomeran, Justus Jonas, Hegendorphimus, and Epinus, as also with the duke of Saxony, and with the king of Denmark; which king of Denmark, in the time of More and Stokesley, sent him with the Lubecks, as an ambassador to king Henry VIII. He lay with the Lubecks' chancellor at the Still-yard.

Sir Thomas More, then chancellor, would fain have entrapped him; but the king would not let him, for Cromwell was his great friend. And ere he went, the Lubecks and he disputed with the bishops of this realm in defence of the truth; and so he departed again without restraint with the Lubecks.

After his going again to Wittenburg to the duke of Saxony and to Luther, he remained there to set forward his works in print that he had begun; from whence he returned again in the beginning of the reign of queen Anne, as others did, and continued a faithful preacher in this city, being all her time well entertained and promoted. After that, he was sent ambassador by king Henry VIII. to the duke of Cleves, for the marriage of the lady Anne of Cleves, between the king and her, and well accepted in the embassy, and in all his doings, until the time that Stephen Gardiner came out of France; but after he came, neither religion prospered, nor the queen's majesty, nor Cromwell, nor the preachers; who, after the marriage of the lady Cleves, never ceased until he had grafted the marriage in another stock, by the occasion whereof he began his bloody broil.

For not long after, Dr. Barnes, with his brethren, were apprehended and carried before the king's majesty to Hampton-court, and there he was examined. Where the king's majesty seeking the best means of his safety, to bring Winchester and him agreed, at Winchester's request granted him leave to go home with the bishop to confer with him; and so he did. But as it happened, they not agreeing, Gardiner and his companions sought by all subtle means how to entangle and to entrap them in further danger; which not long after was brought to pass. For by certain complaints made to the king of them, they were enjoined to preach three sermons the next Easter following at the Spittle. At which sermons, besides other reporters which were thither sent, Stephen Gardiner also was there present sitting with the mayor, either to hear record of their recantation, or else (as the Pharisees came to Christ) to trip them in their talk, if they had spoken any thing awry.

When these three had thus preached their sermons, among whom Barnes preaching the first sermon, and seeing Stephen Gardiner there present, humbly desired him in the face of all the audience, if he forgave him, to hold up his hand, and the said Gardiner thereupon held up his finger; yet notwith-

standing shortly after, by the means of the said reports, they were sent for to Hampton-court; who from thence were carried to the Tower by Sir John Gostwike. From thence they never came out till they came to their death.

And thus hitherto concerning the history of Barnes. Now let us likewise consider the story and doings of Thomas Garret.

*The Story of THOMAS GARRET, or Gurrard, and his trouble in Oxford, testified and recorded by Anthony Dalabar, who was there present the same time.*

About the year of our Lord 1526, Mr. Garret, curate in Honey-lane, in London, came unto Oxford, and brought with him sundry books in Latin, treating of the scripture, with the first part of *Unio dissidentium*, and Tindal's first translation of the New Testament in English, which books he sold to divers scholars in Oxford.

After he had been there awhile, and had despatched those books, news came from London, that he was searched for through all London, to be apprehended and taken as an heretic, and to be imprisoned for selling of those heretical books, as they termed them, because they spake against the usurped authority and erroneous doctrine of the bishop of Rome, and his no less impure and filthy synagogue. For it was not unknown to cardinal Wolsey, and to the bishop of London, and to others of that ungodly generation, that Mr. Garret had a great number of those books, and that he was gone to Oxford to make sale of them there to such as he knew to be the lovers of the gospel. Wherefore they determined forthwith to make a private search through all Oxford to apprehend and imprison him, and to burn all his aforesaid books, and him too, if they could; so *burning* hot was their clarity. But yet at that time one of the aforesaid proctors, called Mr. Cole, of Magdalen-college, who after was cross-bearer unto cardinal Wolsey, was well acquainted with Mr. Garret, and therefore he gave secret warning unto a friend or two of Mr. Garret's of his private search, and willed therefore that he should forthwith, as secretly as he could, depart out of Oxford; for if he were taken in the search, no remedy but he should be forthwith sent up unto the cardinal, and so he should be committed unto the Tower.

The Christmas before that time, I, Anthony Dalabar, then scholar of Albarn-hall, who had books of Mr. Garret's, had been in my country in Dorsetshire, at Stalbridge, where I had a brother, parson of that parish, who was very desirous to have a curate out of Oxford, and willed me in any wise to get him one there if I could. This just occasion offered, it was thought good among the brethren, (for so did we not only call one another, but were indeed one to another,) that Mr. Garret, changing his name, should be sent forth with my letters into Dorsetshire, to my brother, to serve him there for a time, until he might secretly from thence convey himself some whither over the sea. According hereunto I wrote my letters in all haste possible unto my brother, for Mr. Garret to be his curate, but not declaring what he was indeed; for my brother was a rank Papist, and afterwards was the most mortal enemy that ever I had for the gospel's sake.

So the Wednesday in the morning before Shrovetide, Mr. Garret departed out of Oxford towards Dorsetshire, with his letters for his new service. How far he went, and by what occasion he soon returned, I know not. But the Friday next, in the night time he came again to Radley's house, where he lay before, and so after midnight, in the private search which was then made for him, he was apprehended and taken there in his bed by the two proctors, and on the Saturday in the morning was delivered unto one Dr. Cotisford, master of

Lincoln-college, then being commissary of the university, who kept him as prisoner, in his own chamber. There was great joy and rejoicing among all the Papists for his apprehension, and especially with Dr. London, warden of the new college, and Dr. Highton, dean of Frideswides, two arch Papists, who immediately sent their letters in post-haste unto the cardinal, to inform him of the apprehension of this notable heretic. For which their doing they were well assured to have great thanks. But of all this sudden hurly-burly I was utterly ignorant, so that I knew neither of Mr. Garret's sudden return, neither that he was taken, until that afterwards he came unto my chamber, being then in Gloucester-college, as a man amazed; and as soon as he saw me, he said he was undone, for he was taken. Thus he spake unadvisedly in the presence of a young man that came with him. When the young man was departed, I asked him what he was, and what acquaintance he had with him? He said, he knew him not; but had been to see a monk of his acquaintance in that college, who was not in his chamber, and therefore he desired his servant (not knowing my chamber, for that I was newly removed thither) to bring him to me; and so forthwith declared how he was returned and taken that night in the private search, as ye have heard; and that now when the commissary and all his company were gone to even-song, and had locked him alone in his chamber, he hearing nobody stirring in the college, put back the bar of the lock with his finger, and so came straight unto Gloucester-college, to speak with that monk, if he had been within, who had also bought books of him.

Then said I unto him, Alas! Mr. Garret, by this your un-circumspect coming unto me, and speaking so before this young man, you have disclosed yourself, and utterly undone me. I asked him, why he went not unto my brother with my letters? He said, after that he was gone a day's journey and a half, he was so fearful, that his heart would no other but that he must needs return again unto Oxford; and so he came again on Friday at night, and then was taken, as ye heard before. But now with deep sighs and plenty of tears he prayed me to help to convey him away; and so he cast off his hood and his gown, wherein he came unto me, and desired me to give him a coat with sleeves, if I had any, and told me that he would go into Wales, and thence convey himself into Germany, if he might. Then I put on him a sleeved coat of mine. He would also have had another manner of cap of me; but I had none but priest-like, such as his own was.

Then kneeled we both down together upon our knees, and lifting up our hearts and hands to God our heavenly Father, desiring him with plenty of tears so to conduct and prosper him in his journey, that he might well escape the danger of all his enemies, to the glory of his holy name, if his good pleasure and will so were; and then we embraced and kissed each other, and scarcely for sorrow could we speak one to another; and so he departed from me apparelled in my coat, being committed unto the tuition of our almighty and merciful Father.

When he was gone down the stairs from my chamber, I straightways did shut my chamber door, and went into my study, and took the New Testament in my hands, kneeled down on my knees, and with many a deep sigh and salt tear I did with much deliberation read over the tenth chapter of St. Matthew's gospel; and when I had so done, with prayer I did commit unto God that our dearly beloved brother Garret, earnestly beseeching him, in and for Jesus Christ's sake, his only begotten Son our Lord, that he would vouchsafe not only safely to conduct and keep our said dear brother from

the hands of all his enemies, but also that he would endure his tender and lately born little flock in Oxford, with heavenly strength, by his holy Spirit, that they might be well able thereby valiantly to withstand all their fierce enemies, and also might quietly, and with all godly patience, bear Christ's heavy cross, which I now saw was presently to be laid on their young and weak backs, unable to bear so huge a burden, without the great help of his holy Spirit.

This done, I laid aside my book safe, folded up Mr. Garret's gown and hood, and laid them in my press among mine apparel; and so having put on my short gown, shut up my study and chamber doors, and went towards Frideswides, to speak with that worthy martyr of God, Mr. Clark, and others, and to declare unto them what had happened that afternoon. But of purpose I went by St. Mary's church, to go first unto Corpus Christi college, to speak with Diet and Udal, my faithful brethren and fellows in the Lord there. But by chance I met by the way with a brother of our's, one Mr. Eden, fellow of Magdalen-college, who, as soon as he saw me, came with a pitiful countenance unto me, saying that we were all undone, for Mr. Garret was returned again to Oxford, taken last night in the private search, and was in prison with the commissary. I said it was not so. He said it was so. I told him it could not be so, for I was sure he was gone. He answered me, and said, I know he was gone with your letters, but he came again yesterday in the evening, and was taken in his bed at Radley's this night in the private search; for (quoth he) I heard our proctor, Mr. Cole, say and declare the same this day in our college to divers of the house. But I told him again, that I was well assured he was now gone; for I spake with him later than either the proctor or the commissary did. And then I declared the whole matter unto him, how and when he came unto me, and how he went his way; willing him to declare the same to our other brethren whom he should meet withal, and to give God hearty thanks for his wonderful deliverance, and to pray him also that he would grant him safely to pass away from all his enemies; and told him that I was going unto Mr. Clark, of Frideswides, to declare unto him this matter: for I knew and thought verily that he and divers others there were in great sorrow for this matter. Then I went straight to Frideswides, and even-song was begun, and the dean and the other canons were there in their gay amices; they were almost at *Magnificat* before I came thither. I stood at the quire door, and heard Mr. Taverner play, and others of the chapel there sing with him, and among whom I myself was wont to sing also; but now my singing and music were turned into sighing and musing.

As I thus and there stood, in cometh Dr. Cotisford the commissary, as fast as ever he could go, bare-headed, as pale as ashes, (I knew his grief well enough,) and to the dean he goeth into the quire, where he was sitting in his stall, and talked with him very sorrowfully; what I know not, but whereof I might and did well and truly guess. I went aside from the quire door, to see and hear more.—The commissary and dean came out of the quire wonderfully troubled, as it seemed.

About the middle of the church met them Dr. London, puffing, blustering, and blowing, like a hungry and greedy lion seeking his prey. They talked together awhile, but the commissary was much blamed of them for keeping of his prisoner so negligently, insomuch that he wept for sorrow; and it was known abroad that Mr. Garret was escaped, and gone out of the commissary's chamber at even-song time; but whither no man could tell. These doctors departed, and sent abroad their servants and spies every where.

Mr. Clark, about the middle of *Compline*, came forth of the quire; I followed him to his chamber, and declared what was happened that afternoon, of Mr. Garret's escape. He was glad, for he knew of his foretaking. Then he sent for one Mr. Sumner and Mr. Bets, fellows and canons there. In the mean while he gave me a very good exhortation, praying God to give me, and all the rest of our brethren, the wisdom of the serpent and the simplicity of the dove; for we should have shortly much need thereof, as he verily thought. When Mr. Sumner and Mr. Bets were come to him, he caused me to declare again the whole matter to them two, and they were very glad that Mr. Garret was so delivered, trusting that he should escape all his enemies. \* Then desiring him to tell unto our other brethren what was happened, (for there were divers others in that college,) I went to Corpus Christi college to comfort our brethren there, being in like heaviness. There I tarried and supped with them; at which supper we were not very merry, considering our state and peril at hand.

When we had ended our supper, and committed our whole cause with fervent sighs and hearty prayers unto God our heavenly Father, I went to Alborn hall, and there lay that night. In the morning I was up very early, and as soon as I could get out of the door, I went straight towards Gloucester-college, to my chamber. It had rained that morning, and with my going I had besprinkled my hose and shoes with mire. And when I was come unto Gloucester-college, which was about six of the clock, I found the gates fast shut. Whereat I did much marvel; for they were wont to be open daily long before that time. Then did I walk up and down by the wall there a whole hour before the gates were opened. In the mean while, my musing head being full of forecasting cares, and my sorrowful heart flowing with doleful sighs, I fully determined in my conscience before God, that if I should chance to be taken and examined, I would accuse no man, nor declare any thing further than I did already perceive was manifestly known before. And so when the gate was opened, thinking to shift myself, and to put on a longer gown, I went in towards my chamber, and going up the stairs, would have opened my door, but I could not in a long season do it. Whereby I perceived that my lock had been meddled withal, and therewith was somewhat altered. Yet at last with much ado I opened the lock, and went in. When I came in, I saw my bed all to be tossed and tumbled, my clothes in my press thrown down, and my study door open. Whereat I was amazed, and thought verily that some search was made there that night for Mr. Garret, and that it was known of his being with me, by the monk's man that brought him to my chamber.

Now there was lying in the next chamber unto me, a monk, who, as soon as he had heard me in the chamber, came to me, and told how Mr. Garret was sought for in my chamber that night, and what ado there was made by the commissary and the two proctors, with bills and swords thrust through my bed-straw, and how every corner of my chamber was searched for Mr. Garret. And although his gown and his hood lay there in my press with my clothes, yet they perceived them not.—Then he told me he was commanded to bring me, as soon as I came in, unto the prior of the students, named Anthony Dunstan, a monk of Westminster. This so troubled me, that I forgot to make clean my hose and shoes, and to shift me into another gown; and therefore, dirty as I was, and in my short gown, I went with him into the said prior's chamber, where I found the said prior standing and looking for my coming. He asked me where I had been that night? I told him I lay at Alborn-hall with my

old bed-fellow Fitzjames; but he would not believe me. He asked me if Mr. Garret were with me yesterday? I told him, yea. Then he would know where he was? and wherefore he came unto me? I told him, I knew not where he was, except he were at Woodstock; for so (said I) he had shewed me that he would go thither, because one of the keepers there, his friend, had promised him a piece of venison to make merry withal this Shrovetide; and that he would have borrowed a hat and a pair of high shoes of me, but I had none indeed to lend him. This tale I thought meetest, though it were nothing so. Then had he spied on my finger a big ring of silver very well double gilt, with two letters, A. D. engraved in it for my name; I suppose he thought it to be of gold. He required to see it, I gave it unto him. When he had it in his hand, he said it was his ring, for therein was his name, an A for *Anthony*, and a D for *Dunstan*. When I heard him so say, I wished in my heart to be as well delivered from and out of his company, as I was assured to be delivered from my ring for ever.

Then he called for pen, ink, and paper, and commanded me to write when and how Garret came unto me, and where he was become. I had scarcely written three words, but the chief beadle, with two or three of the commissary's men, were come unto master Prior, requiring him straightways to bring us away unto Lincoln-college, to the commissary and to Dr. London. Whither when I was brought into the chapel, there I found Dr. Cotisford, commissary, Dr. Higdon, then dean of the cardinal's college, and Dr. London, warden of the new college, standing together at the altar in the chapel. When I was brought unto them, after salutations given and taken between them, they called for chairs, and sat down, and called for me to come to them. And first they asked what my name was? I told them that my name was Anthony Dalaber. Then they also asked me how long I had been student in the university? and I told them, almost three years. And they asked me what I studied? I told them that I had read sophistry and logic in Alborn-hall, and now was removed unto Gloucester-college to study the civil law; which the aforesaid prior of the students affirmed to be true. Then they asked me whether I knew Mr. Garret, and how long I had known him? I told them I knew him well, and had known him almost a twelvemonth. They asked me, when he was with me? I told them, yesterday at afternoon.

Now by this time, whiles they had me in this talk, one came unto them which was sent for, with pen, ink, and paper; I found it was the clerk of the university. As soon as he was come, there was a board and trestles, with a form for him to sit on, set between the doctors and me, and a great mass book laid before me, and I was commanded to lay my right hand on it, and to swear that I should truly answer unto such articles and interrogatories as should be by them examined upon. I made danger of it awhile at first, but afterwards being persuaded by them, partly by fair words and partly by great threats, I promised to do as they would have me, but in my heart meant nothing so to do. So I laid my hand on the book, and one of them gave me my oath, and that done, commanded me to kiss the book. Then made they great courtesy between them who should examine me, and minister interrogatories unto me. At last the raukest papistical pharisee of them all Dr. London, took upon him to do it.

Then he asked me again by my oath where Mr. Garret was, and whither I had conveyed him? I told him I had not conveyed him, nor yet knew where he was, nor whither he was gone, except he were gone to Woodstock, (as I had

before said,) as he shewed me he would. Then he asked me again, when he came to me, how he came to me, what and how long he talked with me, and whither he went from me? I told him he came to me about even-song time, and that one brought him unto my chamber door, whom I knew not, and that he told me he would go to Woodstock for some venison to make merry withal this Shrovetide, and that he would have borrowed a hat and a pair of high shoes of me, but I had none such to lend him; and then he straightway went his way from me, but whither I knew not. All these my sayings the scribe wrote in a book.

Then they earnestly required me to tell them whither I had conveyed him, for surely they said I brought him going some whither this morning; for that they might well perceive, by my foul shoes and dirty hosen, I had travelled with him the most part of this night. I answered plainly, that I lay at Alborn-hall with Sir Fitzjames, and that I had good witness thereof there. They asked me where I was at even-song? I told them, at Frideswides, and that I saw first master commissary, and then master Dr. London, come thither at that time unto master dean of Frideswides, and that I saw them talking together in the church there. Dr. London and the dean threatened me, that if I would not tell the truth what I had done with him, or whither he was gone, I should surely be sent to the Tower of London, and there be racked, and put into Little-case. But master commissary prayed me with gentle words, to tell him where he was, that he might have him again, and he would be my very great friend, and deliver me out of trouble straightway. I told him I could not tell where he was, nor whither he was gone. Thus they did toss me almost two hours in the chapel; sometimes with threatenings and foul words, and then with fair words and fair promises flattering me.

Then was he that brought Mr. Garret unto my chamber, brought before me, and caused to declare what Mr. Garret said unto me at his coming to my chamber; but I said plainly I heard him say no such thing; for I thought my *nay* to be as good as his *yea*, seeing it was to rid and deliver my godly brother out of trouble and peril of his life.

At the last, when they could get nothing of me whereby to hurt or accuse any man, or to know any thing of which they sought, they all three together brought me up a long stairs into a great chamber, over master commissary's chamber, wherein stood a great pair of very high stocks. Then master commissary asked me for my purse and girdle, took away my money and my knives, and then they put both my legs into the stocks, and so locked me fast in them; in which I sat, my feet being almost as high as my head; and so departed they, I think, to their abominable mass, and locked fast the chamber door, leaving me alone.

When they all were gone, then came unto my remembrance the worthy forewarning and godly declaration of that most constant martyr of God, Mr. John Clarke, my father in Christ, who, well near two years before that, when I did earnestly desire him to grant me to be his scholar, and that I might go with him when and wheresoever he should teach or preach, (which he did daily,) said unto me much after this sort: "Dalaber, you desire you wot not what, and that you are, I fear, unable to take upon you; for though now my preaching be sweet and pleasant unto you, because there is yet no persecution laid on you for it, yet the time will come, and that peradventure shortly, if you continue to live godly therein, that God will lay on you the cross of persecution, to try you withal, whether you can as pure gold abide the fire, or as stubble and dross be consumed. For the Holy Ghost plainly affirmeth by St. Paul, 'That all who will live



godly in Christ Jesus, shall suffer persecution.' Yea, you shall be called and judged a heretic, you shall be abhorred of the world, your own friends and kinsfolk will forsake you, and also hate you, and you shall be cast into prison, and no man shall dare to help or comfort you, and you shall be accused and brought before the bishops, to your reproach and shame, to the great sorrow of all your friends and kinsfolk. Then will ye wish ye had never known this doctrine; then will ye curse Clarke, and wish that ye had never known him, because he hath brought you to all these troubles. Therefore, rather than that you should do this, leave off from meddling with this doctrine, and desire not to be and continue in my company."

At which words I was so grieved, that I fell down on my knees at his feet, and with abundance of tears and sighs, even from the very bottom of my heart, I earnestly besought him, that for the tender mercy of God, shewed to us in our Lord Jesus Christ, he would not refuse me, but receive me into his company, as I had desired; saying, that I trusted verily, that he which had begun this in me would not forsake me, but give me grace to continue therein unto the end. When he heard me say so, he came to me and took me up in his arms, kissed me, the tears trickling down from his eyes, and said unto me, The Lord Almighty grant you so to do, and from henceforth for ever take me for your father, and I will take you for my son in Christ.

Now were there at this time in Oxford divers graduates and scholars of sundry colleges and halls, whom God had called to the knowledge of his holy word, which all resorted unto Mr. Clarke's disputations and lectures in divinity at all times as they might; and when they might not come conveniently, I was by Mr. Clarke appointed to resort to every one of them weekly, and to know what doubts they had in any place of the scripture, that by me from him they might have the true understanding of the same. Which exercise did me much good and profit, to the understanding of the holy scriptures, which I most desired.

This aforesaid forewarning and godly declaration, I said, of this holy martyr of God, Mr. Clarke, coming to my remembrance, caused me with deep sighs to cry unto God from my heart, to assist me with his holy Spirit, that I might be able patiently and quietly to bear and suffer whatsoever it should please him of his fatherly love to lay on him, to his glory, and the comfort of my dearly beloved brethren, whom I thought now to be in great fear and anguish, lest I would be an accuser of them all; for unto me they all were well known, and all their doings in that matter. But, God he blessed, I was fully bent never to accuse any of them, whatsoever should happen of me.

Before dinner Mr. Cotisford came up to me, and requested me earnestly to tell him where Mr. Garret was, and if I would so do, he promised me straightways to deliver me out of prison. But I told him I could not tell where he was, (no more indeed I could.) Then he departed to dinner, asking me if I would eat any meat? I told him, yea, right gladly. He said he would send me some. When he was gone, his servants asked me divers questions, which I do not now remember, and some of them spake to me fair, and some threatened me, calling me heretic; and so departed, locking the door fast upon me.

Thus far Anthony Dalaber hath prosecuted this story, who, before the finishing, departed in the year 1562, in the diocese of Salisbury; the residue whereof, as we could gather it out of ancient and credible persons, so have we added hereunto the same.

After this, Garret was apprehended or taken by Mr. Cole,

the proctor, or his men, going westward, at a place called Hinksey, a little beyond Oxford; and so being brought back again, was committed to ward. That done, he was cited before the commissary, Dr. London, and Dr. Higdon, dean of Frideswides, (now called Christ's-college,) into St. Mary's church, where they sitting in judgment, convicted him, according to their law, as an heretic, as they said; and afterwards compelled him to carry a faggot in open procession from St. Mary's church to Frideswides, and Dalaber likewise with him; Garret having his red hood on his shoulders like a master of arts.—After that they were sent to Osney, there to be kept in prison till further order was taken.

There were suspected besides a great number to be infected with heresy, as they called it, for having such books of God's truth as Mr. Garret sold unto them; as Mr. Clarke, (who died in his chamber, and could not be suffered to receive the communion, being in prison, and saying these words, *Credo, et manducasti*; Believe that you eat it, and you do eat it;) Mr. Sumner, Mr. Bets, Taverner the musician, Radley, with others of Frideswides-college; of Corpus Christi college, as Udal and Diet; with others of Magdalen-college; one Eden, with others of Gloucester-college; and two black monks, one of St. Austin's, of Canterbury, named Langport, the other of St. Edmundsbury, monk, named John Salisbury; two white monks of Bernard-college, two canons of St. Mary's-college, (one of them named Robert Farler, afterwards bishop of St. David's, and burned in queen Mary's time;) these two canons, because they had no place in the university with the others, they went on the contrary side of the procession bare-headed, and a beadle before them, to be known from the others. Divers others there were whose names I cannot remember, which were forced and constrained to forsake their colleges, and seek their friends.

Against the procession time there was a great fire made upon the top of Carfax, whereinto all such as were in the said procession, either convicted or suspected of heresy, were commanded, in token of repentance and renouncing their errors, every man to cast a book into the fire as they passed by.

After this, Mr. Garret, flying from place to place, escaped their tyranny, until he was again apprehended, and burned with Dr. Barnes; with whom also William Hierome, sometime vicar of Stepney, was likewise drawn into Smithfield, and there together with them patiently endured martyrdom in the fire.

Now let us add also to these the story of Hierome.

*The Life and Story of WILLIAM HIEROME, Vicar of Stepney, and Martyr of Christ.*

The third company which suffered with Barnes and Garret, was William Hierome, vicar of Stepney. This Hierome being a diligent preacher of God's word, for the comfort and edification of the people, had preached sundry sermons, wherein he laboured as much as time then served, to extirpate and weed out the roots of men's traditions, doctrines, dreams, and fancies. In so doing, it could not be otherwise but he must needs provoke much hatred against him, amongst the adversaries of Christ's gospel.

It so happened that the said Hierome preaching at Paul's on the fourth Sunday in Lent, made there a sermon, wherein he spoke of Hagar and Sarah, declaring what these two signified. In process whereof he shewed further how that Sarah and her child Isaac, and all they that were Isaac's, and born of the free woman Sarah, were freely justified: contrary, they that were born of Hagar, the bond woman, were

bound and under the law, and cannot be freely justified. In these words, what was here spoken but what St. Paul himself uttereth and expoundeth in his epistle to the Galatians, ch. iv. ? or what could here be gathered by any reasonable or indifferent hearer, but consonant to sound doctrine ? Now see what rancour and malice, armed with crafty and subtle sophistry, can do. This sermon finished, it was not long but he was charged and cited before the king at Westminster, and there accused for erroneous doctrine.

Furthermore it was objected against him, touching matter against magistrates and laws, made by them ; whereunto he answered again, and affirmed (as he had before preached) that no magistrate of himself could make any law or laws, private, or otherwise, to bind the inferior people, unless it were by the power, authority, and commandment, of his or their princes, to him or them given, but only the prince. And, moreover, to confirm the same, he added, saying, that if the prince make laws consenting to God's laws, we are bound to obey them ; and if he make laws repugnant to the laws of God, and be an evil and wicked prince, yet are we bound humbly to suffer him, and not violently to resist or grudge against him.

Also concerning his sermons, one Dr. Wilson entered into disputation with him, and maintained that good works justified before God, and were necessary and available to salvation. To whom Hierome answered again, That all works, whatsoever they were, were nothing worth, nor any part of salvation of themselves, but only referred to the mercy and love of God, which mercy and love of God directeth the workers thereof, and yet it is at his mercy and goodness to accept them. Which to be true, Dr. Wilson neither could nor did deny.

And thus much concerning the several stories of these three good men. Now, let us see the order of their martyrdom, joining them all together ; what was the cause of their condemnation, and what were their protestations and words at their suffering.

Barnes, Hierome, and Garret, were caused to preach at **Beater**, at the Spital ; the occasion whereof, as I find it reported by Stephen Gardiner writing against George Joy, I thought good here to discourse more at large.

Stephen Gardiner hearing that the said Barnes, Hierome, and Garret, should preach the Lent following, anno 1541, at **Paul's Cross** ; to stop the course of their doctrine, sent his chaplain to the bishop of London the Saturday before the first Sunday in Lent, to have a place for him to preach at **Paul's**. Which to him was granted, and time appointed that he should preach the Sunday following, which should be on the morrow ; which Sunday was appointed before for Barnes to occupy that room. Gardiner, therefore, determining to declare the gospel of that Sunday, containing the devil's three temptations, began amongst other things to note the abuse of scripture amongst some, as the devil abused it to Christ, and so alluding to the temptation of the devil, (wherein he alleged the scripture against Christ, to cast himself downward, and that he should take no hurt,) he reasoned thus :

Now-a-days, quoth he, the devil tempteth the world, and biddeth them to cast themselves backward. There is no forward in the new teaching, but all backward. Now the devil teacheth, come back from fasting, come back from praying, come back from confession, come back from weeping for thy sins, and all is backward ; insomuch that men must now learn to say their pater-noster backward. For where we said, Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors ; now it is, As thou forgavest our debts, so I will forgive my

debtors ; and so God must forgive first ; and all, I say, be turned backward, &c.

Amongst other things, moreover, he noted the devil's craft and shift in deceiving man : who envying his felicity, and therefore coveting to have man idle, and void of good works, and to be led in that idleness with a vain hope to live merrily in his pleasure here, and yet to have heaven at the last, hath for that purpose procured our pardon from Rome, wherein heaven was sold for a little money ; and to retail that merchandise, the devil used friars for his ministers. Now they be gone with all their trumpery ; but the devil is not yet gone, &c. And now that the devil perceiveth that it can no longer be borne, (to buy and sell heaven by the friars,) he hath excogitate to offer heaven without works for it, so freely that men shall not need for heaven to work at all, whatsoever opportunity they have to work ; marry, if they will have any higher place in heaven, God will leave no work unrewarded ; but as to be in heaven, needs no work at all, but only belief, only, only, and nothing else, &c.

This sermon of Stephen Winchester finished, Dr. Barnes, who was put off from that Sunday, had his day appointed (which was the third Sunday next following) to make his sermon ; who taking the same text of the gospel which Gardiner had done before, was on the contrary side no less vehement in setting forward the true doctrine, than Winchester had been before in plucking men backward from truth to lies, from religion to superstition, and from Christ to Antichrist.

The king had appointed before certain persons to make report of the sermons. Besides them, there was one who, writing to a friend of his in the court, in the favour of these preachers, declared how well they had all handled the matter, and laid out the truth, that it might spread without let of the world. Wherefore, partly by these reporters, and partly by the negligent looking to this letter which came to the lord Cromwell's hands, Barnes with his other fellows were apprehended, and committed to the Tower.

Thus, then, Barnes, Hierome, and Garret, being committed to the Tower after Easter, there remained till the 30th day of July, which was two days after the death of lord Cromwell. Then ensued process against them by the king's council in the parliament. Whereupon all those three good saints of God, the 30th day of July, not coming to any answer, nor yet knowing any cause of their condemnation, without any public hearing, were brought together from the Tower to Smithfield, where they preparing themselves to the fire, Dr. Barnes began with this protestation following :

" I am come hither to be burned, as an heretic ; and you shall hear my belief, whereby you shall perceive what erroneous opinions I hold. God I take to record, I never to my knowledge taught any erroneous doctrine, but those things only which scripture led me unto ; and that in my sermons I never maintained any error, neither moved nor gave occasion of any insurrection. Although I have been slandered, to preach that our Lady was but a saffron-bag, which I utterly protest before God that I never meant it, nor preached it ; but all my study and diligence hath been utterly to confound and confute all men of that doctrine, as are the Anabaptists, which deny that our Saviour Christ did take any flesh of the blessed Virgin Mary ; which sects I detest and abhor. And in this place there have been burned some of them, whom I never favoured nor maintained ; but with all diligence evermore did I study to set forth the glory of God, the obedience to our sovereign lord the king, and the true and sincere religion of Christ ; and now hearken to my faith :

" I believe in the holy and blessed Trinity, three Persons

and one God, that created and made all the world, and that this blessed Trinity sent down the second Person, Jesus Christ, into the womb of the most blessed and purest Virgin Mary. And here bear me record, that I do utterly condemn that abominable and detestable opinion of the Anabaptists, which say that Christ took no flesh of the Virgin. For I believe, that without man's will or power he was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and took flesh of her, and that he suffered hunger, thirst, cold, and other passions of our body, sin excepted, according to the saying of St. Peter, 'He was made in all things like to his brethren, except sin.' And I believe, that this his death and passion was the sufficient ransom for the sin of all the world. And I believe, that through his death he overcame sin, death, and hell, and that there is none other satisfaction unto the Father, but this his death and passion only, and that no work of man did deserve any thing of God, but only his passion, touching our justification; for I know the best work that ever I did is impure and unperfect. (And with this he cast abroad his hands, and desired God to forgive him his trespasses.) For although perchance (said he) you know nothing by me, yet do I confess, that my thoughts and cogitations be innumerable; wherefore I beseech thee, O Lord, not to enter into judgment with me, according to the saying of the prophet David, 'Enter not into judgment with thy servant, O Lord.' And in another place, 'Lord, if thou straitly mark our iniquities, who is able to abide thy judgment?' Wherefore I trust in no good work that ever I did, but only in the death of Christ. I do not doubt but through him to inherit the kingdom of heaven. Take me not here that I speak against good works; for they are to be done, and verily they that do them not shall never come into the kingdom of God. We must do them, because they are commanded us of God, to shew and set forth our profession, not to deserve or merit; for that is only the death of Christ.

"I believe that there is a holy church, and a company of all them that do profess Christ, and that all that have suffered and confessed his name be saints, and that all they do praise and laud God in heaven, more than I or any man's tongue can express; and that always I have spoken reverently, and praised them as much as scripture willed me to do. And that our Lady, I say, was a Virgin immaculate and undefiled, and that she is the most pure Virgin that ever God created, and a vessel elect of God, of whom Christ should be born."

Then said Mr. Sheriff, You have said well of her before. And being afraid that Mr. Sheriff had been or should be grieved with any thing that he should say, he said:

"Mr. Sheriff, if I speak any thing that you will me not, do no more but beckon me with your hand, and I will straightway hold my peace; for I will not be disobedient in any thing, but will obey."

Then there was one that asked him his opinion of praying to saints. Then said he:

"Now of saints you shall hear my opinion. I have said before somewhat I think of them, how that I believe they are in heaven with God, and that they are worthy of all the honour that scripture willeth them to have. But I say, throughout scripture we are not commanded to pray to any saints. Therefore I neither can nor will preach to you that saints ought to be prayed unto; for then should I preach unto you a doctrine of mine own head. Notwithstanding, whether they pray for us, or no, that I refer to God. And if saints do pray for us, then I trust to pray for you within this half hour, Mr. Sheriff, and for every Christian man living in the faith of Christ, and dying in the same as a saint.

Wherefore if the dead may pray for the quick, I will surely pray for you."

Well, have you any thing more to say?—Then spake he to Mr. Sheriff, and said:

"Have you any articles against me for the which I am condemned?" And the sheriff said, No. Then said he, "Is there here any man else that knoweth wherefore I die, or that by my preaching hath taken any error? Let them now speak, and I will make them answer." And no man answered. Then said he, "Well, I am condemned by the law to die, and, as I understand, by an act of parliament; but wherefore, I cannot tell, but belike for heresy, for we are like to burn. But they that have been the occasion of it, I pray God forgive them as I would be forgiven myself. And Dr. Stephen, bishop of Winchester that now is, if he have sought or wrought this my death either by word or deed, I pray God to forgive him, as heartily, as freely, as charitably, and without feigning, as ever Christ forgave them that put him to death.

"And if any of the council, or any other, have sought or wrought it through malice or ignorance, I pray God forgive their ignorance, and illuminate their eyes, that they may see, and ask mercy for it. I beseech you all to pray for the king's grace, as I have done ever since I was in prison, and do now, that God may give him prosperity, and that he may long reign among you; and after him, that godly prince Edward may so reign, that he may finish those things that his father hath begun. I have been reported to be a preacher of sedition and disobedience unto the king's majesty; but here I say to you, that you are all bound by the commandment of God to obey your prince, with all humility, and with all your heart; yea, not so much as in a look to shew yourselves disobedient unto him, and that not only for fear of the sword, but also for conscience sake before God. Yea, and I say further, if the king should command you any thing against God's law, if it be in your power, yet may you not resist him."

Then spake he to the sheriff, and said, "Mr. Sheriff, I require you on God's behalf to have me commended unto the king's grace, and to shew him that I require of his grace these five requests: First, that whereas his grace hath received into his hands all the goods and substance of the abbays—"

Then the sheriff desired him to stop there. He answered, "Mr. Sheriff, I warrant you I will speak no harm; for I know it is well done that all such superstition should be clean taken away, and the king's grace hath well done in taking it away. But his grace is made a whole king, and obeyed in his whole realm as a king, (which neither his father, grandfather, neither his ancestors that reigned before him, ever had,) and that through the preaching of us and such other wretches as we are, which always have applied our whole studies, and given ourselves for the setting forth of the same; and this is now our reward. Well, it maketh no matter. Now he reigneth among you, I pray God long he may live and reign among you. Would to God it may please his grace to bestow the said goods, or some of them, to the comfort of his poor subjects, which surely have great need of them.

"The second that I desire his grace, is, that he will see that matrimony may be had in more reverence than it is; and that men for every light cause invented cast not off their wives, and live in adultery and fornication; and that those that be not married, should not abominably live in whoredom, following the filthy lusts of the flesh.

"The third, that the abominable swearers may be punished, and straitly looked upon; for the vengeance of God will come upon them for their mischievous oaths." Then

desired he Mr. Pope to have him commended to Mr. Edgar, and to desire him, for the dear blood of Jesus Christ, that he would leave that abominable swearing which he used; for surely, except he did forsake it, he would come to some mischievous end.

"The fourth, that his grace would set forth Christ's true religion, and seeing he hath begun, go forward and make an end; for many things have been done, but much more is to do; and that it would please his grace to look on God's word himself, for that it hath been obscured with many traditions invented of our own brains. Now, (said he,) how many petitions have I spoken of? And the people said, Four. "Well, (said he,) even these four be sufficient, which I desire you, that the king's grace may be certified of; and say, that I most humbly desire him to look earnestly upon them; and that his grace take heed that he be not deceived with false preachers and teachers, and evil counsel; for Christ saith, that such false prophets shall come in lambs' skins."

Then desired he all men to forgive him; and if he had said any evil at any time unadvisedly, whereby he had offended any man, or given any occasion of evil, that they would forgive it him, and amend that evil they took of him; and to bear him witness that he detested and abhorred all evil opinions and doctrines against the word of God, and that he died in the faith of Jesus Christ, by whom he doubted not but to be saved. And with those words he desired them all to pray for him; and then he turned him about, and put off his clothes, making him ready to the fire, patiently there to take his death.

The like confession made also Hierome and Garret, professing in like manner their belief, reciting all the articles of the Christian faith, briefly declaring their minds upon every article, as the time would suffer; whereby the people might understand that there was no cause nor error in their faith wherefore justly they ought to be condemned; protesting, moreover, that they denied nothing that was either in the Old or New Testament set forth by their sovereign lord the king, whom they prayed the Lord long to continue amongst them; with his most dear son, prince Edward.

Which done, Hierome added this exhortation in few words following:

"I say unto you, good brethren, that God hath bought us all with no small price, neither with gold nor silver, or other such things of small value, but with his most precious blood. Be not unthankful, therefore, to him again, but do as much as is Christian men belongeth to fulfil his commandments, that is, 'love your brethren.' Love hurteth no man, love filleth all things. If God hath sent thee plenty, help thy neighbour that hath need. Give him good counsel. If he lack, consider, if thou wert in necessity, thou wouldest gladly be refreshed. And again, bear your cross with Christ. Consider what reproof, slander, and reproach he suffered of his enemies, and how patiently he suffered all things. Consider, that all that Christ did was of his mere goodness, and not of our deserving; for if we could merit our own salvation, Christ would not have died for us. But, for Adam's breaking of God's precepts we had been all lost, if Christ had not redeemed us again.—And like as Adam brake the precepts, and was driven out of paradise; so we, if we break God's commandments, shall have damnation, if we do not repent and ask mercy. Now, therefore, let all Christians put no trust nor confidence in their works, but in the blood of Christ, to whom I commit my soul to guide, beseeching you all to pray to God for me, and for my brethren here present with me, that our souls, leaving these wretched carcasses, may firmly depart in the true faith of Christ."

In much like sort Garret also protesting and exhorting the people, after his confession made, ended his protestation in manner as followeth:

"I also detest, abhor, and refuse, all heresies and errors, and if, either by negligence or ignorance, I have taught or maintained any, I am sorry for it, and ask God mercy; or if I have been so vehement or rash in preaching, whereby any person hath taken any offence, error, or evil opinion, I desire him, and all other persons which I have any way offended, forgiveness. Notwithstanding, to my remembrance I never preached wittingly or willingly any thing against God's holy word, or contrary to the true faith, to the maintenance of errors, heresies, or vicious living; but have always, according to my ability, set forth the honour of God and the right obedience to his laws, and also to those of the king. And if I could have done better, I would. Wherefore, Lord, if I have taken in hand to do that thing which I could not perfectly perform, I desire thy pardon for my bold presumption. And I pray God send the king's grace good and godly counsel, to his glory, to the king's honour, and the increase of virtue in this his realm. And thus now I yield my soul up unto Almighty God, trusting and believing that he of his infinite mercy, for his promise made in the blood of his Son, our most merciful Saviour Jesus Christ, will take it, and pardon me all my sins, whereby I have most grievously from my youth offended his majesty; wherefore I ask him mercy, desiring you all to pray with me and for me, that I may patiently suffer this pain, and die steadfastly in true faith, perfect hope, and charity."

And so, after their prayer made, wherein most effectually they desired the Lord Jesus to be their comfort and consolation in this their affliction, and to establish them with perfect faith, constancy, and patience, through the Holy Ghost, they taking themselves by the hands, and kissing one another, quietly and humbly offered themselves to the hands of the tormentors, and so took their death in a Christian manner, with such patience as might well testify the goodness of their cause, and quiet of their conscience.

Wherein is to be noted how mightily the Lord worketh with his grace and fortitude in the hearts of his servants, especially in such which causelessly suffer with a guiltless conscience for religion's sake, above others which suffer otherwise for their deserts. For whereas they which suffer as malefactors, are commonly wont to go heavy and pensive to their death; so the other with heavenly alacrity and cheerfulness do abide whatsoever it pleaseth the Lord to lay upon them. Example whereof we have right well to note, not only in these three godly martyrs above-mentioned, but also in the lord Cromwell, who suffered but two days before.

Who first calling for his breakfast, and cheerfully eating the same, and after that passing out of his prison down the hill within the Tower, and meeting by the way lord Hungerford, going likewise to his execution, (who for other matter, here not to be spoken of, was there also imprisoned,) and perceiving him to be all heavy and doleful, with cheerful countenance and comfortable words asking why he was so heavy, he willed him to pluck up his heart, and to be of good comfort: For (said he) there is no cause for you to fear; for if you repent and be heartily sorry for that you have done, there is for you mercy enough with the Lord, who for Christ's sake will forgive you; and therefore be not dismayed. And though the breakfast which we are going to be sharp, yet, trusting to the mercy of the Lord, we shall have a joyful dinner.

And so went they together to the place of execution, and took their deaths patiently.

*The Burning of RICHARD MEKINS, a Lad of Fifteen Years of Age.*

Not long after this, Sir William Roch being mayor, Bonner with other commissioners sat at the Guildhall, before whom there was a certain number of citizens warned to appear, and after the commission read, the said parties were called to the book; and when five or six were sworn, one of the said persons being called to the book, Bonner seemed to mislike, and said, "Stay awhile, my masters; I would ye should consider this matter well that we have in hand, which concerneth the glory of God, the honour of the king, and the wealth of the realm; and if there be any here among you that doth not consider the same, it were better that he were hence than here." Then communed the commissioners with Bonner about that man; so that at length he was called to the book and sworn, not altogether with his good will.

When the two juries were sworn, Bonner taketh upon him to give the charge unto the juries, and began with a tale of Anacharsis, by which example he admonished the juries to spare no persons, of what degree soever they were. And at the end of his charge, he brought forth to the bar a boy, whose name was *Mekins*, declaring how grievously he had offended by speaking certain words against the state, and of the death of Dr. Barnes, and produced in the said court two witnesses, which were there sworn in the face of the court.

So a day was assigned, upon which the juries aforesaid should give up their verdict; at which day both the commissioners and the said jurors met at Guildhall. Then the clerk of the peace called on the juries by their names, and when their appearance was taken, Bonner bade them put in their presentments. Then said the foreman of that jury, whose name was William Robins, My lord, we have found nothing. At which words he fared as one in agony, and said, Nothing! have ye found nothing? what, nothing? By the faith I owe to God (quoth he to the foreman,) I would trust you upon your obligation, but by your oath I will trust you nothing. Then said some of the commissioners, My lord, give them a longer day.—No, quoth he, in London they ever find nothing. I pray you, what say you to Mekins?—My Lord, (quoth the foreman,) we can say nothing to him, for we find the witnesses to disagree: one affirmeth, that he should say the sacrament was nothing but a ceremony, and the other, nothing but a signification.—Why, quoth Bonner, did he not say that Barnes died holy? Then pausing awhile, he bade call the other jury. Put in your verdict, quoth he.—My lord, said one, we have found nothing.—Jesus! quoth he, is not this a strange case!

Then spake one of the same jury, whose name was Ralph Foxley, and said, My lord, when you gave us a charge, we desired to have the parsons and curates of every parish to give us instructions; and it was denied us. Then stood up the recorder, and said, It was true indeed that he had spoken. And therewithal said, This last year were charged two juries, which did many things naughtily and foolishly, and did as much as in them lay to make an uproar among the king's people; and therefore it was thought not meet that they should give information to you.—Nay, nay, quoth Bonner, this was the cause: if the parson or curate should give information according to his knowledge, then what will they say? I must tell my confession to knave-priest, and he shall go by and by and open it.—What! (said my lord-mayor,) there is no man, I trow, that will say so.—Yes, by my troth, quoth Bonner, Knave-priest! Knave-priest! Then said my lord-mayor, somewhat smiling, There be some of

them slippery fellows; and as men find them, so will they oft-times report. Bonner, not well contented with those words, said to the jury, My masters, what say you to Mekins? They answered, The witnesses do not agree, therefore we do not allow them. Why, quoth Bonner, this court hath allowed them. Then said one of the jury to the recorder, Is it sufficient for our discharge, if this court do allow them?—Yea, said the recorder, it is sufficient; and then said, Go you aside together awhile, and bring in your verdict.

After the jury had talked together a little while, they returned to the bar again with their indictment, which at Bonner's hand was friendly received; so both they and the other jury were discharged, and bidden to take their ease. Thus ended the court for that day.

Shortly after they sat for life and death.—Mekins being brought to the bar, and the indictment read, Bonner said to him, Mekins, confess the truth, and submit thyself unto the king's law, that thy death may be an example to all other.

This Richard Mekins being a child about the age of fifteen years, as he had heard some other folks talk, so chanced he to speak against the sacrament of the altar; which coming to Bonner's ears, he never left him before he had brought him to the fire. During the time of his imprisonment, neither his poor father nor mother for fear durst aid him with any relief, whereby he there endured great misery. At the time he was brought to the stake, he was taught to speak much good of the bishop of London, and of the great charity he shewed to him, and to defy and detest all heretics and heresies, but especially Dr. Barnes, unto whom he imputed the learning of that heresy, which was the cause of his death. The poor lad would for the sake of his life have gladly said that the twelve apostles had taught it him; such was his childish innocency and fear! But for this deed many spake and said, it was great shame for the bishop, whose part and duty it had been, rather to have laboured to save his life, than to procure that terrible execution; seeing that he was such an ignorant soul, that he knew not what was the meaning of heresy.

*The Story of JOHN PORTER, cruelly murdered for reading the Bible in Paul's.*

*John Porter*, in the year 1541, for reading the Bible in Paul's church, was cruelly handled, and that unto death, as you shall hear. Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, (in the days of the lord Cromwell,) being then ambassador at Paris, was a great agent in setting forward the printing of the Bible in that great volume; promising, moreover, that he would for his part have six of those Bibles set up in the church of St. Paul in London. Which also at his coming home he no less performed, according to the king's proclamation set forth for the same.

The Bibles thus standing in Paul's by the commandment of the king, and the appointment of Bonner the bishop, many well-disposed people used much to resort to the hearing thereof, especially when they could get any that had an audible voice to read unto them, misdoubting therein no danger toward them; and no more there was, so long as Cromwell lived. After he was gone, it happened among sundry godly-disposed persons, which frequented there the reading of the aforesaid Bible, that one John Porter used sometimes to be occupied in that godly exercise, to the edifying as well of himself as of others.

This Porter was a fresh young man, and of a big stature, who by diligent reading of the scripture, and by hearing of



such sermons as then were preached by them that were the setters forth of God's truth, became very expert. The Bibles then being set up by Bonner's commandment upon divers pillars in Paul's church, fixed to the same with chains, for all men to read in them that would, great multitudes would resort thither to hear this Porter, because he could read well, and had an audible voice. Bonner and his chaplains being grieved withal, (and the world beginning then to frown upon the gospellers,) sent for the aforesaid Porter, and rebuked him very sharply for his reading. But Porter answered him, that he trusted he had done nothing contrary to the law, neither contrary to his advertisements which he had fixed in print over every Bible.

Bonner then laid unto his charge, that he had made expositions upon the text, and gathered great multitudes about him to make tumults. He answered, he trusted that should not be proved by him. But in fine, Bonner sent him to Newgate, where he was miserably fettered in irons, both legs and arms, with a collar of iron about his neck fastened to the wall in the dungeon: being there so cruelly handled, that he was compelled to send for a kinsman of his. Who seeing his kinsman in this miserable case, entreated Jewet, then keeper of Newgate, that he might be released out of those cruel irons; and so through friendship and money had him up among other prisoners, which lay there for felony and murder: where Porter being amongst them, hearing and seeing their wickedness and blasphemy, exhorted them to amendment of life, and gave unto them such instructions as he had learned from the scriptures. For which his so doing he was complained of, and so carried down and laid in the lower dungeon of all, oppressed with bolts and irons, where, within six or eight days after, he was found dead.

It is signified to us by credible information, that the same night before he was found dead, they that dwelt near to the same place of the prison where Porter lay, did hear him piteously to groan and make a lamentable noise; where some suppose that he was put in certain strait irons which were in the house, called The Devil on the Neck, being after an horrible sort devised, straining and wrenching the neck of a man with his legs together, in such sort as the more he striveth in it the straiter it presseth him, so that within three or four hours it breaketh and crusheth a man's brack and body in pieces. In which devilish torment, whether John Porter was slain or no, it is not certain. But howsoever it was, this is known, that he was found dead in the dungeon, with such groaning and piteous noise heard the night before in the said dungeon as is declared.

#### *A Note of one Thomas Sommers, imprisoned for the Gospel.*

Amongst these Londoners thus troubled by the clergy, we will add also another note of a merchant called *Thomas Sommers*, who died in the Tower of London for confessing of the gospel. Which said Thomas, being a very honest merchant, and wealthy, was sent for by the lord cardinal, and committed to the Tower, for that he had Luther's books, as they termed them, and after a great suit made for him to the said cardinal, his judgment was, that he should ride from the Tower into Cheapside, carrying a new book in his hand, and be hanged with books round about him, with three or four other merchants after the same order, which was done. And when Mr. Sommers should be set on a collier's nag, as the rest of his fellow-prisoners were, a friend of his, called Mr. Copland, brought him a very good golden fair dressed with bridle and saddle: and when the Bishop's officers came to dress him with books, as they had

trimmed the others, and would have made holes in his garment to have thrust the strings of the books therein; "Nay," (said Sommers,) "I have always loved to go handsomely in my apparel;" and taking the books, and opening them, he bound them together by the strings, and cast them about his neck (the leaves being all open) like a collar, and being on horseback, rode foremost through the streets, till they came about the Standard in Cheapside, where a great fire was made to burn their books in, and a pillory set up there for four persons, in token that they had deserved it.

In the mean time, by the way as they should come, it was appointed that one should go before them with a bason; at the noise of which Mr. Sommers' horse was in such a rage, that he which rung the bason being afraid of himself, was fain to go alone a great space before that any horseman followed after.

At length, when they came to the fire, every one of them having a book in his hand, they were commanded to cast their books into the fire. But when Mr. Sommers saw that his New Testament should be burned, he threw it over the fire; which was seen by some of God's enemies, and brought to him again, commanding him to cast it into the fire: which he would not do, but cast it through the fire. Which thing was done three times; but at last a stander by took it up, and saved it from the burning.

But not long after the said Mr. Sommers was cast again into the Tower by the cardinal, through the cruelty of the bishops and their adherents; who soon after died in the said prison for the testimony of his faith.

#### *Thomas Bernard and James Morton, Martyrs.*

About the same time, John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, burned two upon one day, the one named *Thomas Bernard*, and the other *James Morton*: the one for teaching the Lord's prayer in English, and the other for keeping the epistle of St. James translated into English.

In Oxford also the same time, or much thereabouts, recanted one *Mr. Barber*, master of arts, of that university, a man excellently learned. Who being called up to Lambeth before the archbishop, Thomas Cranmer, was in his examination so stout in the cause of the sacrament, and so learnedly defended himself therein, that neither Cranmer himself, nor all they, could well answer to his allegations brought out of Augustine. Wherein he was so prompt and ripe of himself, that the archbishop, with the residue of his company, greatly admired him. Notwithstanding, by compulsion of the time, at last he relented, and returning again to Oxford, was there caused to recant. After which the good man did not prosper long, but wore away.

#### *CONFUSION among the DOCTORS and MASTERS of OXFORD, in St. Mary's Church, at the Recantation of Mr. MALARY, M. A. of Cambridge.*

THIS recantation of Mr. Barber aforesaid, in the university of Oxford, bringeth me in remembrance of another recantation likewise, happening not long before in the said university, which I thought here not to overpass; and, namely, for that the same carrieth withal a merry ridiculous spectacle, not unworthy to be remembered, and here to be inserted, somewhat to recreate and refresh by the way the weary mind of the reader, after so many bloody and lamentable stories, executions, recantations, and tragedies above passed. The story is this:—

There was one *Mr. Malary*, master of arts, of Cambridge, scholar of Christ's-college, who for the like opinions to those above rehearsed, holden contrary to the Catholic determination of the holy mother church of Rome, that is, for the right truth of Christ's gospel, was cited before the bishops, and in the end sent to Oxford, there openly to recant, and to bear his faggot, to the terror of the students of that university. The time and place were appointed, that he should be brought solemnly into St. Mary's church upon a Sunday; where a great number of the head doctors and divines, and others of the university, were together assembled, besides a great multitude of citizens and town-dwellers, which came to behold the sight. Furthermore, because that solemnity should not pass without some effectual sermon, for the holding up of mother church, Dr. Smith, reader then of the divinity lecture, was appointed to make the sermon at this recantation. Briefly; at the preaching of this sermon there was assembled a mighty audience of all sorts and degrees, as well of students as others. Few were absent which loved to hear or see any news, insomuch that there was no place in the whole church which was not fully replenished with the concourse of people.

All things being thus prepared and set in readiness, cometh forth Malary, with his faggot upon his shoulder. Not long after also proceedeth the doctor into the pulpit, to make his sermon, the purpose and argument whereof was wholly upon the sacrament. Which doctor, for the more confirmation and credit to his words, had provided the holy Catholic cake, and the sacrament of the altar, there to hang by a string before him in the pulpit. Thus the doctor, with his god almighty, entering his godly sermon, had scarce proceeded into the midst thereof, (the people giving great silence with all reverence unto his doctrine,) but suddenly was heard into the church the voice of one crying in the street, Fire! Fire! The party which thus cried first in the street was called Heuster. The occasion was this: coming from Allhallow's parish, he saw a chimney on fire, and so passing in the street by St. Mary's church, cried, Fire, fire, as the fashion is, meaning no hurt.

This sound of fire being heard in the church, first by them which stood next to the door, so increased and went from one to another, that at length it came unto the ears of the doctors, and at last to the preacher himself: who as soon as they heard the matter, being amazed with sudden fear, and marvelling what the matter should mean, began to look up into the top of the church, and to behold the walls. The residue seeing them look up, looked up also. Then began they in the midst of the audience to cry out with a loud voice, Fire, fire. —Where? saith one. —Where? saith another. —In the church, saith one. The mention of the church was scarcely pronounced, when as in one moment there was a common cry amongst them, The church is on fire, the church is on fire by heretics, &c. And although no man did see any fire at all, yet forso much as all men did cry out so, every man thought it true. Then was there such fear and tumult of people, through the whole church, as cannot be described.

And as in a great fire (where fire is indeed) we see many times how one little spark giveth matter of a mighty flame, setting whole stacks and piles on burning; so hereupon a small occasion of one man's word kindled first a general cry then a strong opinion running in every man's head within the church, thinking the church to be on fire, where no fire was at all. Thus it pleased Almighty God to delude these deluders, that is, that these great doctors and wise men of the schools, which think themselves so wise in God's

matters as though they could not err, should see by their own senses and judgments, how blinded and infatuated they were in these so small matters and sensible trifles.

Thus this strong imagination of fire being fixed in their heads, as nothing could move them to think contrary but that the church was on fire, so every thing that they saw and heard increased this suspicion. The chief occasion of this suspicion, was the heretic there bearing his faggot, which gave them to imagine, that all other heretics had conspired with him to set the church on fire.

After this, through the rage of the people, and running to and fro, the dust was so raised, that it shewed as it had been the smoke of fire. Which thing, together with the outcry of the people, made all men so afraid, that leaving the sermon, they began altogether to run away. But such was the press of the multitude, running in heaps together, that the more they laboured, the less they could get out. For whilst they ran all headlong to the doors, every man striving to get out first, they thrust one another in such sort, and stuck so fast, that they which were without neither could get into the church again, neither they that were within could get out by any means. So the one door being stopped, they ran to another little wicket on the north side, towards the college called Brazen-nose, thinking so to pass out. But there again was the like or greater throng. So the people clustering and thronging together, it put many in danger, and brought many unto their end, by bruising of their bones or sides. There was yet another door towards the west, which although it was shut and seldom opened, yet now ran they to it with such sway, that the great bar of iron (which is incredible to be spoken) being pulled out and broken by force of men's hands, the door notwithstanding could not be opened for the press or multitude of people.

At last, when they were there past all hope to get out, then were they all exceedingly amazed, and ran up and down, crying out upon the heretics which had conspired their death. The more they ran about and cried out, the more smoke and dust arose in the church, even as though all things had now been on a flaming fire. I think there was never such a tumultuous hurly-burly, rising so of nothing, heard of before, nor so great a fear where was no cause to fear; so that if Democritus, the merry philosopher, sitting in the top of the church, and seeing all things in such safety as they were, had looked down upon the multitude, and beheld so great a number, some howling and weeping, running up and down, and playing the madmen, now hither, now thither, as being tossed to and fro with waves or tempests, trembling, quaking, and raging, without any manifest cause; specially if he had seen those great rabbins and doctors, laden with so many badges or cognizances of wisdom, so foolishly and ridiculously seeking holes and corners to hide themselves in, gasping, breathing, and sweating, and for very horror being almost beside themselves; I think he would have satisfied himself with this one laughter for all his lifetime, or else rather would have laughed his heart out: whilst one said that he plainly heard the noise of the fire, another affirmed that he saw it with his eyes, and another swore that he felt the molten lead dropping down upon his head and shoulders. Such is the force of imagination, when it is once grafted in men's hearts through fear. In all the whole company there was none that behaved himself more modestly than the heretic that was there to do penance; who casting his faggot off from his shoulders upon a monk's head that stood by, kept himself quiet, minding to take such part as the others did.

All the others being careful for themselves, never made an

end of running up and down, and crying out. None cried out more earnestly than the doctor that preached, who first of all cried out in the pulpit, saying, "These are the trains and subtleties of the heretics against me: Lord have mercy upon me! Lord have mercy upon me!"

In all this great maze and garboil there was nothing more feared than the melting of the lead, which many affirmed that they felt dropping upon their bodies. Now in this sudden terror and fear, which took from them all reason and counsel, to behold what practices and sundry shifts every man made for himself, it would make not only Democritus and Heraclitus also to laugh, but rather a horse well near to break his halter. But none used themselves more ridiculously, than such as seemed wise men, saving that in one or two peradventure somewhat more quietness of mind appeared. Among whom was one Claymond, president of Corpus Christi college, and a few other aged persons with him, which for their age and weakness durst not thrust themselves into the throng amongst the rest, but kneeled down quietly before the high altar, committing themselves and their lives unto the sacrament. The others which were younger and stronger, ran up and down through the press, marvelling at the uncivility of men, and waxed angry with the unmannerly multitude, that would give no room unto the doctors, bachelors, masters, and other graduates, and regent masters. But as the terror and fear was common unto all, so was there no difference made of persons or degrees, every man shifting for himself. The violet cap, or purple gown, did there nothing avail the doctor, neither the master's hood, nor the monk's cowl, was there respected; yea, if the king or queen had been there at that present, and in that perplexity, they had been no better than a common man.

After they had long striven and assayed all manner of ways, and saw no remedy, neither by force, neither by authority, to prevail, they fell to entreating and offering of rewards; one offering twenty pounds, another his scarlet gown, so that any man would pull him out, though it were by the ears.

Some stood close unto the pillars, thinking themselves safe under the vaults of stone from the dropping of the lead. Others, being without money, and unprovided of all shifts, knew not which way to turn them. One, being a president of a certain college, pulling a board out from the pews, covered his head and shoulders therewith against the scalding lead, which they feared much more than the falling of the church.

But what a laughter would it have administered unto Democritus, amongst other things to behold there a certain grand paunched monk, who seeing the doors stopped, and every way closed up, thought by another compendious means to get through a glass window! But here the iron grates stopped him, notwithstanding his greedy mind would needs attempt if he could happily bring his purpose to pass. When he had broken the glass, and was come to the space between the grates where he should creep out, first he thrust in his head with the one shoulder, and it went through well enough; then he laboured to get the other shoulder after, but there was a great labour about that, and long he stuck by the shoulders, with much ado; for what doth not importune labour overcome? Thus far forth he was now gotten; but by what part of his body he did stick fast, I am not certain, neither may I feign, forso much as there be yet witnesses which did see these things, which could correct me if I should so do. Notwithstanding, this is most certain, that he did stick fast between the grates, and could neither get out nor in.

Thus this good man, having but short hose, by which way he supposed soonest to escape, by the same he fell into further inconvenience, making of one danger two: for if the fire or lead had fallen on the outside, those parts which did hang out of the window had been in danger; and, contrariwise, if the flame had raged within the church, all his other parts had lien open to the fire. And as this man did stick fast in the window, so did the rest stick as fast in the doors, that sooner they might have been burned, than they could stir or move one foot. Through which press at the last a way was found, that some going over their heads got out.

Here also happened another pageant in a certain monk of Gloucester-college, whereat Cal, hurnius might well laugh with an open mouth. So it happened, that there was a young lad in this tumult, who seeing the doors fast stopped with the press or multitude, and that he had not way to get out, climbed up upon the door; and there staying upon the top of the door, was forced to tarry still. For to come down into the church again he durst not, for fear of the fire; and to leap down towards the street, he could not without danger of falling. When he had tarried there awhile, he advised himself what to do; neither did occasion want to serve for his purpose. For by chance, amongst them that got over men's heads, he saw a monk coming towards him, which had a great wide cowl hanging at his back. This the boy thought to be a good occasion for him to escape by: when the monk came near unto him, the boy which was on the top of the door came down, and prettily conveyed himself into the monk's cowl, thinking that if the monk did escape, he should also get out with him. To be brief, at the last the monk got out over men's heads, with the boy in his cowl, and for a great while felt no weight or burden.

At the last, when he was somewhat more come to himself, and did shake his shoulders, feeling his cowl heavier than it was accustomed to be, and also hearing the voice of one speaking behind in his cowl, he was more afraid than he was before when he was in the throng, thinking in very deed that the evil spirit, which had set the church on fire, had flown into his cowl. By and by he began to play the exorcist: In the name of God, said he, and all saints, I command thee to declare what thou art that art behind at my back?—To whom the boy answered, I am Bertram's boy; for that was his name. But I, said the monk, adjure thee in the name of the unseparable Trinity, that thou wicked spirit do tell me who thou art, from whence thou comest, and that thou get hence.—I am Bertram's boy, said he; good master, let me go. And with that his cowl began with the weight to crack upon his shoulders. The monk, when he perceived the matter, took the boy out, and discharged his cowl. The boy took to his legs, and ran away as fast as he could.

Among others, one wiser than the rest ran with the church door key, beating upon the stone walls, thinking therewith to break an hole through to escape out.

In the mean time, those that were in the street looking diligently about them, and perceiving all things to be without fear, marvelled at this sudden outrage, and made signs and tokens to them that were in the church, to keep themselves quiet, crying to them that there was no danger.

But forso much as no word could be heard by reason of the noise that was within the church, those signs made them much more afraid than they were before, interpreting the matter as though all had been on fire without the church, and for the dropping of the lead and falling of other things, they should rather tarry still within the church, and not venture out. This trouble continued in this manner by the space of certain hours.

The next day, and also all the week following, there was an incredible number of bills set upon the church door, to inquire for things that were lost, in such variety and number, as Democritus might here again have just cause to laugh. "If any man have found a pair of shoes yesterday in St. Mary's church, or knoweth any man that have found them, &c." Another bill was set up, for a gown that was lost. Another entreated to have his cap restored. One lost his purse and girdle with certain money; another his sword. One inquireth for a ring, and one for one thing, another for another. To be short, there was few in this garboil, but that either through negligence lost, or through oblivion left, some thing behind them.

Thus have you hitherto heard a tragical story of a terrible fire which did no hurt.—The description whereof, although it be not so perfectly expressed according to the worthiness of the matter, yet because it was not to be passed with silence, we have superficially set forth; whereby the wise and discreet may sufficiently consider the rest, if any thing else be lacking in setting forth the full narration thereof.

As touching the heretic, because he had not done his sufficient penance there by occasion of this hurly-burly, therefore the next day following he was reclaimed into the church of St. Frideswide, where he supplied the rest that lacked of his plenary penance.

#### RELIGION REFORMED BY THE KING.

Now as touching the marriage between the king and the lady Howard, it is well known that it endured not long; for in the year next following, 1542, the said lady Katharine was accused to the king of incontinent living, not only before her marriage, with Francis Dereham, but also of spouse-breach, after her marriage, with Thomas Culpepper. For which both the men aforesaid, by act of parliament, were attainted and executed for high treason, and also the lady Katharine, late queen, with the lady Jane Rochford, widow, late wife to George Boleyn, lord Rochford, brother to queen Ann Boleyn, were beheaded for their deserts within the Tower. *Ex Hallo et aliis.*

After the death and punishment of this lady, his fifth wife, the king calling to remembrance the words of the lord Cromwell, and missing now more and more his old counsellor, and partly also smelling somewhat the ways of Winchester, began a little to set his foot again in the cause of religion. And although he ever bare a special favour to Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, (as you shall hear more hereafter, God willing, in the life of Cranmer,) yet now the more he missed the lord Cromwell, the more he inclined to the archbishop, and also to the right cause of religion. And therefore in the same year, and in the month of October, after the execution of this queen, the king understanding some abuses yet to remain un-reformed, namely, about pilgrimages and idolatry, and other things besides, to be corrected within his dominions, directed his letters unto the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury, for the speedy redress and reformation of the same. The tenor of which letters hereafter fully ensueth, in these words:

#### *The King's Letters to the Archbishop, for the abolishing of Idolatry.*

"Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well, letting you to wit, that whereas heretofore upon the zeal and remembrance which we had to our bounden duty, towards Almighty God, perceiving sundry superstitions and abuses to be used and embraced by our

people, whereby they grievously offended him and his word, we did not only cause the images and bones of such as they resorted and offered unto, with the ornaments of the same, and all such writings and monuments of feigned miracles, wherewith they were illuded, to be taken away in all places of the realm, but also by our injunctions commanded that no offering or setting up of lights or candles should be suffered in any church, but only the blessed sacrament of the altar: it is lately come to our knowledge, that, this our good intent and purpose notwithstanding, the shrines, coverings of shrines, and monuments of those things, do yet remain in sundry places of this realm, much to the slander of our doings, and to the great displeasure of Almighty God, the same being means to allure our subjects to their former hypocrisy and superstition, and also that our injunctions be not kept as appertaineth. For the due and speedy reformation whereof, we have thought meet, by these our letters, expressly to will and command you, that incontinent upon the receipt hereof, you shall not only cause due search to be made in the cathedral church for those things, and if any shrine, covering of shrine, tabl., monument of miracles, or other pilgrimages, do there containe, to cause it to be so taken away, as there remain no memory of it, but also that you shall take order with all the curates, and other having charge within your diocese, to do the semblable, and to see that our injunctions be duly kept as appertaineth, without failing, as we trust you, and as you will answer to the contrary.—Given under our signet at our town of Hull, the 4th day of October, in the 33d year of our reign."

Furthermore, the next year after this ensuing, which was 1543, in the month of February, followed another proclamation given out by the king's authority, wherein the pope's law, forbidding *white meats* to be eaten in Lent, was repealed, and the eating of such meats set at liberty, for the behoof of the king's subjects. The copy of which proclamation I thought here good also to be remembered.

#### *A Proclamation concerning eating of White Meats, made the 9th of February, the 34th year of the reign of the King's most Royal Majesty.*

"Forasmuch as by divers and sundry occasions, as well herrings, ling, salt-fish, salmon, stock-fish, as other kinds of fish, have been this year scant, and also enhanced in prices above the old rate and common estimation of their value, so that if the king's loving subjects should be enforced only to buy and provide herring and other salt store of fish for the necessary and sufficient sustentation and maintenance of their household and families all this holy time of Lent, according as they have been wont in times past to do, and should not be by some other convenient means relieved therein, the same might and should undoubtedly redound to their importable charge and detriment; and forasmuch as his highness considereth how this kind and manner of fasting, that is to say, to abstain from milk, butter, eggs, cheese, and other white meats, is but a mere positive law of the church, and used by a custom within this realm, and of none other force or necessity, but the same may be upon considerations and grounds altered and dispensed with from time to time, by the public authority of kings and princes, whensoever they shall perceive the same to tend to the hurt and damage of their people: The king's highness, therefore, most graciously considering and tendering the wealth and commodity of his people, hath thought good, for the considerations above rehearsed, to release and dispense with the said law and custom of abstaining from white meats this

holy time of Lent, and of his especial grace and mere motion giveth and granteth unto all and singular his subjects within this his realm of England, Wales, Isles, Guisnes, and Hannes, and in all other his grace's dominions, free liberty, faculty, and license, to eat all manner of white meats, as milk, eggs, butter, cheese, and such like, during the time of this Lent, without any scruple or grudge of conscience, any law, constitution, use, or custom, to the contrary notwithstanding.

"Wherein nevertheless his highness exhorteth, and in the name of God requireth, all such his faithful subjects, as may, will, or shall enjoy, this his said grant or faculty, that they be in no wise scrupulous or doubtful thereof, nor abuse or turn the same into a fleshly or carnal liberty, but rather endeavour themselves, to their possible powers, with this liberty of eating of white meats, to observe also that fast which God most specially requireth of them, that is to say, to renounce the world and the devil, with all their pomps and works, and also to subdue and repress their carnal affections, and the corrupt works of the flesh, according to their vow and profession made at the fount stone; for in these points specially consisteth the very true and perfect abstinence or fasting of a Christian man; thus to endure and continue from year to year, till the king's highness's pleasure shall by his majesty's proclamation be published to the contrary."

*The Trouble and Persecution of four Windsor Men, ROBERT TESTWOOD, HENRY FILMER, ANTHONY PRARSON, and JOHN MARBECK, persecuted for Righteousness' sake, and for the Gospel.*

Coming now to the story of the four Windsor men, persecuted for the true testimony of God's word, whereof three were sacrificed in fire, the fourth (which was Marbeck) had his pardon. First, I have to shew the origin of their troubles; secondly, the manner and order of their death as they suffered together, which was anno 1544.

#### *The Causes.*

In the year of our Lord 1544, there was one *Robert Testwood*, dwelling in the city of London, who for his knowledge in music had so great a name, that the musicians in Windsor-college thought him a worthy man to have a room among them. Whereupon they informed Dr. Sampson (being then their dean) of him. But forso much as some of the canons had at that time heard of Testwood, how that he smelled of the new learning, as they called it, it would not be consented unto at the first; notwithstanding, with often suit of the aforesaid musicians, made to one Dr. Tate, a room being void, Testwood was sent for to be heard. And being there four or five days among the choir men, he was so well liked both for his voice and cunning, that he was admitted, and after settled in Windsor, with his household, and had in good estimation with the dean and canons a great while: but when they had perceived him by his often talk at their tables (for he could not well dissemble his religion) that he feared to Luther's sect, they began to dislike him. And so passing forth among them, it was his chance one day to be at dinner with one of the canons, named Dr. Rawson; at which dinner, among all others, was one of king Henry's four chantry priests, named Mr. Ely, an old bachelor of divinity. Which Ely, in his talk at the board, began to rail against laymen who took upon them to meddle with the scriptures, and to be better learned (knowing no more but the English tongue) than they which had been students in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge all the days of their lives.—Then

Testwood, perceiving he meant him, could forbear no longer, but said, Mr. Ely, by your patience, I think it to be no hurt for laymen, as I am, to read and to know the scriptures.

Which of you (quoth Ely) that be unlearned knoweth them, or understandeth them? St. Paul saith, "If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink; and in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head." Now, sir, (quoth Ely) what meaneth St. Paul by those coals of fire?—Marry, sir, (quoth Testwood) he meaneth nothing else by them, as I have learned, but burning charity, that by doing good to our enemies we should thereby win them. —Ah, sirrah, quoth he, you are an old scholar indeed.

After this, they fell into further communication of the pope, whose supremacy was much spoken of at that time, but not known to be so far in question in the parliament house as it was. And in their talk Ely demanded of Testwood, Whether the pope ought to be head of the church or no? Against which, Testwood durst not say his full mind, but reasoned within his bounds a great while. But when they were both well stricken in a heat, Testwood, forgetting himself, chanced to say, That every king, in his own realm and dominion, ought to be the head of the church under Christ. At which words Ely was so chafed, that he rose up from the table in a great fume, calling him heretic, and all that was naught, and so went brawling away, to the great disquieting of all the company that were there.

Then was Testwood very sorry to see the old man take it so grievously. Whereupon after dinner he went and sought Mr. Ely, and found him walking in the body of the church, thinking to have talked with him charitably, and so have been at one again; but ever as he pressed towards him, the other shunned him, and would not come nigh him, but spit at him; saying to others that walked by, Beware of this fellow, for he is the greatest heretic and schismatic that ever came into Windsor.

Now began the matter to brew, for after that Ely had made his complaint to the dean's deputy and other of the canons, they were all against Testwood, purposing surely at the dean's coming home (if all things had chanced even) to have put him to trouble. But see the fortune: it was not twelve days after, ere that the king's supremacy passed in the parliament house. Whereupon the dean (Dr. Sampson) came home suddenly in the night late, and forthwith sent his verger about to all the canons and ministers of the college, from the highest to the lowest, commanding them to be in the chapter house by eight of the clock in the morning. Then Ely consulted with the canons over-night, and thought on the next day to have put Testwood to a great trouble. "But he that layeth a snare for another man (saith Solomon) shall be taken in it himself. And so was Ely. For when the dean, and every man, were come and placed in the chapter-house, and that the dean had commended the ministers of the church for their diligence in tending the choir, exhorting them also to continue in the same; he began, contrary to every man's expectation, to inveigh against the bishop of Rome's supremacy and usurped authority, confounding the same by manifest scriptures and probable reasons, so earnestly, that it was a wonder to hear; and at length declared openly, that by the whole consent of the parliament house, the pope's supremacy was utterly abolished out of this realm of England for ever; and so commanded every man there, upon his allegiance, to call him Pope no more, but Bishop of Rome; and whatsoever he were that would not so do, or did from that day forth maintain or favour his cause by any manner of means, he should not only lose the benefit of that house, but be reputed as an utter enemy to God, and to the



king. The canons hearing this, they were all stricken dumb. Yet notwithstanding, Ely's heat was so great, that he would fain have uttered his cankered stomach against Testwood: but the dean, breaking his tale, called him old fool, and took him up so sharply, that he was fain to hold his peace. Then the dean commanded all the pope's pardons, which hanged about the church, to be brought into the Chapter-house, and cast into the chimney, and burnt before all their faces; and so departed.

*Another Cause of Testwood's Troubles.*

As it chanced Testwood one day to walk in the church at afternoon, and beheld the pilgrims, especially of Devonshire and Cornwall, how they came in by companies, with candles and images of wax in their hands, to offer to good king Henry of Windsor, as they called him, it pitied his heart to see such great idolatry committed, and how vainly the people had spent their goods in coming so far to kiss a spur, and to have an old hat set upon their heads; inasmuch that he could not refrain, but seeing a certain company which had made their offering, stand gazing about the church, went unto them, and with all gentleness began to exhort them to leave such false worshipping of dumb creatures, and to learn to worship the true living God aright, putting them in remembrance what those things were which they worshipped, and how God many times had plagued his people for running a whoring to such stocks and stones, and so would plague them and their posterity, if they would not leave it. After this sort he admonished them so long, till at last his words, as God would, took such place in some of them, that they said they never would go on a pilgrimage more.

Then he went further, and found another sort licking and kissing a white lady made of alabaster, which image was mortised into a wall behind the high altar, and bordered about with a pretty border, which was made like branches with hanging apples and flowers. And when he saw them so superstitiously use the image, as to wipe their hands upon it, and then to stroke them over their heads and faces, as though there had been great virtue in touching the picture, he up with his hand (in which he had a key) and smote a piece of the border, about the image, down, and with the glance of the stroke chanced to break off the image's nose. "Lo, good people, (quoth he,) you see what it is, nothing but earth and dust, and cannot help itself; and how then will you have it to help you? For God's sake, brethren, be no more deceived." And so he got him home to his house; for the rumour was so great, that many came to see the image how it was defaced.

And, amongst all others, came one William Simons, a lawyer, who seeing the image so bewrayed, and to lack her nose, took the matter grievously, and looking down upon the pavement, he espied the image's nose where it lay, which he took up and put in his purse, saying, it should be a dear nose to Testwood one day.

Now were many offended with Testwood; the canons for speaking against their profit, the wax-sellers for hindering their market, and Simons for the image's nose. And more than that, there were of the canons' men that threatened to kill him: whereupon Testwood kept his house, and durst not come forth, minding to send the whole matter in writing, by his wife, to Mr. Cromwell, the king's secretary, who was his special friend.

*Other Causes of Testwood's Troubles.*

Upon a relic Sunday, as they named it, when every minister after their old custom should have borne a relic in his

hand about a procession, one was brought to Testwood; which relic, as they said, was a rochet of bishop Becket's. And as the sexton would have put the rochet into Testwood's hands, he pushed it from it; and so the rochet was given to another.

In the days of Mr. Franklen, who succeeded Dr. Sampson in the deanery of Windsor, there was on a time set up at the choir door a certain foolish printed paper in metre, all to the praise and commendation of our Lady, ascribing unto her our justification, our salvation, our redemption, the forgiveness of sins, &c. to the great dishonour of Christ. Which paper one of the canons, called Mr. Magnus, as it was reported, caused to be set up in despite of Testwood and his sect. When Testwood saw this paper, he took it down secretly. The next day after was another set up in the same place. Then Testwood coming into the church, and seeing another paper set up, and also the dean coming a little way off, made haste to be at the choir door, while the dean stayed to take holy water; and reaching up his hand as he went, plucked away the paper with him. The dean being come to his stall, called Testwood unto him, and said, That he marvelled greatly how he durst be so bold to take down the paper in his presence. Testwood answered again, That he marvelled much more, that his mastership would suffer such a blasphemous paper to be set up, beseeching him not to be offended with that he had done, for he would stand unto it.

Now Mr. Magnus being sore offended with Testwood for plucking down his papers, to be revenged on him, devised with the dean and the rest of the canons, to send their letters to Dr. Chamber, one of their brethren, and the king's physician, who lay for the most part at the court, to see what he would do against Testwood. Which letters were sent with speed. But whatever the cause was, I cannot tell, their suit came to none effect. Then they determined to let the matter sleep till St. George's feast, which was not far off.

Within fourteen days after this, the lords of the garter (as the custom is yearly to do) came to Windsor to keep St. George's feast, at which feast the duke of Norfolk was president: unto whom the dean and canons made a grievous complaint on Testwood. Who being called before the duke, he shook him, and reviled him, as though he would have sent him to hanging by and by. Yet, nevertheless, Testwood so behaved himself to the duke, that in the end he let him go without any further molesting him.

*The Origin of HENRY FILMER's Troubles.*

About the year of our Lord 1541, after all the orders of superstitious and begging friars were suppressed and put down, there chanced one Sir Thomas Melster, who had been a friar before, and changed his friar's coat, (but not his friar's heart,) to be vicar of Windsor. This priest on a time made a sermon to his parishioners, in which he declared so many foul and friarish tales, (as that our Lady should hold out her breasts to St. Bernard, and spout her milk into his eyes, with such like festival tales,) that many honest men were offended therewith, and especially this *Henry Filmer*, then one of the churchwardens; who was so zealous for God's word, that he could not abide to hear the glory of Christ so defaced with superstitious fables. Whereupon he took an honest man or two with him, and went to the priest, with whom he talked so honestly and so charitably, that in the end the priest gave him hearty thanks, and was content at his gentle admonition to reform himself without any more ado; and so departed friendly the one from the other.

Now there was one in the town, called William Simons, a lawyer, who hearing that Filmer had been with the priest, and reproved him for his sermon, took offence, and got him to the vicar, and did so incense him that he slipped quite away from the promise he had made to Filmer, and followed the mind of Simons; who meeting with Filmer afterwards, reviled him, saying, "He would bring him before the bishop, to teach him to be so malapert." Then Filmer, hearing the matter renewed, which he had thought had been repressed, stood against Simons, and said, "That the vicar had preached false and unsound doctrine, and so would he say to the bishop whensoever he came before him." Then Simons slept not the matter, but went to the mayor, and procured of him and his brethren a letter, signified with their own hands, in the priest's favour, as much as could be devised; and so departed himself with his friends to go to the bishop, whose name was Dr. Capon, and to take the priest with them; which was a painful journey for the silly poor man, by reason he had a sore leg.

Now Filmer (who had got to the bishop before the others) declared unto the bishop the talk he had with the priest, and the end thereof; and how the matter being renewed again by Simons, forced him and his company to trouble his lordship therewith. Well, (said the bishop,) ye have done like honest men; come to me soon again, and ye shall know more. And so they departed from the bishop to their inn: and while they were there reposing themselves, Simons with his company came to the town, and (not knowing the other to be come) got them up to the bishop in all post-haste, taking the priest with them.

The bishop, hearing of more Windsor men, demanded what they were; and being informed how it was the vicar of the town, with others more, he caused the vicar to be brought in. To whom he said, Are you the vicar of Windsor?—Yea, forsooth, my lord, (quoth he.) How chanceth it, (quoth the bishop,) that you are complained on? For there have been with me certain honest men of your town, who have delivered up a bill of erroneous doctrine against you. If it be so, I must needs punish you. And then opening the bill, he read it unto them. How say you, (quoth the bishop,) is this true, or no? The vicar could not deny it, but humbly submitted himself to the bishop's correction. Then was his company called in; and when the bishop saw Simons, he knew him well, and said, Wherefore come ye, Mr. Simons?—Pleaseth it your lordship, (quoth he,) we are come to speak in our vicar's cause, which is a man of good conversation and honesty, and doth his duty so well in every point, that no man can find fault with him, except a lewd fellow we have in our town, called Filmer, which is so corrupt with heresy, that he is able to poison a whole country; and truly, my lord, quoth Simons, there is no man that can preach or teach any thing that is good and godly, but he is ready to control it, and to say it is stark naught. Wherefore we shall beseech your lordship he may be punished, to the ensample of others, that our vicar may do his duty quietly, as he hath done before this busy fellow troubled him. And that your lordship shall the better credit my sayings, I have brought with me these honest men of the town: and besides all that, a testimonial from the mayor and his brethren, to confirm the same; and so he held the writing out in his hand.

Then said the bishop, So God help me, Mr. Simons, ye are greatly to blame, and most worthy to be punished of all men, that will so impudently go about to maintain your priest in his error, which hath preached heresy, and hath confessed it; wherefore I may not nor will not see it unpunished. And

as for that honest man, Filmer, on whom ye have complained, I tell you plainly he hath in this point shewed himself a great deal more honest man than you. But in hope you will no more bear out your vicar in his evil doing, I will remit all things at this time, saving that he shall the next Sunday recant his sermon openly before all his parishioners in Windsor church. And so the bishop called in Filmer and his company, which waited without, and delivered the priest's recantation unto them, with a great charge to see it truly observed in all points.

For this cause Simons could never brook Filmer, but when he met him at any time after, would hold up his finger, and say, "I will be even with you one day, trust me."

#### *The Origin of ANTHONY PEARSON'S Troubles.*

There was a certain priest, named *Anthony Pearson*, who came often to Windsor, about the year of our Lord 1540, and using the talent that God had given him in preaching, was greatly esteemed among the people, who flocked so much to his sermons which he made both in the town and country, that the great priest of the castle, with other Papists in the town, (especially Simons,) were sore offended, inso-much, that Simons at the last began to make extracts from his sermons, and to mark his auditors; whereof ensued the death of divers, and trouble of many honest men. For about a year and more after, a minister of Satan, called Doctor London, warden of the new college in Oxford, was admitted one of the prebendaries of Windsor; who at his first residence dinner which he made to the clerks, all his whole talk to two gentlemen, strangers at his board, till the table was taken up, was nothing else but of heretics, and what a desolation they would bring the realm unto, if they might be so suffered. And by St. Mary, masters, (quoth he to the clerks at last,) I cannot tell, but there goeth a shrewd report abroad of this house. Some made answer, it was undeserved. I pray God it be, (quoth he.) I am but a stranger, and have but small experience among you; but I have heard it said, before I came hither, that there be some in this house, that will neither have prayer nor fasting.

Then spake Testwood. Truly, sir, (quoth he,) I think that was spoken of malice: for prayer, as your mastership knoweth better than I, is one of the first lessons that Christ taught us.—Yea marry, sir, (quoth he,) but the heretics will have no invocation to saints, which all the old fathers do allow.—What the old fathers do allow (quoth Testwood) I cannot tell; but Christ doth appoint us to go to his Father, and to ask our petitions of him in Christ's name.—Then you will have no mean between you and God, quoth (Dr. London.)—Yes, sir, (quoth Testwood:) our mean is Christ, as St. Paul saith, "There is one Mediator between God and man, even Jesus Christ."—Give us water, (quoth Dr. London.) Which being set on the board, he said grace, and washed; and so falling into other communication with the strangers, the clerks took their leave and departed.

When Dr. London had been at Windsor awhile among his Catholic brethren, and learned what Testwood was, and also of Simons, (who shewed him our Lady's nose, as he called it,) what a sort of heretics were in the town and about the same, and how they increased daily by reason of a naughty priest, called Anthony Pearson, he was so maliciously bent against him, that he gave himself wholly to the devil to do mischief. And to bring his wicked purpose about, he conspired with the aforesaid Simons, how they might compass the matter, first to have all the arch-heretics, as they termed them, in Windsor and thereabout, indicted of heresy, and so to proceed further.

They wrote the names of all such as commonly haunted Anthony Pearson's sermons, and of all such as had the Testament, and favoured the gospel.

Then had they private spies to walk up and down the church, to hearken and hear what men said, and to mark who did not reverence the sacrament at the elevation time, and to bring his name to Dr. London. And of these spies some were chantry priests; among which there was one notable spy, whose name was Sir William Bows.

Thus when they had gathered as much as they could, and made a perfect book thereof, Dr. London, with two more of his Catholic brethren, gave them up to the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, with a great complaint against the heretics that were in Windsor, declaring unto him how the town was sore disquieted through their doctrine and evil example. Wherefore they besought his lordship's help, in purging the town and castle of such wicked persons. The bishop hearing their complaint, and seeing their book, praised their doings, and bade them make friends, and go forward, and they should not lack his help. Then they applied to the matter with tooth and nail, sparing neither money nor pains-taking; as Marbeck saith, that he himself heard one of them say, that the suit thereof cost him that year, for his part only, an hundred marks, besides the death of three good geldings.

Now bishop Gardiner, who had conceived a further fetch in his brain than Dr. London had, made Wrisley and other of the council on his side, and spying a time convenient, went to the king, complaining what a sort of heretics his grace had in his realm, and how they were not only crept into every corner of his court, but even into his privy chamber; beseeching therefore his majesty that his laws might be prosecuted. The king, giving credit to the council's words, was content his laws should be executed on such as were offenders. Then had the bishop that he desired, and forthwith procured a commission for a private search to be made in Windsor for books and letters that Anthony Pearson should send abroad; which commission the king granted to take place in the town of Windsor, but not in the castle.

At this time the canons of Exeter (especially Suthran, treasurer of the church, and Dr. Brurewood, the chancellor,) had accused Dr. Haynes, their dean, to the council, for preaching against holy bread and holy water, and that he should say in one of his sermons, (having occasion to speak of matrimony,) that marriage and hanging were destiny; upon which they gathered treason against him, because of the king's marriage.

The bishop of Winchester, at the same time, had also informed the council of Mr. Hobby, how he was a hearer of Anthony Pearson, and a great maintainer of heretics. Whereupon both he and Dr. Haynes were apprehended, and sent to the Fleet. But it was not very long after, ere that by the mediation of friends they were both delivered.

Now, as touching the commission for searching for books, Mr. Ward and Fachel, of Reading, were appointed commissioners, who came to Windsor the Thursday before Palm-Sunday, in the year of our Lord 1543, and began their search about eleven of the clock at night. In which search were apprehended Robert Benet, Henry Filmer, John Marbeck, and Robert Testwood, for certain books and writings found in their houses, and kept in ward till Monday after, and then fetched up to the council, all save Testwood (with whom the bailiffs of the town were charged,) because he lay sore diseased of the gout. The other three being examined before the council, were committed to prison, Filmer and Benet to the bishop of London's gaol, and Marbeck to the

Marshalsea; whose examination is here set out, to declare the great goodness of the council, and the cruelty of the bishop.

*The first Examination of John Marbeck, before the Council, on the Monday after Palm-Sunday, 1544.*

This Marbeck had begun a great work in English, called The Concordance of the Bible: which book, being not half finished, was among his other books taken in the search, and had up to the council. And when he came before them to be examined, the whole work lay before the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, at the upper end of the board. Who beholding the poor man awhile, said, Marbeck, dost thou know wherefore thou art sent for?—No, my lord, (quoth he.)—No? (quoth the bishop;) that is a marvellous thing.—Forsooth, my lord, (quoth he,) unless it be for a certain search made of late in Windsor, I cannot tell wherefore it should be.—Then thou knowest the matter well enough, (quoth the bishop;) and taking up a quire of the Concordance in his hand, said, Understandest thou the Latin tongue?—No, my lord, (quoth he,) but simply.—No? (quoth the bishop.) And with that spake Mr. Wrisley, then secretary to the king, He saith, but simply. I cannot tell, (quoth the bishop;) but the book is translated word for word out of the Latin Concordance; and so began to declare to the rest of the council the nature of a Concordance, and how it was first compiled in Latin by the great diligence of the learned men, for the ease of preachers; concluding with this reason, that if such a book should go forth in English, it would destroy the Latin tongue. And so casting down the quire again, he reached another book, which was the book of Isaiah the prophet, and turning to the last chapter, gave the book to Marbeck, and asked who had written the note in the margin? The other looking upon it, said, Forsooth, my lord, I wrote it.—Read it, (quoth the bishop.) Then he read it thus, "Heaven is my seat, and the earth is my footstool."—Nay, (quoth the bishop,) read it as thou hast written it.—Then shall I read it wrong, (quoth he;) for I had written it false.—How hast thou written it? (quoth the bishop.)—I have written it, (quoth he,) thus, "Heaven is my seat, and the earth is not my footstool."—Yea marry, (quoth the bishop,) that was thy meaning.—No, my lord, (quoth he,) it was but an oversight in writing; for, as your lordship seeth, this word *not* is blotted out.

At this time came other matters into the council, so that Marbeck was had out to the next chamber. And when he had stood there awhile, one of the council, named Sir Anthony Wingfield, captain of the guard, came forth, and calling for Marbeck, committed him to one Belson of the guard, saying unto him on this wise, "Take this man, and have him to the Marshalsea, and tell the keeper that it is the council's pleasure, that he should treat him gently, and if he have any money in his purse (as I think he hath not much,) take you it from him, lest the prisoners do take it; and minister it unto him as he shall have need." And so the messenger departed with Marbeck to the Marshalsea, and did his commission both faithfully and truly, both to the keeper and to the prisoner, as he was commanded.

*The Manner of their Condemnation, and how they died.*

When the time drew nigh that the king's majesty (who was newly married to that good and virtuous lady, Katharine Parr,) should make his progress abroad, the aforesaid Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, had so compassed his matters, that no man had such influence with the king as he had. In the mean time three or four were caught, that in

to say, Anthony Pearson, Henry Filmer, and John Marbeck, and sent to Windsor by the sheriff's men, the Saturday before St. James's day, and laid fast in the town gaol; and Testwood, who had kept his bed, brought out of his house upon crutches, and laid with them; but as for Benet (who should have been the fifth man) his chance was to be sick of the pestilence, and having a great sore upon him, he was left behind in the bishop of London's gaol, whereby he escaped the fire.

Now these men being brought to Windsor, there was a sessions especially procured to be holden the Thursday following, which was St. Anne's day. Against which sessions (by the counsel of Dr. London and Simons) were all the farmers belonging to the college of Windsor warned to appear, because they could not pick out Papists enough in the town to go upon the jury.

When these had taken their places, and the prisoners brought forth before them, then Robert Ockam, occupying for that day the clerk of the peace's room, called *Anthony Pearson*, according to the manner of the court, and read his indictment, which was this:

First, That he should preach two years before in a place called Wingfield, and there should say, That like as Christ was hanged between two thieves, even so when the priest is at mass, and hath consecrated and lifted him up over his head, there he hangeth between two thieves, except he preach the word of God truly, as he hath taken upon him to do.

Also, that he said to the people in the pulpit, Ye shall not eat the body of Christ, as it did hang upon the cross, gnawing it with your teeth, that the blood run about your lips; you shall eat him this day as ye eat him to-morrow, the next day, and every day; for it refresheth not the body, but the soul.

Also, after that he had preached and commended the scripture, calling it the word of God, he said as followeth, "This is the word, this is the bread, this is the body of Christ.

Also he said, that Christ sitting with his disciples, took bread, and blessed, and brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, "Take and eat, this is my body." What is this to us, but to take the scripture of God, and to break it to the people?

To this, Anthony answered and said, I will be tried by God and his holy word, and by the true church of Christ, whether this be heresy or no, whereof ye have indicted me this day. So long as I preached the bishop of Rome and his filthy traditions, I was never troubled; but since I have taken upon me to preach Christ and his gospel, ye have always sought my life. But it maketh no matter, for when you have taken your pleasure of my body, I trust it shall not lie in your power to hurt my soul.—Thou calledst us thieves, (quoth the bishop.)—I say, (quoth Anthony,) ye are not only thieves, but murderers, except ye preach and teach the word of God purely and sincerely to the people; which ye do not, nor ever did, but have allured them to all idolatry, superstition, and hypocrisy, for your own lucre and glory's sake, through the which ye are become rather *bite-sheeps* than true *bishops*, biting and devouring the poor sheep of Christ, like ravening wolves, never satisfied with blood; which God will require at your hands one day, doubt it not.

Then spake Simons, his accuser, standing within the bar, saying, It is pity this fellow had not been burnt long ago, as he deserved.—In faith, quoth Anthony, if you had what you deserved, you were more worthy to stand in this place than I; but I trust in the last day, when we shall both appear,

before the tribunal seat of Christ, that then it will be known which of us two hath best deserved this place.—Shall I have so long a day? (quoth Simons, holding up his finger :) nay, then I care not. And so the matter was jested out.

#### *Robert Testwood.*

Then was *Testwood* called, and his indictment read; which was, that he should say in the time that the priest was lifting up the sacrament, What wilt thou lift up so high? what, yet higher. Take heed, let him not fall.

To this *Testwood* answered, saying, It was but a thing maliciously forged by his enemies to bring him to his death.—Yes, quoth the bishop, thou hast been seen, that when the priest should lift up the sacrament over his head, then wouldest thou look down upon thy book, or some other way, because thou wouldest not abide to look upon the blessed sacrament.—I beseech you, my lord, (quoth *Testwood*,) whereon did he look that marked me so well?—Marry, (quoth Bucklayer, the king's attorney,) he could not be better occupied, than to mark such heretics, that so despised the blessed sacrament.

#### *Henry Filmer.*

Then *Filmer* was called, and his indictment read, that he should say, That the sacrament of the altar is nothing else but a similitude and ceremony; and also, if God be in the sacrament of the altar, I have eaten twenty gods in my days.

Here you must understand that these words were gathered of certain communication which should be between *Filmer* and his brother.—The tale went thus:

This *Henry Filmer*, coming upon a Sunday from Clewer, his parish church, in the company of one or two of his neighbours, chanced in the way to meet his brother (who was a very poor working man,) and asked him whether he went? To the church, said he. And what to do? (quoth *Filmer*.) To do, (quoth he,) as other men do. Nay, (quoth *Filmer*,) you go to hear mass, and to see your god. What if I do so? (quoth he.) If that be god (should *Filmer* say) I have eaten twenty gods in my days. Turn again, fool, and go home with me, and I will read thee a chapter out of the Bible, that shall be better than all that thou shalt see or hear there.

This tale was no sooner brought to Dr. London by Wm. Simons, *Filmer's* utter enemy, but he sent for the poor man home to his house, where he cherished him with meat and money, telling him he should never lack so long as he lived; that the silly poor man, thinking to have had a daily friend of Dr. London, was content to do and say whatsoever he and Simons would have him say or do against his own brother. And when Dr. London had thus won the poor man, he retained him as one of his household men, until the court-day was come, and then sent him up to witness this aforesaid tale against his brother.—Which tale *Filmer* denied utterly, saying, That Dr. London, for a little meat and drink sake, had set him on, and made him say what his pleasure was: wherefore, my lord, (quoth *Filmer* to the bishop) I beseech your lordship to weigh the matter indifferently, forsomuch as there is no man in all this town that can or will testify with him, that ever he heard any such talk between him and me; and if he can bring forth any that will witness the same with him, I refuse not to die.—But say what he could, it would not prevail.

Then *Filmer* seeing no remedy, but that his brother's accusation should take place, he said, Ah, brother, what cause hast thou to shew me this unkindness? I have always been a natural brother unto thee and thine, and helped you

all, to my power, from time to time, as thou thyself knowest; and is this a brotherly part, thus to reward me now for my kindness? God forgive it thee, my brother, and give thee grace to repent.

Then Filmer, looking over his shoulder, desired some good body to let him see the book of statutes. His wife being at the end of the hall, and hearing her husband call for the book of statutes, ran down to the keeper, and brought up the book, and got it conveyed to her husband. The bishop seeing the book in his hand, started up from the bench in a great fume, demanding who had given the prisoner that book? commanding it to be taken from him, and to make search who had brought it; swearing by the faith of his body he should go to prison. Some said it was his wife, some said the keeper. Like enough, my lord, (quoth Simons,) for he is one of the same sort, and as worthy to be here as the best, if he were rightly served. But whosoever it was, the truth would not be known, and so the bishop sat him down again.

Then said Filmer, O my lord, I am this day judged by a law, and why should I not see the law that I am judged by? The law is, I should have two lawful witnesses; and here is but one, which would not do as he doth, but that he is forced thereto by the suggestion of mine enemies.—Nay, (quoth Bucklayer, the king's attorney,) thine heresy is so heinous, and abhorreth thine own brother so much, that it forceth him to witness against thee; which is more than two other witnesses.

Thus, as you see, was Filmer brought unjustly to his death by the malice of Simons and Dr. London, who had incited that wretched catiff, his brother, to be their minister to work his confusion. But God, who is a just revenger of all falsehoods and wrongs, would not suffer that wretch long to live upon earth; but the next year following, he being taken up for a labourer to go to Bullein, had not been there three days, ere that (in exonerating of nature) a gun took him and tore him all to pieces. And so were these words of Solomon fulfilled, "A false witness shall not remain unpunished."

*John Marbeck.*

Then was *Marbeck* called, and his indictment read; which was, that he should say, that the holy mass, when the priest doth consecrate the body of our Lord, is polluted, deformed, sinful, and open robbery of the glory of God, from the which a Christian heart ought both to abhor and flee. And the elevation of the sacrament is the similitude of setting up of images, of the calves in the temple builded by Jeroboam; and that it is more abomination than the sacrifices done by the Jews in Jeroboam's temple to those calves. And that certain and sure it is, that Christ himself is made, in the mass, man's laughing-stock.

To this he answered and said, That these words whereof they indicted him, were not his, but the words of a learned man called John Calvin, drawn out of a certain epistle which the said Calvin had made, which epistle he had but only written out, and that long before the six articles came forth; so that now he was discharged of that offence by the king's general pardon, desiring that he might enjoy the benefit thereof.

Then was the jury called, which were all farmers belonging to the college of Windsor, whereof few or none had ever seen those men before upon whose life and death they went. Wherefore the prisoners counting the farmers as partial, desired to have the townsmen, or such as did know them, and had seen their daily conversations, in the place of the

farmers, or else to be equally joined with them; but that would not be, for the matter was otherwise foreseen and determined.

Now when the jury had taken their oath and all, Bucklayer, the king's attorney, began to speak; and first he alleged many reasons against Anthony Pearson, to prove him an heretic. Which when Anthony would have disproved, the bishop said, Let him alone, sir; he speaketh for the king. And so went Bucklayer forth with his matter, making every man's cause as heinous to the hearers as he could devise. And when he had done, and said what he would, then Sir Humphrey Foster spake to the quest in the favour of Marbeck, on this wise: Masters, (quoth he,) you see there is no man here that accuseth or layeth any thing to the charge of this poor man, Marbeck, saying he hath writ certain things of other men's sayings, with his own hand, whereof he is discharged by the king's general pardon; therefore you ought to have a conscience therein. Then started up Fachel at the lower end of the bench, and said, What can we tell whether they were written before the pardon, or after? They may as well be written since as afore, for any thing we know.—These words of Fachel, as every man said, were the cause of Marbeck's casting that day.

Then went the jury up to the chamber over the place where the judges sat, and in the mean time went all the knights and gentlemen abroad, saving the bishop, Sir Wm. Essex, and Fachel, which three sat still upon the bench till all was done. And when the jury had been together above in the chamber about the space of a quarter of an hour, up goeth Simons (of his own brain) unto them, and tarried there a pretty while, and came down again. After that came one of the jury down to the bishop, and talked with him and the other twain a good while: whereby many conjectured that the jury could not agree of Marbeck. But whether it was so or no, it was not long after his going up again, ere that they came down again to give their verdict; and being required according to the form of the law to say their minds, one called Hide, speaking as the mouth of the rest, said they were all guilty.

Then the judges beholding the prisoners a good while, (some with watery eyes,) made courtesy who should give judgment. Fachel requiring the bishop to do it, he said, He might not. The others also being required, said, They would not. Then said Fachel, It must be done; one must do it; and if no man will, then will I. And so Fachel, being lowest of all the bench, gave judgment.

Then Marbeck, being the last upon whom sentence was given, cried unto the bishop, saying, Ah, my lord, you told me otherwise, when I was before you and the other two bishops. You said then, that I was in better case than any of my fellows; and is your saying come to this? Ah, my lord, you have deceived me. Then the bishop, casting up his hand, said, He could not do withal.

Now the prisoners being condemned and had away, prepared themselves to die on the morrow, comforting one another in the death and passion of their master Christ, who had led the way before them, trusting that the same Lord, which had made them worthy to suffer so far for his sake, would not now withdraw his strength from them, but give them steadfast faith, and power to overcome those fiery torments, and of his free mercy and goodness, without their deserts, for his promise sake, receive their souls.

Thus lay they all the night long, till very dead sleep took them, calling to God for his aid and strength, and praying for their persecutors, which of blind zeal and ignorance had done they wist not what, that God of his merciful goodness



would forgive them, and turn their hearts to the love and knowledge of his blessed and holy word. Yea, such heavenly talk was amongst them that night, that the hearers watching the prison without, whereof the sheriff himself was one, with divers gentlemen more, were constrained to shed plenty of tears, as they themselves confessed.

On the morrow, which was Friday, as the prisoners were all preparing themselves to go to suffer, word was brought them that they should not die that day. The cause was this: The bishop of Sarum, and they among them, had sent a letter by one of the sheriff's gentlemen, called Mr. Frost, to the bishop of Winchester, (the court being then at Oaking,) in the favour of Marbeck. At the sight of which letter the bishop straightway went to the king, and obtained his pardon.

Which being granted, he caused a warrant to be made out of hand for the sheriff's discharge, delivered the same to the messenger, who with speed returned with great joy, for the love he bare to the party, bringing good news to the town of Marbeck's pardon; whereat many rejoiced.

The Saturday in the morning that the prisoners should go to execution, came into the prison two of the canons of the college, the one called Dr. Blithe, and the other Mr. Arch, which two were sent to be their confessors. Mr. Arch asked them if they would be confessed? and they said, Yea. Then he demanded if they would receive the sacrament? Yea, (said they,) with all our hearts. I am glad (quoth Arch) to hear you say so; but the law is, that it may not be ministered to any that are condemned of heresy; but it is enough for you that ye desire it.

And so he had them up to the hall to hear their confessions, because the prison was full of people. Dr. Blithe took Anthony Pearson to him to confess, and Mr. Arch the other two. But howsoever the matter went between the doctor and Anthony, he tarried not long with him, but came down again, saying, He would no more of his doctrine. Do you call him Dr. Blithe? (quoth Anthony:) He may be called Dr. *Blind*, for his learning, as far as I see. And soon after the other two came down also. Then Anthony, seeing much people in the prison, began to say the Lord's prayer; whereof he made a marvellous godly declaration, wherein he continued till the officers came to fetch him away, and so made an end. And taking their leave of Marbeck, their prison-fellow, they praised God for his deliverance, wishing to him the increase of godliness and virtue, and last of all besought him heartily to help them with his prayers unto God, to make them strong in their afflictions; and so kissing him one after another, they departed.

Now as the prisoners passed through the people in the streets, they desired all the faithful people to pray for them, and to stand fast in the truth of the gospel, and not to be moved at their afflictions; for it was the happiest thing that ever came to them. And ever as Dr. Blithe and Arch, who rode on each side the prisoners, would persuade them to turn to their holy church: Away, would Anthony cry, away with your Romish doctrine, and all your trumpery, for we will no more of it.

And so going forth, they came to the place of execution, where Anthony Pearson with a cheerful countenance embraced the post in his arms, and kissing it, said, Now welcome mine own sweet wife: for this day shall thou and I be married together in the love and peace of God.

And being all three bound to the post, a certain young man of Filmer's acquaintance brought him a pot of drink, asking if he would drink? Yea, (quoth Filmer,) I thank you. And now, my brother, (quoth he,) I shall desire you, in the

name of the living Lord, to stand fast in the truth of the gospel of Jesus Christ, which you have received. And so taking the pot at his hand, asked his brother Anthony if he would drink. Yea, brother Filmer, (quoth he,) I pledge you in the Lord.

And when he had drunk, he gave the pot to Anthony, and Anthony likewise gave it to Testwood. When Anthony and Testwood had both drunken, and given the pot from them, Filmer, rejoicing in the Lord, said, Be merry, my brethren, and lift up your hands unto God, for, after this sharp breakfast, I trust we shall have a good dinner in the kingdom of Christ our Lord and Redeemer. At which words Testwood lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven, desired the Lord above to receive his spirit. And Anthony Pearson, pulling the straw unto him, laid a good deal thereof upon the top of his head, saying, This is God's hat; now am I dressed like a true soldier of Christ, by whose merits only I trust this day to enter into his joy.

And so yielded they up their souls to the Father of heaven, in the faith of his dear Son Jesus Christ, with such humility and steadfastness, that many which saw their patient suffering, confessed that they could have found in their hearts to have died with them.

#### *An Account of the Second Apprehension, and Martyrdom, of ADAM DAMLIP.*

*Adam Damlip*, otherwise called *George Bucker*, was cited before the bishop at Lambeth, and afterwards secretly admonished, and having money given him by his friends to avoid, and not to appear again before the bishops; after he had sent his allegations in writing unto them, departed unto the west-country, and there continued teaching a school a certain space, about a year or two. After that, the good man was again apprehended by the miserable inquisition of the six articles, and brought up to London, where he was by Stephen Gardiner commanded into the Marshalsea, and there lay the space of other two years, or thereabout.

During the imprisonment of this *George* in the Marshalsea, *John Marbeck* also was committed unto the same prison, which was the morrow after Palm-Sunday. The manner of that time so required, that at Easter every person must needs come to confession. Whereupon *Marbeck*, with the rest of the prisoners there, was enforced to come upon Easter-day to Sir *George* aforesaid, to be confessed, who was then confessor to the whole house. By this occasion, *John Marbeck*, which had never seen him before, entering into conference with him, perceived what he was, what he had been, what troubles he sustained, how long he had lain there in prison, by whom and wherefore; who declared, moreover, his mind to *Marbeck*, to the effect that followeth: And now, because (said he) I think they have forgotten me, I am fully minded to make my humble suit to the bishop of Winchester, in an epistle declaring therein mine obedience, humble submission, and earnest desire to come to examination. I know the worst: I can but lose my present life, which I had rather do, than here to remain, and not to be suffered to use my talents to God's glory. Wherefore, God willing, I will surely put it in proof.

This *Damlip*, for honesty and godly behaviour was beloved of all the whole house, but especially of the keeper himself, whose name was *Massy*, whom he always called *Master*; and being suffered to go at liberty within the house whither he would, he did much good among the common and rascal sort of prisoners, in rebuking vice and sin, and kept them in such good order and awe, that the keeper thought

himself to have a great treasure of him. And no less also Marbeck himself confesseth, to have found great comfort by him. For notwithstanding the strait precept given by the bishop of Winchester, that no man should come to him, nor he to speak with any man, yet the said Adam many times would find the means to come and comfort him.

Now when he had drawn out his epistle, he delivered the same to his master the keeper, upon Saturday in the morning, which was about the second week before Whitsunday following, desiring him to deliver it at the court to the bishop of Winchester. The keeper said he would, and so did. The bishop, what quick speed he made for his despatch I know not; but thus it fell out, as ye shall hear.

The keeper came home at night very late, and when the prisoners (who had tarried supper for his coming) saw him so sad and heavy, they deemed something to be amiss. At last the keeper casting up his eyes upon Sir George, said, O George, I can tell thee tidings.—What is that, master? (quoth he.) Upon Monday next thou and I must go to Calais.—To Calais, master? What to do?—I know not, (quoth the keeper;) and pulled out of his purse a piece of wax with a little label of parchment hanging thereat, which seemed to be a precept. And when Sir George saw it, he said, Well, well, master, now I know what the matter is.—What? (quoth the keeper.)—Truly, master, I shall die in Calais.—Nay, (quoth the keeper,) I trust it to be not so.—Yes, yes, master, it is most true, and I praise God for his goodness therein.

And so the keeper and they went together to supper, with heavy cheer, for Sir George, as they there called him. Who notwithstanding was merry himself, and did eat his meat as well as ever he did in all his life; insomuch, that some of the board said unto him, that they marvelled how he could eat his meat so well, knowing he was so near his death. Ah, masters, (quoth he,) do you think that I have been God's prisoner so long in the Marshalsea, and have not yet learned to die? Yes, yes, and I doubt not but God will strengthen me therein.

And so upon Monday, early in the morning before day, the keeper, with three others of the knight-marshal's servants, setting out of London, conveyed the said Adam Damlip to Calais upon the Ascension-even, and there committed him to the mayor's prison. Upon which day, John Butler, the commissary aforesaid, and Sir Daniel, the curate of St. Peter's, were also committed to the same prison, and commandment given for no man to speak with Butler.

Upon Saturday next was the day of execution for Damlip. The cause which first they laid to his charge was for heresy. But because by an act of parliament all such offences done before a certain day were pardoned, (through which act he could not be burdened with any thing that he had preached or taught before,) yet for the receiving of a French crown of cardinal Pope, he was condemned of treason, and in Calais cruelly put to death, being hanged, drawn, and quartered.

The day before his execution, came unto him one Mr. Mote, then parson of our Lady-church in Calais, saying, Your four quarters shall be hanged at the four parts of the town.—And where shall my head be? said Damlip. Upon the lantern-gate, said Mote. Then Damlip answered, Then shall I not need to provide for my burial. At his death, Sir R. Ellerker, knight, then knight-marshal there, would not suffer the innocent and godly man to declare either his faith, or the cause he died for; but said to the executioner, Despatch the knave, have done. For Sir W. Mote, appointed there to preach, declared to the people how he had been

a sower of seditious doctrine; and although he was for that pardoned by the general pardon, yet he was condemned for being a traitor against the king.

To which when Adam Damlip would have replied, and purged himself, the aforesaid Sir R. Ellerker would not suffer him to speak a word, but commanded him to be had away. And so most meekly, patiently, and joyfully, the blessed and innocent martyr took his death, Sir R. Ellerker saying, That he would not away before he saw the traitor's heart out. But shortly after, the said Sir Ralph Ellerker, in a skirmish between the French and us at Bulleine, was among others slain. Whose only death sufficed not his enemies; but after they had stripped him stark naked, they cut off his privy members, and cut the heart out of his body, and so left him a terrible example to all bloody and merciless men. For no cause was known why they shewed such indignation against the said Sir Ralph Ellerker, more than against the rest.

#### *The Story of a poor labouring Man in Calais.*

By the credible information and writing of some of Calais, which were then in trouble, it is reported of a certain poor labouring man of Calais, that after the preaching of Adam Damlip, being in a certain company, he said that he would never believe that a priest could make the Lord's body at his pleasure. Whereupon he was then accused, and also condemned by one Harvey, commissary there. Which Harvey, in time of his judgment, inveighing against him with opprobrious words, said, that he was an heretic, and should die a vile death. The poor man answering for himself again, said, that he was no heretic, but was in the faith of Christ; and whereas thou sayest (said he) that I shall die a vile death, thou thyself shalt die a viler death, and that shortly. And so it came to pass; for within half a year after, the said Harvey was hanged, drawn, and quartered, for treason, in the said town of Calais.

#### *History of one DODD, a Scotchman, burnt in Calais.*

After the burning of this poor man, there was also another certain scholar, counted to be a Scottish-man, named *Dodd*, who coming out of Germany, was there taken with certain German books about him; and being examined thereupon, and standing firmly to the truth that he had learned, was therefore condemned to death, and there burned in the said town of Calais, within the space of a year or thereabout after the other godly martyr above mentioned.

#### *KERBY and ROGER CLARKE, of Suffolk, Martyrs.*

Coming now to the year of our Lord 1546, (first passing over the priest, whose name was *Saxy*, who was hanged in the porter's lodge of Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and that, as it is supposed, not without the consent of the said bishop and the secret conspiracy of that bloody generation; to pass over also one *Henry*, with his servant, burned at Colchester;) I will now proceed to the story of *Kerby* and *Roger Clarke*, of Mendelsham, who were apprehended at Ipswich, anno 1546, the Saturday before Gang-Monday, and brought before the lord Wentworth, with other commissioners, appointed there to sit upon their examinations, judgments, and causes.

In the mean time, Kerby and Roger being in the gaoler's house, named John Bird, an honest and good man, (who had checks divers time at the bar, that he was more meet to be kept than to be a keeper,) came in Mr. Robert Wingfield, son and heir of Humphrey Wingfield, knight, with Mr. Bragg of Wenneham: who then having conference with Kerby,

Mr. Wingfield said to Kerby, Remember, the fire is hot; take heed of thine enterprise, that thou take no more upon thee than thou shalt be able to perform. The terror is great, the pain will be extreme, and life is sweet. Better it were by time to stick to mercy, while there is hope of life, than rashly to begin, and then to shrink; with such like words of persuasion. To whom he answered again, Ah, Mr. Wingfield, be at my burning, and you shall say, There standeth a Christian soldier in the fire: for I know that fire and water, sword, and all other things, are in the hands of God, and he will suffer no more to be laid upon us than he will give strength to bear.—Ah, Kerby! (said Mr. Wingfield,) if thou be at that point I will bid thee farewell: for I promise thee I am not so strong that I am able to burn. And so both the gentlemen saying that they would pray for them, shook hands with them, and so departed.

Now first touching the behaviour of Kerby and Roger when they came to the judgment-seat: the lord Wentworth, with all the rest of the justices there ready, the commissary also, by virtue of the statute *ex officio*, sitting next to the lord Wentworth but one between; Kerby and Roger lifted up their eyes and hands to heaven with great devotion in all men's eyes, making their prayers secretly to God for a space of time, whilst they might say the Lord's prayer five or six times.

That done, their articles were declared unto them with all the circumstances of the law: and then it was demanded, and required of them, Whether they believed, that after the words spoken by a priest (as Christ spake them to his apostles) there were not the very body and blood of Christ, flesh, blood, and bone, as he was born of the Virgin Mary, and no bread after?

Unto which words they answered and said, No, they did not so believe; but that they did believe the sacrament which Christ Jesus did institute at his last supper, on Maunday-Thursaday at night, to his disciples, was only to put all men in remembrance of his precious death and blood-shedding for the remission of sins, and that there was neither flesh nor blood to be eaten with the teeth, but bread and wine; and yet more than bread and wine, for that it is consecrated to an holy use. Then with much persuasions, both with fair means and threats besides, (if it would have served,) were these two poor men hardly laid to; but most at the hands of Foster, an inferior justice, not being learned in such knowledge. But these two continued both faithful and constant, choosing rather to die than to live, and so continued unto the end.

Then sentence was given upon them both: Kerby to be burned in the said town on the next Saturday, and Roger to be burned at Bury the Gang-Monday after. Kerby, when his judgment was given by the lord Wentworth, with most humble reverence holding up his hands, and bowing himself devoutly, said, Praised be Almighty God! and so stood still without any more words.

Then did the lord Wentworth talk secretly, putting his hand behind another justice that sat between them. The said Roger perceiving that, said with a loud voice, Speak out, my lord, and if you have any thing contrary to your conscience, ask God mercy, and we for our parts do forgive you; and speak not in secret, for ye shall come before a Judge, and then make answer openly, even before him that shall judge all men.

The lord Wentworth, (somewhat blushing, and changing his countenance, through remorse, as it was thought,) said, I did speak nothing of you, nor have I done any thing unto you, but as the law is.

Then was Kerby and Roger sent forth; Kerby to prison there, and Roger to St. Edmund'sbury. The one of the two bursting out with a loud voice, (Roger it is supposed,) thus spake with a vehemency: Fight (said he) for your god, for he hath not long to continue.

The next day, which was Saturday, about ten of the clock, Kerby was brought to the market-place, where a stake was ready, wood, broom, and straw, and put off his clothes unto his shirt, having a night-cap upon his head, and so was fastened to the stake with irons, there being in the gallery the lord Wentworth, with the most part of all the justices of those quarters, where they might see his execution, how every thing should be done, and also might hear what Kerby did say; and a great number of people, about two thousand by estimation. There was also standing in the gallery by the lord Wentworth, Dr. Rugham, who was before a monk of Bury, and sexton of the house, having on a surplice and a stole about his neck. Then silence was proclaimed, and the doctor began to disable himself, as not meet to declare the holy scriptures, being unprovided because the time was so short, but that he hoped in God's assistance it should come well to pass.

All this while Kerby was trimming with irons and faggots, broom, and straw, as one that should be married with new garments, nothing changing cheer nor countenance, but with a most meek spirit glorified God; which was wonderful to behold. Then Mr. Doctor at last entered into the sixth chapter of St. John. Who in handling that matter, so oft as he alleged the scriptures, and applied them rightly, Kerby told the people that he said true, and bade the people believe him. But when he did otherwise, he told him again, You say not true; believe him not, good people. Whereupon, as the voice of the people was, they judged Dr. Rugham a false prophet. So when Mr. Doctor had ended his collation, he said unto Kerby, Thou good man, dost not thou believe that the blessed sacrament of the altar is the very flesh and blood of Christ, and no bread, even as he was born of the Virgin Mary? Kerby answering boldly, said, I do not so believe.—How dost thou believe? said the doctor. Kerby said, I do believe that in the sacrament that Jesus Christ instituted at his last supper on Maunday-Thursaday to his disciples, (which ought of us likewise to be done,) is his death and passion, and his blood-shedding for the redemption of the world, to be remembered; and (as I said before) yet bread, and more than bread, for that it is consecrated to an holy use. Then the doctor spake not one word more to Kerby after.

Then said the under sheriff to Kerby, Hast thou any thing more to say?—Yea, sir, (said he,) if you will give me leave. Say on, said the sheriff.

Then Kerby, taking his night-cap from his head, put it under his arm, as though it should have done him service again; but remembering himself, he cast it from him, and lifting up his hands, he said the hymn *Te Deum*, and the Belief, with other prayers, in the English tongue. The lord Wentworth, whilst Kerby was thus doing, did shroud himself behind one of the posts of the gallery, and wept, and so did many others. Then said Kerby, I have done; you may execute your office, good Mr. Sheriff. Then was fire set to the wood, and with a loud voice he called unto God, knocking on his breast, and holding up his hands so long as his remembrance would serve; and so ended his life, the people giving shouts, and praising God with great admiration of his constancy, being so simple and unlettered.

On the Gang-Monday, anno 1546, about ten of the clock, Roger Clarke, of Mendelsham, was brought out of prison,

and went on foot to the gate called South-gate, in Bury, and by the way the procession met with them; but he went on, and would not bow cap nor knee, but with most vehement words rebuked that idolatry and superstition, the officers being much offended. And without the gate, where was the place of execution, the stake being ready, and the wood lying by, he came and kneeled down, and said *Magnificat* in the English tongue, making as it were a paraphrase upon the same, wherein he declared how that the blessed Virgin Mary, who might as well rejoice in pureness as any other, yet humbled herself to our Saviour. And what sayest thou, John Baptist, (said he,) the greatest of all men's children? "Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world." And thus with a loud voice he cried unto the people, while he was in fastening unto the stake, and then the fire was set to him, where he suffered pains unmercifully; for the wood was green, and would not burn, so that he was choked with smoke; and moreover, being set in a pitch-barrel, with some pitch sticking still by the sides, he was therewith sore pained, till he had got his feet out of the barrel. And at length one standing by took a faggot-stick, and striking at the ring of iron about his neck, so pushed him, and struck him belike upon the head, that he shrunk down on the one side into the fire, and so was dissolved.

About the latter end of this year, 1545, in the month of November, after that the king had subdued the Scots, and afterward, joining with the emperor, had invaded France, and had got from them the town of Boulogne, he summoned his high court of parliament. In which was granted unto him, besides other subsidies of money, all colleges, chantries, free chapels, hospitals, fraternities, brotherhoods, guilds, and perpetuities of stipendiary priests, to be disposed of at his will and pleasure.

This was a ground of great grievance to the prelates and clergy of Rome, who seek, as it seemeth, altogether after the riches, pomp, and honour of this world; and maintaining the same under pretence of religion, do in very deed subvert religion: under that title of the *church*, they bring into the church manifest errors and intolerable absurdities; who pretending to be fathers of the church, if they transgressed but in manners or negligence of government, they might be borne withal for peace and concord's sake; and here modesty, civility, quietness, unity, and charity, might have place amongst modest natures. But now they obscure the glory of the Son of God, which in no cause ought to be suffered; they extinguish the light and grace of the gospel; they clog men's consciences; they set up idolatry, and maintain idols; they bring in false invocation, and restrain lawful matrimony, whereby groweth filthy pollution, adultery, and whoredom, in the church, unspeakable; they corrupt the sacraments; they wrest the scripture to worldly purposes; they kill and persecute God's people. Briefly, their doctrine is damnable, their laws impious, their doings detestable. And yet, after all this, they crept craftily into the hearts of princes, under the title of the church, and colour of concord; making kings and princes believe, that all are heretics and schismatics, which will not be subject to their ordinary power. Now, Almighty God, who is a jealous God, and not suffering the glory of his Son to be defaced, nor his truth to be trodden under foot, stirreth up again the hearts of his people to understand his truth, and to defend his cause.—Whereupon of those two parts, as two mighty flints thus smiting together, cometh out the sparkle of this division, which by no wise can be quenched, but that one part must needs yield and give over. There is no neutrality nor mediation of peace,

nor exhortation to agreement, that will serve between these two contrary doctrines, but either the pope's errors must give place to God's word, or else the verity of God must give place unto them.

When these chantries and colleges thus by act of parliament were given into the king's hands, as is above remembered, which was about the month of December, anno 1545, the next Lent following Dr. Crome preaching in the Mercers'-chapel, among other reasons and persuasions to rouse the people from the vain opinion of purgatory, reasoned thus:—That if trentals and chantry masses could avail the souls in purgatory, then did the parliament not well in giving away monasteries, colleges, and chantries, which served principally to that purpose. But if the parliament did well (as no man could deny) in dissolving them, and bestowing the same upon the king, then is it a plain case, that such chantries and private masses do nothing to confer and relieve them in purgatory.

This dilemma of Dr. Crome, no doubt, was insoluble: but notwithstanding, the charitable prelates, for all the king's late exhortation unto charity, were so charitable unto him, that on Easter next they brought him *coram nobis*, when they so handled him, that they made him to recant. And if he had not, they would have dissolved him and his argument in burning fire, so burning hot was their charity; according as they burned *Anne Askew*, and her fellows, in the month of July the year following. Whose tragical story and cruel handling now you shall hear.

*The first Examination of Mrs. ANNE ASKEW, before the Inquisitors, anno 1545.*

To satisfy your expectation, good people, (said she,) this was my first examination in the year of our Lord 1545, and in the month of March.

First, Christopher Dare examined me at Saddler's-hall, being one of the quest, and asked if I did not believe that the sacrament hanging over the altar was the very body of Christ really? Then I demanded this question of him, Wherefore was St. Stephen stoned to death? And he said, he could not tell. Then I answered, that no more would I assail his vain question.

Secondly, He said, that there was a woman which did testify, that I should read how God was not in temples made with hands. Then I shewed him the seventh and seventeenth chapters of the Acts of the Apostles, what Stephen and Paul had said therein. Whereupon he asked me how I took those sentences? I answered, I would not throw pearls amongst swine, for acorns were good enough.

Thirdly, He asked me wherefore I said, I had rather to read five lines in the Bible, than to hear five masses in the temple! I confessed that I said no less; not for the dispraise of either the epistle or the gospel, but because the one did greatly edify me, and the other nothing at all; as St. Paul doth witness in the 11th chapter of his first epistle to the Corinthians, where he saith, "If the trumpet giveth an uncertain sound, who will prepare himself to the battle?"

Fourthly, He laid unto my charge, that I should say, if an ill priest ministered, it was the devil, and not God. My answer was, that I never spake any such thing; but this was my saying, That whosoever he were that ministered unto me, his ill conditions could not hurt my faith, but in spirit I received nevertheless the body and blood of Christ.

Fifthly, He asked me what I said concerning confession? I answered him, My meaning, which was, as St. James saith that men should confess their faults to each other, and pray for one another.

Sixthly, He asked me what I said to the king's book? And I answered him, that I could say nothing to it, because I never saw it.

Seventhly, He asked me if I had the Spirit of God in me? I answered, I had not; I was but a reprobate or cast-away. Then he said he had sent for a priest to examine me, which was here at hand.

The priest asked me what I said to the sacrament of the altar? and required much to know my meaning therein. But I desired him again to hold me excused concerning that matter; none other answer would I make him, because I perceived him to be a Papist.

Eighthly, He asked me, if I did not think that private masses did help the souls departed! I said, it was great idolatry to believe more in them, than in the death which Christ died for us.

Then they had me thence unto my lord mayor; and he examined me, as they had before, and I answered him directly in all things as I answered the quest before. Besides this, my lord mayor laid one thing to my charge, which was never spoken of me, but of them; and that was, Whether a mouse eating the host, received God or no? This question did I never ask, but indeed they asked it of me; whereunto I made them no answer, but smiled.

Then the bishop's chancellor rebuked me, and said, that I was much to blame for uttering the scriptures; for St. Paul, he said, forbade women to speak or to talk of the word of God. I answered him, that I knew Paul's meaning as well as he, which is in 1 Cor. xiv. that a woman ought not to speak in the congregation by the way of teaching. And then I asked him how many women he had seen go into the pulpit and preach? He said he never saw any. Then I said he ought to find no fault in poor women, except they had offended the law.

Then the lord mayor commanded me to ward. I asked him if sureties would not serve me? and he made me short answer, that he would take none.

Then was I had to the Compter, and there remained eleven days, no friend admitted to speak with me. But in the mean time there was a priest sent unto me; which said that he was commanded of the bishop to examine me, and to give me good counsel; which he did not. But first he asked me for what cause I was put in the Compter? and I told him I could not tell. Then he said, it was great pity that I should be there without cause, and said, that he was very sorry for me.

Secondly, He asked, it was told him that I should deny the sacrament of the altar. And I answered again, That I have said, I have said.

Thirdly, He asked me, if I were content to be shriven? I told him, so that I might have one of these three, that is to say, Dr. Crome, Sir Guillum, or Huntington, I was contented, because I knew them to be men of wisdom; as for you, or any other, I will not dispraise, because I know you not. Then said he, I would not have you think but that I, or any other that shall be brought you, shall be as honest as they: for if we were not, you may be sure the king would not suffer us to preach. Then I answered with the saying of Solomon, "By communing with the wise I may learn wisdom, but by talking with a fool I shall take scath," Prov. i.

Fourthly, He asked if the host should fall, and a beast did eat it, whether the beast did receive God or no? I answered, Seeing that you have taken the pains to ask the question, I desire you also to solve it yourself: for I will not do it, because I perceive you come to tempt me. And he said, it was against the order of schools, that he which

asked the question should answer it. I told him I was but a woman, and knew not the course of schools.

Fifthly, He asked me, if I intended to receive the sacrament at Easter, or no? I answered, that else I were no Christian woman; and thereat I did rejoice that the time was so near at hand. And then he departed thence with many fair words.

The 23d day of March, my cousin Britain came into the Compter unto me, and asked me whether I might be put to bail, or no?—Then went he immediately unto my lord mayor, desiring him to be so good unto me, that I might be bailed. My lord answered him, and said, that he would be glad to do the best that in him lay. Howbeit he could not bail me, without the consent of a spiritual officer; requiring him to go and speak with the chancellor of London. For, he said, like as he could not commit me to prison without the consent of a spiritual officer, no more could he bail me without the consent of the same.

So upon that he went to the chancellor, requiring of him as he did before of my lord mayor. He answered him, that the matter was so heinous, that he durst not of himself do it, without my lord of London were made privy thereunto. But he said he would speak unto my lord in it; and bade him repair unto him the next morrow, and he should well know my lord's pleasure. And upon the morrow after, he came thither, and spake both with the chancellor and with the bishop of London. The bishop declared unto him, that he was very well contented that I should come forth to communication, and appointed me to appear before him the next day, at three of the clock at afternoon.

On the morrow after, the bishop of London sent for me at one of the clock, his hour being appointed at three; and as I came before him, he said he was very sorry for my trouble, and desired to know my opinions in such matters as were laid against me. He required me also in any wise boldly to utter the secrets of my heart, bidding me not to fear in any point, for whatsoever I did say in his house, no man should hurt me for it. I answered, Forsomuch as your lordship appointed three of the clock, and my friends will not come till that hour, I desire you to pardon me of giving answer till they come. Anon after he went into his gallery with Mr. Spilman, and willed him in any wise that he should exhort me to utter all that I thought. In the mean while he commanded his archdeacon to commune with me: who said unto me, Mistress, wherefore are you accused and thus troubled here before the bishop? To whom I answered again, and said, Sir, ask I pray you my accusers, for I know not as yet. Then took he my book out of my hand, and said, Such books as this have brought you to the trouble that you are in. Beware, (said he,) beware, for he that made this book, and was the author thereof, was an heretic, I warrant you, and burned in Smithfield. And then I asked him, if he were certain and sure, that it was true that he had spoken. And he said, he knew well the book was of John Frith's making. Then I asked him, if he were not ashamed to judge of the book before he saw it within, or yet knew the truth thereof. I said also, that such unadvised hasty judgment is a token apparent of a very slender wit. Then I opened the book, and shewed it him. He said he thought it had been another, for he could find no fault therein. Then I desired him no more to be so unadvisedly rash and swift in judgment, till he thoroughly knew the truth; and so he departed from me. Immediately after came my cousin Britain in, with divers others, as Mr. Hall of Gray's-inn, and such other like. Then my lord of London persuaded my cousin Britain, as he had done oft before, which was, that I



should utter the bottom of my heart.—My lord said after that unto me, that he would I should credit the counsel of such as were my friends and well-willers in this behalf, which was, that I should utter all things that burdened my conscience: for he ensured me, that I should not need to stand in doubt to say any thing.

Then brought he forth this unsavoury similitude, That if a man had a wound, no wise chirurgeon would minister help unto it before he had seen it uncovered. In like case, saith he, can I give you no good counsel, unless I know where-with your conscience is burdened. I answered, that my conscience was clear in all things, and to lay a plaster unto the whole skin, it might appear much folly.

Then you drive me, saith he, to lay to your charge your own report, which is this: you did say, He that doth receive the sacrament by the hands of an ill priest, or a sinner, receiveth the devil, and not God. To that I answered, that I never spake such words. But, as I said before both to the quest and to my lord mayor, so say I now again, that the wickedness of the priests should not hurt me, but in spirit and faith I received no less than the body and blood of Christ. Then said the bishop unto me, What saying is this, in spirit? I will not take you at the advantage. Then I answered, My lord, without faith and spirit I cannot receive him worthily.

Then he said unto me, You said, that the sacrament remaining in the pix was but bread. I answered, that I never said so, but indeed the quest asked me such a question, whereunto I would not answer, I said, till such a time as they have solved me this question of mine, Wherefore Stephen was stoned to death? They said they knew not. Then said I again, no more would I tell them what it was.

Then said my lord unto me, that I had alleged a certain text of the scripture: I answered, that I alleged none other but St. Paul's own saying to the Athenians, in the 18th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, "That God dwelleth not in temples made with hands." Then asked he me, what my faith and belief was in that matter? I answered him, I believe as the scripture doth teach me.

Then he inquired of me, What if the scripture doth say, that it is the body of Christ? I believe, said I, as the scripture doth teach me. Then asked he again, What if the scripture doth say, that it is not the body of Christ? My answer was still, I believe as the scripture informeth me. And upon this argument he tarried a great while, to have driven me to make him an answer to his mind. Howbeit, I would not, but concluded this with him, that I believe therein, and in all other things, as Christ and his apostles did leave them.

Then he asked me, why I had so few words? And I answered, God hath given me the gift of knowledge, but not of utterance; and Solomon saith, "That a woman of few words is the gift of God," Prov. xiv.

Fifthly, My lord laid unto my charge, that I should say that the mass was superstitious, wicked, and no better than idolatry. I answered him, No, I said not so. Howbeit, I say, the quest did ask me whether private masses did relieve souls departed, or no? Unto whom then I answered, O Lord, what idolatry is this, that we should rather believe in private masses, than in the healthsome death of the dear Son of God! Then said my lord again, What an answer is that! Though it be but mean, said I, yet it is good enough for the question.

Then my lord of London said, he was informed that one should ask of me if I would receive the sacrament at Easter, and I made a mock of it.

Then I desired that mine accuser might come forth; which my lord would not. But he said again unto me, I

sent one to give you good counsel, and at the first word you called him Papist. That I denied not, for I perceived he was no less; yet made I him none answer unto it.

Then he rebuked me, and said, that I should report that there were bent against me threescore priests at Lincoln. Indeed, (quoth I,) I said so. For my friends told me, if I did come to Lincoln, the priests would assault me, and put me to great trouble, as thereof they had made their boast: and when I heard it, I went thither indeed, not being afraid, because I knew my matter to be good. Moreover, I remained there nine days, to see what would be said unto me. And as I was in the minster reading upon the Bible, they resorted unto me by two and two, by five and by six, minding to have spoken unto me; yet went they their ways again without words speaking.

Then my lord asked, if there was not one that did speak unto me? I told him, yes, that there was one of them at the last which did speak to me indeed. And my lord then asked what he said? And I told him his words were of small effect, so that I did not now remember them. Then said my lord, There are many that read and know the scripture, and yet follow it not, nor live thereafter. I said again, My lord, I would wish that all men knew my conversation and living in all points; for I am sure myself this hour, that there are none able to prove any dishonesty by me. If you know that any can do it, I pray you bring them forth. Then my lord went away, and said, he would entitle somewhat of my meaning; and so he wrote a long confession. But what it was, I have not in my memory; for he would not suffer me to have the copy thereof. Only do I remember this small portion of it:

"Be it known, (saith he,) of all men, that I, Anne Askew, do confess this to be my faith and belief, notwithstanding many reports made before to the contrary. I believe that they which are houseled at the hands of a priest, whether his conversation be good or not, do receive the body and blood of Christ in substance really. Also I do believe, that after the consecration, whether it be received or reserved, it is no less than the very body and blood of Christ in substance. Finally, I do believe in this and in all other sacraments of holy church in all points, according to the old Catholic faith of the same. In witness whereof, I, the said Anne, have subscribed my name."

There was somewhat more in it, which because I had not the copy, I cannot now remember. Then he read it to me, and asked me if I did agree to it? And I said again, I believe so much thereof as the holy scripture doth agree unto; wherefore I desire you, that you will add that thereunto.

Then he answered, that I should not teach him what he should write. With that he went forth into his great chamber, and read the same bill before the audience; which inveigled and willed me to set to my hand, saying also, that I had favour shewed me.

Then my lord sat down, and brought me the writing to set thereunto my hand, and I wrote after this manner: I, Anne Askew, do believe all manner of things contained in the faith of the Catholic church.

Then because I did add unto it the Catholic church, he flang into his chamber in a great fury. With that my cousin Britain followed, desiring him for God's sake to be a good lord unto me. He answered, that I was a woman, and that he was nothing deceived in me. Then my cousin Britain desired him to take me as a woman, and not to set my weak woman's wit to his lordship's great wisdom.

Then went in unto him Dr. Weston, and said that the cause why I did write there the Catholic church, was, that I

understood not the church written afore. So with much ado they persuaded my lord to come out again, and to take my name, with the names of my sureties, which were my cousin Britain and Mr. Spilman of Gray's-inn.

This being done, we thought that I should have been put to bail immediately, according to the order of the law. Howbeit he would not suffer it, but committed me from thence to prison again until the next morrow, and then he willed me to appear in the Guildhall; and so I did. Notwithstanding, they would not put me to bail there neither, but read the bishop's writing unto me, as before, and so commanded me again to prison. Then were my sureties appointed to come before them on the next morrow in Paul's church; which did so indeed. Notwithstanding, they would once again have broken off with them, because they would not be bound also for another woman at their pleasure, whom they knew not, nor yet what matter was laid unto her charge.—Notwithstanding, at the last, after much ado, and reasoning to and fro, they took a bond of them of recognizance for my forthcoming; and thus I was at the last delivered.

Written by me, ANNE ASKEW.

*The latter Apprehension of the worthy Martyr of God, Mrs. Anne Askew, anno 1546, and Sum of her Examination before the King's Council at Greenwich.*

She writes as follows to a friend :

Your request as concerning my prison-fellows I am not able to satisfy, because I heard not their examinations. But the effect of mine was this : I being before the council, was asked of Mr. Kyme. I answered, that my lord-chancellor knew already my mind in that matter. They with that answer were not contented, but said it was the king's pleasure that I should open the matter unto them. I answered them plainly, I would not do so ; but if it were the king's pleasure to hear me, I would shew him the truth. Then they said, it was not meet for the king to be troubled with me. I answered, that Solomon was reckoned the wisest king that ever lived, yet misliked he not to hear two poor common women ; much more his grace a simple woman and his faithful subject. So in conclusion I made them none other answer in that matter. Then my lord-chancellor asked of me my opinion of the sacrament ? My answer was this : I believe that so oft as I in a Christian congregation do receive the bread in remembrance of Christ's death, and with thanksgiving, according to his holy institution, I receive therewith the fruits also of his most glorious passion. The bishop of Winchester bade me make a direct answer. I said, I would not sing a new song of the Lord in a strange land. Then the bishop said, I spake in parables. I answered, it was best for him, for if I shew the open truth, (quoth I,) ye will not accept it. Then he said, I was a parrot. I told him again, I was ready to suffer all things at his hands, not only his rebukes, but all that should follow besides, yea, and all that gladly.

Then had I divers rebukes of the council, because I would not express my mind in all things as they would have me. But they were not in the mean time unanswered for all that, which now to rehearse were too much, for I was with them there about five hours. Then the clerk of the council conveyed me from thence to my lady Garnish.

The next day I was brought again before the council. Then would they needs know of me what I said to the sacrament ? I answered, that I had already said what I could say. Then after divers words they bade me go by. Then came my lord Lisle, my lord of Essex, and the bishop of

Winchester, requiring me earnestly that I should confess the sacrament to be flesh, blood, and bone. Then said I to my lord Parre and my lord Lisle, that it was a great shame for them to counsel contrary to their knowledge. Whereunto in few words they did say, that they would gladly all things were well.

Then the bishop said, he would speak with me familiarly. I said, So did Judas when he unfriendly betrayed Christ. Then desired the bishop to speak with me alone. But that I refused. He asked me why ? I said, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every matter should stand, after Christ's and Paul's doctrine, Matt. xviii. 2 Cor. xiii.

Then my lord-chancellor began to examine me again of the sacrament. Then I asked him how long he would halt on both sides ? Then would he needs know where I found that : I said, in the scripture, 1 Kings xviii. Then he went his way. Then the bishop said, I should be burnt. I answered, that I had searched all the scriptures, yet could I never find that either Christ or his apostles put any creature to death. Well, well, said I, God will laugh your threatenings to scorn, Psa. ii. Then was I commanded to stand aside.

Then they made me a bill of the sacrament, willing me to set my hand thereunto ; but I would not. Then on the Sunday I was sore sick, thinking no less than to die ; therefore I desired to speak with Mr. Latimer, but they would not permit it. Then was I sent to Newgate in my extremity of sickness ; for in all my life afore I was never in such pain.—Thus the Lord strengthens us in the truth. Pray, pray, pray.

*The Confession of me, Anne Askew, for the time I was in Newgate, concerning my Belief.*

I find in the scripture (said he) that Christ took the bread, and gave it to his disciples, saying, "Take, eat, this is my body which shall be broken for you ; meaning in substance his own very body, the bread being thereof an only sign or sacrament. For after like manner of speaking, he said he would break down the temple, and in three days build it up again, signifying his own body by the temple, as St. John declareth it, John ii. and not the stony temple itself. So that the bread is but a remembrance of his death, or a sacrament of thanksgiving for it, whereby we are knit unto him by a communion of Christian love ; although there be many that cannot perceive the true meaning thereof, for the veil that Moses put over his face before the children of Israel, that they should not see the clearness thereof, Exod. xxiv. and 2 Cor. iii. I perceive the same veil remaineth to this day. But when God shall take it away, then shall these blind men see. For it is plainly expressed in the history of Bel, in the Bible, that God dwelleth in nothing material. "O king, (said Daniel,) be not deceived, for God will be in nothing that is made with hands of men," Daniel xiv. Oh, what stiff-necked people are these, that will always resist the Holy Ghost ! But as their fathers have done, so do they, because they have stony hearts.

Written by me, ANNE ASKEW, that neither wisheth death, nor feareth his might, and as merry as one that is bound towards heaven.

*The Sum of the Condemnation of me, Anne Askew, at the Guildhall.*

They said to me there, that I was an heretic, and condemned by the law, if I would stand in mine opinion. I answered, that I was no heretic, neither yet deserved I any death by the law of God. But as concerning the faith which I uttered and wrote to the council, I would not (I said) deny it, because I knew it true. Then would they

needs know if I would deny the sacrament to be Christ's body and blood? I said, Yea: for the same Son of God that was born of the Virgin Mary, is now glorious in heaven, and will come again from thence at the latter day, like as he went up, Acts i. And as for what ye call your god, it is a piece of bread: for a more proof thereof, mark it when you list, let it but lie in the box three months, and it will be mouldy, and so turn to nothing that is good. Whereupon I am persuaded that it cannot be God.

After that, they willed me to have a priest. And then I smiled. Then they asked me if it were not good? I said, I would confess my faults unto God, for I was sure that he would hear me with favour. And so we were condemned.

Then would they needs know, whether the bread in the box were God, or no? I said, "God is a Spirit, and will be worshipped in spirit and truth," John iv. Then they demanded, Will you plainly deny Christ to be in the sacrament? I answered, that I believe faithfully the eternal Son of God not to dwell there; in witness whereof I recited again the history of Bel, and the nineteenth chapter of Daniel, the seventh and seventeenth of the Acts, and the four-and-twentieth of Matthew: concluding thus, I neither wish death, nor yet fear his might; God have the praise thereof with thanks.

*The Effect of my Examination and Handling since my Departure from Newgate.*

On Tuesday I was sent from Newgate to the sign of the Crown, where Mr. Rich and the bishop of London, with all their power and flattering words, went about to persuade me from God; but I did not esteem their glozing pretences.

Then came there to me Nicholas Shaxton, and counselled me to recant, as he had done. I said to him, that it had been good for him never to have been born; with many other like words.

Then Mr. Rich sent me to the Tower, where I remained till three o'clock.

Then came Rich and one of the council, charging me upon my obedience to shew unto them if I knew any man or woman of my sect. My answer was, that I knew none. Then they asked me of my lady of Suffolk, my lady of Sussex, my lady of Hertford, my lady Denny, and my lady Fitzwilliams. To whom I answered, if I should pronounce any thing against them, that I were not able to prove it. Then said they unto me, that the king was informed that I could name, if I would, a great number of my sect. I answered, that the king was as well deceived in that behalf, as he was dissembled with by them in other matters.

Then commanded they me to shew how I was maintained in the Compter, and who willed me to stick to my opinion? I said, that there was no creature that did strengthen me therein; and as for the help that I had in the Compter, it was by the means of my maid. For as she went abroad in the streets, she made moan to the prentices, and they by her did send me money; but who they were I never knew.

Then they said, that there were divers gentlewomen that gave me money. I said, I knew not their names. Then they said, that there were divers ladies that had sent me money. I answered, that there was a man in a blue coat which delivered me ten shillings, and said, that my lady of Hertford sent it me; and another in a violet coat gave me eight shillings, and said my lady Denny sent it me: whether it were true or no I cannot tell; for I am not sure who sent it me, but as the maid did say. Then they said, there were of the council that did maintain me. And I said, No.

Then they did put me on the rack, because I confessed no

ladies or gentlewomen to be of my opinion, and thereon they kept me a long time: and because I lay still and did not cry, my lord chancellor and Mr. Rich took pains to rack me with their own hands till I was nigh dead.

Then the lieutenant caused me to be loosed from the rack. Incontinently I swooned, and then they recovered me again. After that I sat two long hours, reasoning with my lord chancellor, upon the bare floor; where he with many flattering words persuaded me to leave my opinion. But my Lord God (I thank his everlasting goodness) gave me grace to persevere, and will do, I hope, to the very end.

Then was I brought to an house, and laid in a bed, with as weary and painful bones as ever had patient Job; I thank my Lord God therefore. Then my lord chancellor sent me word, if I would leave my opinions, I should want nothing; if I would not, I should forthwith to Newgate, and so be burned. I sent him word again, that I would rather die than break my faith.

Thus the Lord open the eyes of their blind hearts, that the truth may take place. Farewell, dear friend, and pray, pray, pray.

Touching the order of her racking in the Tower, thus it was: first she was led down into a dungeon, where Sir Anthony Knevet, the lieutenant, commanded his gaoler to pinch her with the rack. Which being done so much as he thought sufficient, he went about to take her down, supposing that he had done enough. But Wrisley, the chancellor, not contented that she was loosed so soon, confessing nothing, commanded the lieutenant to strain her on the rack again; which because he denied to do, tendering the weakness of the woman, he was therefore grievously threatened by the said Wrisley, saying that he would signify his disobedience unto the king: and so consequently upon the same, he and Mr. Rich, throwing off their gowns, would needs play the tormentors themselves; first asking her if she were with child? To whom she answering again, said, Ye shall not need to spare for that, but do your wills upon me. And so quietly and patiently praying unto the Lord, she abode their tyranny, till her bones and joints were almost plucked asunder, in such sort, that she was carried away in a chair.—When the racking was past, Wrisley and his fellow took horse toward the court.

In the mean time, while they were making their way by land, the good lieutenant soon taking boat, sped him to the court in all haste, to speak with the king before the other; and so did. Who there making his humble suit to the king, desired his pardon, and shewed him the whole matter as it stood, and of the racking of Mrs. Askew, and how he was threatened by the lord-chancellor, because at his commandment, not knowing his highness's pleasure, he refused to rack her, which he for compassion could not find in his heart to do; and therefore humbly desired his highness's pardon. Which when the king had understood, he seemed not very well to like of their so extreme handling of the woman, and also granted to the lieutenant his pardon, willing him to return and see to his charge.

Great expectation was in the mean season among the wardens and officers of the Tower, waiting for his return. Whom when they saw come so cheerfully, declaring unto them how he had sped with the king, they were not a little joyous, and gave thanks to God therefore.

*Anne Askew's Answer unto John Lacels' Letter.*

O friend, most dearly-beloved in God, I marvel not a little what should move you to judge in me so slender a faith as to

fear death, which is the end of all misery. In the Lord I desire you not to believe of me such weakness. For I doubt it not, but God will perform his work in me like as he hath begun. I understand the council is not a little displeased, that it should be reported abroad that I was racked in the Tower. They say now, that what they did there was but to fear me; whereby I perceive they are ashamed of their uncomely doings, and fear much lest the king's majesty should have information thereof, wherefore they would no man to noise it. Well, their cruelty God forgive them.

Your heart in Christ Jesus. Farewell, and pray.

*The Answer of Anne Askew, against the false Surmises of her Recantation.*

I have read the process which is reported, of them that know not the truth, to be my recantation. But, as the Lord liveth, I never meant thing less than to recant. Notwithstanding this, I confess, that in my first troubles I was examined of the bishop of London about the sacrament. Yet had they no grant of my mouth but this, That I believed therein as the word of God did bind me to believe. More had they never of me. Then he made a copy, which is now in print, and required me to set thereunto my hand. But I refused it. Then my two sureties did will me in no wise to stick thereat, for it was no great matters, they said.

Then with much ado, at the last I wrote thus: I, Anne Askew, do believe this, if God's word do agree to the same, and the true Catholic Church. Then the bishop being in great displeasure with me, because I made doubts in my writing, commanded me to prison, where I was awhile, but afterwards by the means of friends I came out again. Here is the truth of that matter. And as concerning the thing that ye covet most to know, resort to the sixth of John, and be ruled always thereby. Thus fare ye well.

ANNE ASKEW.

*The Prayer of Anne Askew.*

O Lord, I have more enemies now than there be hairs on my head; yet, Lord, let them never overcome me with vain words, but fight thou, Lord, in my stead; for on thee cast I my care. With all the spite they can imagine, they fall upon me, which am thy poor creature. Yet, sweet Lord, let me not set by them which are against me; for in thee is my whole delight. And, Lord, I heartily desire of thee, that thou wilt of thy most merciful goodness forgive them that violence which they do and have done unto me. Open also thou their blind hearts, that they may hereafter do that thing in thy sight, which is only acceptable before thee, and to set forth thy verity aright, without all vain fantasy of sinful men. So be it, O Lord, so be it.

By me, ANNE ASKEW.

Hitherto we have spoken of this good woman's condemnation; now it remaineth that we say something concerning her martyrdom. After she had been so tormented, that she could neither live long in so great distress, neither yet by her adversaries be suffered to die in secret; the day of her execution being appointed, she was brought into Smithfield in a chair, because she could not go on her feet, by means of her great torments. When she was brought to the stake, she was tied by the middle with a chain, that held up her body. When all things were thus prepared to the fire, Dr. Shaxton, who was then appointed to preach, began his sermon. Anne Askew, hearing and answering again unto him, where he said well, confirmed the same; where he said amiss, there, said she, he misseth, and speaketh without the book.

The sermon being finished, the other martyrs, (*John Lancel, John Adams, and Nicholas Belenian,*) standing there tied a, three several stakes, ready to their martyrdom, began their prayers. The multitude and concourse of the people were exceeding, the place where they stood being railed about to keep out the press. Upon the bench, under St. Bartholomew's church, sat Wrisley, chancellor of England, the old duke of Norfolk, the old earl of Bedford, the lord mayor, with divers other more. Before the fire should be set unto them, one of the bench hearing that they had gunpowder about them, and being afraid lest the faggots by the strength of the gunpowder would come flying about their ears, began to be afraid: but the earl of Bedford, declaring unto him how the gunpowder was not laid under the faggots, but only about their bodies to rid them out of their pain, which having vent, there was no danger to them of the faggots, so diminished that fear.

Then Wrisley, lord chancellor, sent to Anne Askew letters, offering to her the king's pardon, if she would recant. Who refusing once to look upon them, made this answer again, That she came not thither to deny her Lord and Master. Then were the letters likewise offered unto the other, who in like manner following the constancy of the woman, denied not only to receive them, but also to look on them. Whereupon the lord mayor commanding fire to be put to them, cried with a loud voice, *Fiat justitia*.

And thus the good Anne Askew, with these blessed martyrs, being troubled so many manner of ways, and having passed through so many torments, having now ended the long course of her agonies, being compassed in with flames of fire, as a blessed sacrifice unto God, she slept in the Lord, anno 1546, leaving behind her a singular example of Christian constancy for all men to follow.

*A brief Narration of the Trouble of Sir GEORGE BLAGE.*

Here should also something be said of *Sir George Blage*, one of the king's privy chamber, who being falsely accused by Sir Hugh Caverley, knight, and Mr. Littleton, was sent for by Wrisley, lord-chancellor, the Sunday before Anne Askew suffered, and the next day was carried to Newgate, and from thence to Guildhall, where he was condemned the same day, and appointed to be burned the Wednesday following.

The words which his accusers laid unto him were, What if a mouse should eat the bread? then, by my consent they should hang up the mouse. Whereas indeed these words he never spake, as to his life's end he protested. But the truth, as he said, was this, That they craftily, to undermine him, walking with him in Paul's church after a sermon of Dr. Crome, asked if he were at the sermon? He said, Yea.—I heard say, saith Mr. Littleton, that he said in his sermon, That the mass profiteth neither for the quick nor the dead.—No! saith Mr. Blage; wherefore then? belike for a gentleman when he rideth on hunting, to keep his horse from stumbling. And so they departing, immediately after he was apprehended, as is shewed, and condemned to be burned. When this was heard among them of the privy chamber, the king hearing them whispering together, (which he could never abide,) commanded them to tell him the matter. Whereupon the matter being opened, and suit made to the king, especially by the good earl of Bedford, then lord privy seal; the king being sore offended with their doings, that they would come so near him, and even into his privy chamber, without his knowledge, sent for Wrisley, commanding

him soon to draw out his pardon himself; and so he was set at liberty. Who coming after to the king's presence, Ah, my pig! saith the king to him, (for so he was wont to call him.) Yea, said he, if your majesty had not been better to me than your bishops were, your pig had been roasted ere this time.

But to let this matter of Sir George Blage pass, we will now reduce our story again to Anne Askew and her fellow-martyrs, who the same week were burned, and could find no pardon.

Then the Catholic fathers, when they had brought this Christian woman, with the residue, (as above hath been declared,) unto their rest, they being now in their triumph, like as the Pharisees when they had brought Christ to his grave, devised with themselves how to keep him down still, and to over-tread truth for ever. Whereupon consulting with certain of the council, they made out a strait and hard proclamation, authorized by the king's name, for the abolishing of the scripture, and all such English books which might give any sight to the setting forth of God's true word, and grace of the gospel. The copy and tenor of which proclamation is this, as followeth

*A Proclamation for the abolishing of English Books, after the Death of Anne Askew, set forth by the King, anno 1546, the eighth day of July.*

"The king's most excellent majesty, understanding how, under the pretence of expounding and declaring the truth of God's scripture, divers lewd and evil-disposed persons have taken upon them to utter and sow abroad, by books imprinted in the English tongue, sundry pernicious and detestable errors and heresies, not only contrary to the laws of this realm, but also repugnant to the true sense of God's law and his word, by reason whereof certain men of late, to the destruction of their own bodies and souls, and to the evil example of others, have attempted arrogantly and maliciously to impugn the truth, and therewith trouble the sober, quiet, and godly religion, united and established under the king's majesty in this his realm; his highness minding to foresee the dangers that might ensue of the said books, is enforced to use his general prohibition, commandment, and proclamation, as followeth:

"First, That from henceforth, no man, woman, or person, of what estate, condition, or degree soever he or they be, shall, after the last day of August next ensuing, receive, have, take, or keep, in his or their possession, the text of the New Testament of Tindal's or Coverdale's translation in English, nor any other than is permitted by the act of parliament made in the session of the parliament holden at Westminster in the four-and-thirtieth and five-and-thirtieth year of his majesty's most noble reign; nor after the said day shall receive, have, take, or keep, in his or their possession, any manner of books printed or written in the English tongue, which be or shall be set forth in the names of Frith, Tindal, Wickliffe, Joy, Roy, Basil, Bale, Barnes, Coverdale, Turner, Tracy, or by any of them, or any other book or books, containing matter contrary to the said act made in the year thirty-four or thirty-five, but shall, before the last day of August next coming, deliver the same English book, or books, to his master in that household, if he be a servant, or dwell under any other, and the master or ruler of the house, and such other as dwell at large, shall deliver all such books of these sorts as they have, or shall come to their hands, delivered as afore or otherwise, to the mayor, bailiff, or chief constable, of the town where they dwell, to be by them delivered over

openly within forty days next following after the said delivery to the sheriff of the shire, or to the bishop's chancellor, or commissary of the same diocese, to the intent that the said bishop, chancellor, commissary, and sheriff, and every of them, may cause them incontinently to be openly burned: which thing the king's majesty's pleasure is, that every of them shall see executed in most effectual sort, and of their doings thereof make certificate to the king's majesty's most honourable council, before the first day of October next coming.

"And to the intent that no man shall mistrust any danger of such penal statutes as be passed in this behalf, for the keeping of the said books, the king's majesty is most graciously contented by this proclamation to pardon that offence to the said time appointed by this proclamation for the delivery of the said books; and commandeth that no bishop, chancellor, commissary, mayor, bailiff, sheriff, or constable, shall be curious to mark who bringeth forth such books, but only order and burn them openly, as is in this proclamation ordered. And if any man, after the last day of August next coming, shall have any of the said books in his keeping, or be proved and convicted by sufficient witness before four of the king's most honourable council, to have hidden them, or used them, or any copy of any of them, or any part of them, whereby it should appear that he willingly hath offended the true meaning of this proclamation, the same shall not only suffer imprisonment and punishment of his body at the king's majesty's will and pleasure, but also shall make such fine and ransom to his highness for the same, as by his majesty, or four of his grace's said council, shall be determined, &c.

"Finally, His majesty straitly chargeth and commandeth, that no person or persons, of what estate, degree, or condition soever he or they be, from the day of this proclamation, presume to bring any manner of English books concerning any manner of Christian religion, printed in the parts beyond the seas, into this realm, to sell, give, or distribute, any English book printed in outward parts, or the copy of any such book, or any part thereof, to any person, dwelling within this his grace's realm, or any other his majesty's dominions, unless the same shall be specially licensed so to do by his highness's express grant to be obtained in writing for the same, upon the pains before limited, and therewithal to incur his majesty's extreme indignation."

Thus it has always been the common practice of the pope's church, to extinguish, condemn, and abolish, all good books and wholesome treatises of learned men, under it false pretence of errors and heresies, examples of which abundantly appear in this history.

If princes have always their council about them, that is but a common thing. If sometimes they have evil counsel ministered, that I take to be the fault rather of such as are about them, than of princes themselves. So long as queen Anne, Thomas Cromwell, bishop Craumer, master doctor Butts, with such like, were about him, and could prevail with him, what organ of Christ's glory did more good in the church than he? as is apparent by such monuments, instruments, and acts, set forth by him, in setting up the Bible in the church, in exploding the pope with his vile pardons, in removing divers superstitious ceremonies, in bringing into order the inordinate orders of friars and sects, in putting chantry priests to their pensions, in permitting white meats in Lent, in destroying pilgrimage worship, in abrogating idle and superfluous holydays, both by act public, and also by private letters sent to Bonner tending to this effect. The following is one of this kind:



BY THE KING.

"Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas considering the manifold inconveniences which have ensued, and daily do ensue, to our subjects, by the great superfluity of holidays, we have, by the assents and consents of all you the bishops and other notable personages of the clergy of this our realm, in full congregation and assembly had for that purpose, abrogated and abolished such as be neither canonical, nor meet to be suffered in a commonwealth, for the manifold inconveniences which do ensue of the same, as is rehearsed; and to the intent our determination therein may be duly observed and accomplished, we have thought convenient to command you, immediately upon the receipt hereof, to address your commandments in our name to all the curates, religious houses, and colleges, within your diocese, with a copy of the act made for the abrogation of the holy days aforesaid, a transumpt whereof ye shall receive herewith, commanding them and every of them, in no wise, either in the church or otherwise, to indict or speak of any of the said days and feasts abolished, whereby the people might take occasion either to murmur or to condemn the order taken therein, and to continue in their accustomed idleness, the same notwithstanding; but to pass over the same with such secret silence, as they may have like abrogation by disuse, as they have already by our authority in convocation. And forasmuch as the time of harvest now approacheth, our pleasure is, ye shall with such diligence and dexterity put this matter in execution, as it may immediately take place for the benefit of our subjects at this time accordingly, without failing, as ye will answer unto us for the contrary.

"Given under our signet, at our monastery of Chertsey, the 11th day of August, 1546."

Thus while good counsel was about him, and could be heard, he did much good. So again when sinister and wicked counsel under subtle and crafty pretences had gotten once the foot in, thrusting truth and verity out of the prince's ears, how much religion and all good things went prosperously forward, before, so much on the contrary side all revolved backward again. Whereupon proceeded this proclamation above-mentioned, concerning the abolishing and burning of English books. Which proclamation bearing the name of the king's majesty, but being the very deed of the popish bishops, no doubt had done much hurt in the church among the godly sort, bringing them either into great danger, or else keeping them in much blindness, had not the shortness of the king's days stopped the malignant purposes of the aforesaid prelates, causing the king to leave that by death unto the people, which by his life he would not grant. For within four months after (the proclamation coming out in August) he deceased in the beginning of January, in the eight-and-thirtieth year of his reign, anno 1547, leaving behind him three children, who succeeded him in his kingdom, viz. king Edward, queen Mary, and queen Elizabeth.

#### A SHORT HISTORY OF THE PERSECUTION IN SCOTLAND,

*With the Names and Causes of such blessed MARTYRS, which in the same Country suffered for the Truth, after the time of Patrick Hamelton.*

HAVING finished the time and race of king Henry VIII. it remaineth now, according to my promise, here to place so much as doth come to our hands touching the persecution in

Scotland, and of the blessed martyrs of Christ which in that country likewise suffered for the true religion of Christ, under popish laws.

To proceed therefore in the history of these Scotland matters, the order of time would require next to mention Sir *John Borthwike*, knight, commonly called Captain Borthwike; who being accused of heresy, as the Papists call it, and cited, anno 1540, and not appearing, and escaping out into other countries, was condemned for the same, being absent, by the sentence of David Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, and other prelates of Scotland, and all his goods confiscated, and his picture at last burned in the open market-place. Here follows the sentence pronounced against him, after he had made his escape.

*The Sentence of Condemnation against Sir JOHN BORTHWIKE, knight, by the Cardinal, Bishops, and Abbots, in Scotland, anno 1540.*

The common report is, that *Sir John Borthwike* is holden, reputed, and accounted of very many as an heretic, and principal heretic, which holdeth evil opinions of the Catholic faith.

Where we, David, by the title of St. Stephen, in Mount Celio, prelate and cardinal of the holy church of Rome, archbishop of St. Andrew's, primate of the whole kingdom of Scotland, and sworn legate of the apostolic see, sitting after the manner of judges in our tribunal seat, the most holy gospel of God being laid before us, that our judgment might proceed from the face of God, and our eyes might behold and look upon equity and justice, having only God and the verity and truth of the Catholic faith before our eyes, his holy name being first called upon; having, as is before said, hereupon holden a council of wise men, as well divines as lawyers; We pronounce, declare, decree, determine, and give sentence, that the said Sir John Borthwike, called Captain Borthwike, being suspected, infamed, and accused of errors and heresies, and wicked doctrines manifoldly condemned, and by lawful proofs against him in every of the premises had, being convict and lawfully cited and called, not appearing, but as a fugitive, runaway, and absent, even as though he were present, to be an heretic; and is, and hath been convict as an heretic; and as a convict heretic and heresiarch to be punished and chastened with due punishment, and afterward to be delivered and left unto the secular power. Moreover, we confiscate and make forfeit, and by these presents declare and agree to be confiscated and made forfeit, all and singular his goods, moveables and unmoveables, howsoever and by whatsoever title they be begotten, and in what place or part soever they be, and all his offices whatsoever he hath hitherto had, reserving notwithstanding the dowry and such part and portion of his goods, as by the law, custom, and right of this realm, unto persons confiscate ought to appertain. Also we decree, that the picture of the said John Borthwike being formed, made, and painted, to his likeness, be carried through this our city to our cathedral church, and afterward to the market-cross of the same city, and there, in token of malediction and curse, and to the terror and example of others, and for a perpetual remembrance of his obstinacy and condemnation, to be burned. Likewise we declare and decree, that notwithstanding, if the said John Borthwike be hereafter apprehended and taken, he shall suffer such like punishment due by order of law unto heretics, without any hope of grace or mercy to be obtained in that behalf. Also we plainly admonish and warn, by the tenor of these presents, all and singular faithful Christians, both men and women, of

what dignity, state, degree, order, condition, or pre-eminence soever they be, or with whatsoever dignity or honour, ecclesiastical or temporal, they be honoured, that from this day forward, they do not receive or harbour the said Sir John Borthwike, commonly called Captain Borthwike, being accused, convict, and declared an heretic and arch-heretic, into their houses, hospitals, castles, cities, towns, villages, or other cottages, whatsoever they be, or by any manner of means admit him thereunto, either by helping him with meat, drink, or victuals, or any other thing, whatsoever it be, they do shew unto him any manner of humanity, help, comfort, or solace, under the pain and penalty of greater and further excommunication, confiscation, and forfeitures; and if it happen that they be found culpable or faulty in the premises, that they shall be accused therefore as the favourers, receivers, defenders, maintainers, and abettors, of heretics, and shall be punished therefore according to the order of law, and with such pain and punishment as shall be due unto men in such behalf.

And now to prosecute such others as followed, beginning first in order with *Thomas Forret*, and his fellows; their story is this:

**MARTYRS, *Thomas Forret, Priest, Friar John Kelowe, Friar Benarage, Duncan Sympson, Priest, Robert Forester, Gentleman, with three or four other Men of Striveling.***

Not long after the burning of David Stratton and Mr. Gurley, in the days of David Beaton, bishop, and cardinal of St. Andrew's, and George Treichon, bishop of Dunkelden; a canon of St. Colmes Inch, and vicar of Dolone, called dean *Thomas Forret*, preached every Sunday to his parishioners out of the epistle or gospel, as it fell for the time; which then was a great novelty in Scotland to see any man preach, except a black friar or a gray friar: and therefore the friars envied him, and accused him to the bishop of Dunkelden (in whose diocese he remained) as an heretic, and one that shewed the mysteries of the scripture to the vulgar people in English, to make the clergy detestable in the sight of the people.

The bishop of Dunkelden, moved by the friar's instigation, called the said dean Thomas, and said to him, My joy, dean Thomas, I love you well, and therefore I must give you my counsel, how you shall rule and guide yourself. To whom Thomas said, I thank your lordship heartily. Then the bishop began his counsel after this manner:

My joy, dean Thomas, I am informed that you preach the epistle or gospel every Sunday to your parishioners, and that you take not the cow, nor the uppermost cloth, from your parishioners, which thing is very prejudicial to the churchmen; and therefore, my joy, dean Thomas, I would you took your cow and your uppermost cloth, as other churchmen do, or else it is too much to preach every Sunday; for in so doing you may make the people think that we should preach likewise. But it is enough for you, when you find any good epistle, or good gospel, that setteth forth the liberty of the holy church, to preach that, and let the rest be.

Thomas answered, My lord, I think that none of my parishioners will complain, that I take not the cow, nor the uppermost cloth, but will gladly give me the same, together with any other thing that they have, and I will give and communicate with them any thing that I have; and so, my lord, we agree right well, and there is no discord among us. And where your lordship saith, it is too much to preach every Sunday; indeed I think it is too little, and also would wish that your lordship did the like.

Nay, nay, dean Thomas, (saith my lord,) let that be, for we are not ordained to preach.

Then said Thomas, Where your lordship biddeth me preach when I find any good epistle, or good gospel; truly, my lord, I have read the New Testament and the Old, and all the epistles and gospels, and among them all I could never find an evil epistle, or an evil gospel: but if your lordship will shew me the good epistle and the good gospel, and the evil epistle and the evil gospel, then I shall preach the good, and omit the evil.

Then spake my lord stoutly, and said, I thank God that I never knew what the Old and New Testament was, (and of these words rose a proverb, which is common in Scotland, Ye are like the bishop of Dunkelden, that knew neither new nor old law;) therefore, dean Thomas, I will know nothing but my portuise and my pontifical. Go your way, and let be all these fantasies, for if you persevere in these erroneous opinions, ye will repent it when you may not mend it.

Thomas said, I trust my cause be just in the presence of God, and therefore I pass not much what do follow thereupon. And so my lord and he parted at that time.

And soon after a summons was directed from the cardinal of St. Andrew's, and the said bishop of Dunkelden, upon the said dean Thomas Forret; upon two black friars, called friar *John Kelowe*, and another called *Benarage*, and upon one priest of Striveling, called *Duncan Sympson*, and one gentleman, called *Robert Forester*, in Striveling, with other three or four with them; who, at the day of their appearance after their summoning, were condemned to the death, without any place for recantation; because, as was alleged, they were heresiarchs, or chief heretics and teachers of heresies, and especially because many of them were at the bridal and marriage of a priest, who was vicar of Twybody, beside Striveling, and did eat flesh in Lent at the said bridal. And so they were all together burnt upon the Castle-hill at Edinburgh.

Here followeth the manner of prosecution used by the cardinal of Scotland against certain persons in Perth.

**MARTYRS, *Robert Lamb, William Anderson, James Hunter, James Raveleson, James Founleson, Helen Stirke, his wife.***

First, there was a certain act of parliament made in the government of the lord Hamelton, earl of Arran and governor of Scotland, giving privilege to all men of the realm of Scotland, to read the scriptures in their mother tongue and language, secluding, nevertheless, all reasoning, conference, and convocation of people to hear the scripture read or expounded. Which liberty of private reading being granted by public proclamation, lacked not its own fruit, so that in sundry parts of Scotland thereby were opened the eyes of the people to see the truth, and abhor the papistical abominations.

At this time there was a sermon made by friar Spense, in St. Johnston, alias Perth, affirming prayer made to saints to be so necessary, that without it there could be no hope of salvation. Which blasphemous doctrine a burghess of the said town, called Robert Lamb, could not abide, but accused him in open audience of erroneous doctrine, and abused him in God's name to utter the truth. The which the friar, being stricken with fear, promised to do; but the trouble, tumult, and stir of the people so increased, that the friar could have no audience: and yet the said Robert, with great danger of his life, escaped the hands of the multitude, namely, of the women, who, contrary to nature, exercised great cruelty against him.

At this time, in the year of our Lord 1543, the enemies of the truth procured John Chartuous, who favoured the truth, and was provost of the said city and town of Perth, to be deposed from his office by the said governor's authority, and a papist, called Mr. Alexander Marbeck, to be chosen in his room, that they might bring the more easily their wicked and ungodly enterprise to an end.

After the deposing of the former provost, and election of the other, in the month of January, the year aforesaid, on St. Paul's day, came to St. Johnston, the governor, the cardinal, the earl of Argyle, justice sir John Campbel of Lunde, knight, and justice Defort, the lord Borthwike, the bishops of Dunblane and Orkney, with certain other of the nobility. And although there were many accused for the crime of heresy, as they term it, yet these persons only were apprehended upon the said St. Paul's day: Robert Lambe, William Anderson, James Hunter, James Raveleson, James Founleson, and Helen Stirke, his wife, and were cast that night into the Spay Tower of the said city, the morrow after to abide judgment.

Upon the morrow, when they appeared, and were brought forth to judgment in the town, was laid in general to all their charge the violating of the act of parliament before expressed, and their conference and assemblies in hearing and expounding of scripture, against the tenor of the said act. Robert Lambe was accused in special for interrupting of the friar in the pulpit; which he not only confessed, but also affirmed constantly, that it was the duty of no man, which understood and knew the truth, to hear the same impugned without contradiction; and therefore sundry which were there present in judgment, who hid the knowledge of the truth, should bear the burden in God's presence for consenting to the same.

Then the said Robert, with William Anderson and James Raveleson, were accused for hanging up the image of St. Francis in a cord, nailing of ram's horns to his head, and a cow's rump to his tail, and for eating of a goose on All-hallow-even.

James Hunter, being a simple man and without learning, and a fletcher by occupation, so that he could be charged with no great knowledge in doctrine, yet, because he often used that suspected company of the rest, he was accused.

The woman, Helen Stirke, was accused for that in her child-bed she was not accustomed to call upon the name of the Virgin Mary, being exhorted thereto by her neighbours, but only upon God, for Jesus Christ's sake; and because she said in like manner, that if she herself had been in the time of the Virgin Mary, God might have looked to her humility and base estate, as he did to the Virgin's, in making her the mother of Christ; thereby meaning that there were no merits in the Virgin, which procured her that honour to be made the mother of Christ, and to be preferred before other women; but God's only free mercy exalted her to that estate. Which words were counted most execrable in the face of all the clergy, and of the whole multitude.

James Raveleson aforesaid, building a house, set upon the round of his fourth stair the three-crowned diadem of Peter, carved of tree, which the cardinal took as done in mockage of his cardinal's hat; and this procured no favour to the said James at their hands.

These forenamed persons, upon the morrow after St. Paul's day, were condemned and judged to death, and that by an assize, for violating, as was alleged, the act of parliament, in reasoning and conferring upon scriptures, for eating flesh upon days forbidden, for interrupting the holy friar in the pulpit, for dishonouring of images, and blaspheming of the Virgin Mary, as they alleged.

After sentence given, their hands were bound, and the men cruelly treated. Which thing the woman beholding, desired likewise to be bound by the sergeants with her husband for Christ's sake.

There was great intercession made by the town in the mean season for the life of these persons aforesaid, to the governor, who of himself was willing so to have done, that they might have been delivered. But the governor was so subject to the appetite of the cruel priests, that he could not do that which he would; yea, they menaced to assist his enemies, and to depose him, except he assisted their cruelty.

There were certain priests in the city, who did eat and drink before in these honest men's houses, to whom the priests were much bounden. These priests were earnestly desired to entreat for their hosts at the cardinal's hands; but they altogether refused, desiring rather their death than preservation. So cruel were these beasts, from the lowest to the highest.

Then after were they carried by a great band of armed men (for they feared rebellion in the town except they had their men of war) to the place of execution, which was common to all thieves, and that to make their cause appear more odious to the people.

Robert Lambe at the gallows' foot made his exhortation to the people, desiring them to fear God, and leave the leaven of papistical abominations; and manifestly there prophesied of the ruin and plague which came upon the cardinal thereafter. So every one comforting another, and assuring themselves that they should sup together in the kingdom of heaven that night, they commended themselves to God, and died firmly in the Lord.

The woman desired earnestly to die with her husband, but she was not suffered; yet following him to the place of execution, she gave him comfort, exhorting him to perseverance and patience for Christ's sake, and parting from him with a kiss, said on this manner, "Husband, rejoice! for we have lived together many joyful days; but this day, in which we must die, ought to be most joyful unto us both, because we must have joy for ever: therefore I will not bid you good night, for we shall suddenly meet with joy in the kingdom of heaven."

The woman after that was taken to a place to be drowned; and although she had a child sucking on her breast, yet this did not move the unmerciful hearts of the enemies. So after she had commended her children to the neighbours of the town for God's sake, and the sucking child was given to the nurse, she sealed up the truth by her death.

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*The Condemnation of Mr. GEORGE WISEHEART, Gentleman, who suffered Martyrdom for the Faith of Christ Jesus, at St. Andrew's, in Scotland, anno 1546, with the Articles objected against him, and his Answers to the same.*

With most tender affection and unfeigned heart consider, gentle reader, the uncharitable manner of the accusation of Mr. George Wiseheart, made by the bloody enemies of Christ's faith. Note also the articles whereof he was accused, by order digested, and his meek answers, so far as he had leave and leisure to speak. Finally, ponder with no dissembling spirit the furious rage and tragical cruelty of the malignant church, in persecuting of this blessed man of God; and of the contrary, his humble, patient, and most godly answers made to them suddenly without all fear, not having respect to their boisterous threats, but charitably and without stop answering, not moving his countenance,

nor changing his visage, as in his accusation hereafter following manifestly shall appear.

But before I enter into his articles, I thought it not impertinent to say something concerning the life and conversation of this godly man, according as of late it came to my hands, and was certified in writing by a certain scholar of his, named Emery Tylney, whose words of testimonial are the following :

"About the year of our Lord 1543, there was in the university of Cambridge, one Mr. George Wiseheart, commonly called Mr. George, of Bennet's college, who was a man of tall stature, polled-headed, and on the same a round French cap of the best ; judged to be of melancholy complexion by his physiognomy, black-haired, long-bearded, comely of personage, well spoken after his country of Scotland ; courteous, lowly, lovely, glad to teach, desirous to learn, and was well travelled : having on him for his habit or clothing never but a mantle, or frize gown, to the shoes, a black Milan fustian doublet, and plain black hose, coarse new canvass for his shirts, and white falling bands and cuffs at his hands. All the which apparel he gave to the poor, some weekly, some monthly, some quarterly, as he liked, saving his French cap, which he kept the whole year of my being with him.

"He was a man modest, temperate, fearing God, hating covetousness ; for his charity had never end, night, noon, nor day ; he forbore one meal in three, one day in four for the most part, except something to comfort nature. He lay hard upon a puff of straw, and coarse new canvass sheets ; which when he changed, he gave away. He had commonly by his bed-side a tub of water, in the which (his people being in bed, the candle put out, and all quiet) he used to bathe himself, as I being very young, being assured, often heard him, and in one light night discerned him : he loved me tenderly, and I him, for my age, as effectually. He taught with great modesty and gravity, so that some of his people thought him severe, and would have slain him, but the Lord was his defence. And he, after due correction for their malice, by good exhortation amended them, and went his way. O that the Lord had left him to me, his poor boy, that he might have finished that he had begun ! For in his religion he was as you see here in the rest of his life ; when he went into Scotland with divers of the nobility, that came for a treaty to king Henry VIII. His learning was no less sufficient than his desire ; always prest and ready to do good in that he was able, both in the house privately, and in the school publicly, professing and reading divers authors.

"If I should declare his love to me, and all men, his charity to the poor, in giving, relieving, caring, helping, providing, yea, infinitely studying how to do good unto all, and hurt to none, I should sooner want words than just cause to commend him.

"All this I testify with my whole heart, and truth, of this godly man. He that made all, governeth all, and shall judge all, knoweth that I speak the truth, that the simple may be satisfied, the arrogant confounded, and the hypocrite disclosed.

"EMERY TYLNEY."

*Opinions maintained by the said George :*

Faith alone justifies without works.

By good works faith is manifested.

The celebration of mass is the mystery of iniquity.

To the said Mr. George, being in captivity in the castle of St. Andrew's, the dean of the same town was sent by the commandment of the cardinal and his wicked council, and

there summoned the said Mr. George, that he should upon the morning following appear before the judge, then and there to give account of his seditious and heretical doctrine.

To whom Mr. George answered, What needeth my lord cardinal to summon me to answer for my doctrine openly before him, under whose power and dominion I am thus straitly bound with irons ? May not my lord compel me to answer of his extort power ? or, believeth he that I am unprovided to render account of my doctrine ? To manifest yourselves what men ye are, it is well done that ye keep your old ceremonies and constitutions made by men.

Upon the next morning, the lord cardinal caused his servants to address themselves in their most warlike array, with jack, knapskal, splent, spear, and axe, more seeming for the war, than for the preaching of the true word of God.

And when these armed champions, marching in warlike order, had conveyed the bishops into the abbey church, they sent for Mr. George, who was conveyed into the said church by the captain of the castle, accompanied with an hundred men dressed in manner aforesaid ; like a lamb led they him to sacrifice. As he entered into the abbey church door, there was a poor man lying, vexed with great infirmities, asking of his alms, to whom he flung his purse. And when he came before the lord cardinal, by and by the sub-prior of the abbey, called dean John Winryme, stood up in the pulpit, and made a sermon to all the congregation there then assembled, taking his matter out of the 13th chapter of Matthew ; whose sermon was divided into four principal parts.

The first part was a brief and short declaration of the evangelist.

The second part, of the interpretation of the good seed. And because he called the word of God the good seed, and heresy the evil seed, he declared what heresy was, and how it should be known ; which he defined in this manner : Heresy is a false opinion defended with pertinacy, clearly repugning the word of God.

The third part of the sermon was, the cause of heresy within that realm, and all other realms. The cause of heresy (quoth he) is the ignorance of them which have the cures of men's souls : to whom it necessarily belongeth to have the true understanding of the word of God, that they may be able to win again the false doctors of heresies, with the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God ; and not only to win again, but also to overcome them, as saith Paul, "A bishop must be faultless, as it becometh the minister of God, not stubborn, nor angry, no drunkard, no fighter, not given to filthy lucre, but harbarous, one that loveth goodness, sober-minded, righteous, holy, temperate, and such as cleaveth unto the true word of doctrine, that he may be able to exhort with wholesome learning, and to reprove that which they say against him."

The fourth part of his sermon was, how heresies should be known. Heresies (quoth he) be known after this manner : As the goldsmith knoweth the fine gold from the unperfect by the touchstone, so likewise may we know heresy by the undoubted touchstone, that is, the true, sincere, and undefiled word of God. At the last he added, That heretics should be put down in this present life. To which proposition the gospel appeared to repugn, which he treated of, "Let them go unto the harvest ;" the harvest is the end of the world. Nevertheless, he affirmed that they should be put down by the civil magistrate and law.—And when he ended his sermon, incontinently they caused Mr. George to ascend into the pulpit, there to hear his accusation and articles. And right against them stood by one of the fel-

flock, a monster, John Lauder, laden full of cursings written in paper. Of which he took out a roll, both long and also full of cursings, threats, maledictions, and words of devilish spite and malice, saying to the innocent Mr. George so many cruel and abominable words, and he hit him so spitefully with the pope's thunder, that the ignorant people dreaded lest the earth then would have swallowed him up quick. Notwithstanding, he stood still with great patience, hearing their sayings, not once moving or changing his countenance.

When this man had read through all his lying menaces, his face running down with sweat, and frothing at his mouth like a boar, he spit at Mr. George's face, saying, What answerest thou to these sayings, thou runagate, traitor, thief, which we have duly proved by sufficient witness against thee? Mr. George hearing this, kneeled down upon his knees in the pulpit, making his prayer to God. When he had ended his prayer, sweetly and christianly he answered to them all in this manner:

*Mr. George's Answer.*

Many horrible sayings unto me, a Christian man; many words abominable to hear, ye have spoken here this day, which not only to teach, but also to think, I thought ever great abomination. Wherefore I pray your discretions quietly to hear me, that ye may know what were my sayings, and the manner of my doctrine.

First, since the time I came into this realm I taught nothing but the ten commandments of God, the twelve articles of the faith, and the prayer of the Lord, in the mother tongue. Moreover, in Dundee I taught the epistle of St. Paul to the Romans. And I shall shew your discretions faithfully, what fashion and manner I used when I taught, without any human dread; so that your discretions give your ears benevolent and attent.

Suddenly then with an high voice cried the accuser, Thou heretic, runagate, traitor, and thief, it was not lawful for thee to preach. Thou hast taken the power at thine own hand, without any authority of the church. We forethink that thou hast been a preacher so long. Then all the whole congregation of the prelates, with their accomplices, said these words: If we give him license to preach, he is so crafty, and in the holy scripture so exercised, that he will persuade the people to his opinion, and raise them against us.

Mr. George, seeing their malicious and wicked intent, appealed from the lord cardinal to the lord governor, as to an indifferent and equal judge. To whom the accuser, John Lauder aforesaid, with hoggish voice, answered, Is not my lord cardinal the second person within this realm, chancellor of Scotland, archbishop of St. Andrew's, bishop of Meropis, commendator of Aberbrothok, legatus natus, legatus a latere? And so reciting as many titles of his unworthy honours as would have laden an ass: Is not he (quoth John Lauder) an equal judge apparently unto thee? Whom other desirest thou to be thy judge?

To whom this humble man answering, said, I refuse not my lord cardinal, but I desire the word of God to be my judge, and the temporal estate, with some of your lordships, mine auditors, because I am here my lord governor's prisoner. Whereupon the scornful people that stood by mocked him; and without all delay they would have given sentence upon Mr. George, and that without further process, had not certain men there counselled the cardinal to read again the articles, and to hear his answers thereupon, that the people might not complain of his wrongful condemnation.

And, shortly to declare, these were the articles following, with his answers as far as they would give him leave to speak; for when he intended to mitigate their leasings, and shew the manner of his doctrine, by and by they stopped his mouth with another article.—

1. Thou false heretic, runagate, traitor, and thief, deceiver of the people, thou despisest the holy church, and in like case contemnest my lord governor's authority. And this we know for surety, that when thou preachedst in Dundee, and wast charged by my lord governor's authority to desist, nevertheless thou wouldest not obey, but perseveredst in the same; and therefore the bishop of Brothen cursed thee, and delivered thee into the devil's hands, and gave thee in commandment that thou shouldest preach no more; that notwithstanding thou didst continue obstinate.

"My lords, I have read in the Acts of the Apostles, that it is not lawful to desist from the preaching of the gospel for the threats of men. Therefore it is written, 'We shall rather obey God than man.' I have also read in the prophet Malachi, 'I shall curse your blessings, and bless your cursings;' believing firmly, that the Lord will turn your cursings into blessings."

2. Thou false heretic didst say, That the priest, standing at the altar saying mass, was like a fox wagging his tail in July.

"My lords, I said not so; these were my sayings: The moving of the body outward, without the inward moving of the heart, is nought else but the playing of an ape, and not the true serving of God. For God is a secret searcher of men's hearts: therefore who will truly adore and honour God, he must in spirit and verity honour him." Then the accuser stopped his mouth with another article.

3. Thou false heretic preachedst against the sacraments, saying, That there were not seven sacraments.

"My lords, if it be your pleasures, I never taught of the number of the sacraments, whether they were seven or eleven. So many as are instituted by Christ, and shewed to us by the evangelist, I profess openly. Except it be the word of God, I dare affirm nothing."

4. Thou false heretic hast openly taught, That auricular confession is not a blessed sacrament. And thou sayest, That we should only confess us to God, and to no priest.

"My lords, I say, that auricular confession, seeing that it hath no promise of the evangelist, therefore it cannot be a sacrament. Of the confession to be made to God, there are many testimonies in scripture, as when David saith, 'I thought I would acknowledge mine iniquity against myself unto the Lord, and he forgave the punishment of my sin,' Psa. xxxvii. Here confession signifieth the secret knowledge of our sins before God. When I exhorted the people in this manner, I reproved no manner of confession. And further, St. James saith, 'Acknowledge your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that you may be healed.'"

When that he had said these words, the bishops and their accomplices cried, and grinned with their teeth, saying, See ye not what colours he hath in his speaking, that he may beguile us, and seduce us to his opinion?

5. Thou heretic didst say openly, That it was necessary to every man to know and understand his baptism, and what it was; contrary to general councils, and the estate of the holy church.

"My lords, I believe there be none so unwise here, that will make merchandise with a Frenchman, or any other unknown stranger, except he know and understand first the condition or promise made by the Frenchman or stranger: so likewise I would that we understood what thing we pro-



mise in the name of the infant unto God in baptism; for this cause I believe ye have confirmation."

Then said Mr. Bleiter, chaplain, He hath the devil within him, and the spirit of error. Then answered him a child, saying, The devil cannot speak such words as yonder man doth speak.

6. Thou heretic, traitor, thief, thou saidst, That the sacrament of the altar was but a piece of bread baked upon the ashes, and no other thing else; and all that is there done is but a superstitious rite, against the commandment of God.

"As concerning the sacrament of the altar, my lords, I never taught any thing against the scripture; the which I shall, by God's grace, make manifest this day, I being ready therefore to suffer death.

"The lawful use of the sacrament is most acceptable unto God; but the great abuse of it is very detestable unto him. But what occasion they have to say such words of me, I shall shortly shew your lordships. I once chanced to meet with a Jew, when I was sailing upon the water of Rhene. I did inquire of him what was the cause of his pertinacy, that he did not believe that the true Messiah was come, considering that they had seen all the prophecies which were spoken of him to be fulfilled. Moreover, the prophecies taken away, and the sceptre of Judah, and by many other testimonies of the scripture, I vanquished him that Messiah was come, the which they called Jesus of Nazareth. This Jew answered again unto me, When Messiah cometh he shall restore all things, and he shall not abrogate the law which was given to our forefathers, as ye do: for why? we see the poor almost perish through hunger amongst you; yet you are not moved with pity towards them: but among us Jews, though we be poor, there are no beggars found. Secondly, it is forbidden by the law to feign any kind of imagery of things in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the sea under the earth, but one God only is to be honoured: but your sanctuaries and churches are full of idols. Thirdly, a piece of bread baked upon the ashes, ye adore and worship, and say that is your God.

"I have rehearsed here but the saying of the Jew, which I never affirmed to be true."

Then the bishops shook their heads, and spitted on the earth, and would not hear any thing further concerning this matter.

7. Thou false heretic didst say, That extreme unction was not a sacrament.

"My lords, forsooth I never taught any thing of extreme unction in my doctrine, whether it were a sacrament or no."

8. Thou false heretic saidst, That holy water is not so good as wash, and such like. Thou condemnest conjuring, and saidst, Holy church's cursings avail not.

"My lords, as for holy water, what strength it is of, I taught never in my doctrine; conjurings and exorcisms, if they were conformable to the word of God, I would commend them; but inasmuch as they are not conformable to the commandment and word of God, I reprove them."

9. Thou false heretic and rufagate hast said, That every layman is a priest, and such like. Thou saidst, That the pope hath no more power than any other man.

"My lords, I taught nothing but the word of God; I remember that I have read in some places in St. John and St. Peter, of the which the one said, He hath made us kings and priests. The other saith, He hath made us a kingly priesthood, (Apoc. 1. and 5. 1 Pet. 2.) Wherefore I have affirmed, that any man being cunning in the word of God, and the true faith of Jesus Christ, hath this power given him from God, and not by the power or violence of men, but by the

virtue of the word of God, the which word is called the power of God, as witnesseth St. Paul evidently enough. And again I say, that any unlearned man, not exercised in the word of God, nor yet constant in his faith, whatsoever estate or order he be of, I say he hath no power to bind or loose, seeing he wanteth the instrument by the which he bindeth or looseth, that is to say, the word of God."

After that he had said these words, all the bishops laughed and mocked him. When that he beheld their laughing, "Laugh ye, (saith he,) my lords? Though that these sayings appear scornful and worthy of derision to your lordships, nevertheless they are very weighty to me, and of a great value, because they stand not only upon myself, but also the honour and glory of God."

In the mean time, many godly men beholding the madness and great cruelty of the bishops, and the invincible patience of Mr. George, did greatly mourn and lament.

10. Thou false heretic saidst, That a man hath no free will, but is like to the Stoics; which say, that it is not in man's will to do any thing, but that all concupiscence and desire cometh by God, whatsoever kind it be of.

"My lords, I said not so, truly; I say, that as many as believe in Christ firmly, unto them is given liberty, conformable to the saying of St. John, 'If the Son make you free, then shall ye verily be free.' Of the contrary, as many as believe not in Christ Jesus, they are bond-servants of sin; 'He that sinneth is bound to sin.'"

11. Thou false heretic saidst, It is as lawful to eat flesh upon the Friday as on Sunday.

"May it please your lordships, I have read in the epistles of St. Paul, that who is clean, unto him all things are clean; on the contrary, to the filthy all things are unclean. A faithful man, clean and holy, sanctifieth by the word the creature of God; but the creature maketh no man acceptable unto God. So that a creature may not sanctify any impure and unfaithful man; but to the faithful man all things are sanctified by the word of God and prayer."

After these sayings of Mr. George, then said all the bishops, with all their accomplices, What needeth us any witness against him? hath he not openly here spoken blasphemy?

12. Thou false heretic dost say, That we should not pray to saints, but to God only.—Say whether thou hast said this, or no; say shortly.

"My lords, (saith he,) there are two things worthy of note. The one is certain, the other uncertain. It is found plainly and certain in scripture, that we should worship and honour one God, according to the saying of the first commandment, 'Thou shalt only worship and honour thy Lord God with all thy heart.' But as for praying to and honouring of saints, there is great doubt among many, whether they hear or no invocation made unto them. Therefore I exhorted all men equally in my doctrine, that they should leave the unsure way, and follow that way which was taught us by our master Christ. He is our only Mediator, and maketh intercession for us to God his Father. He is the door by the which we must enter in. He that entereth not in by this door, but climbeth another way, is a thief and a murderer. He is the verity and life. He that goeth out of this way, there is no doubt but he shall fall into the mire; yea, verily, is fallen into it already. This is the fashion of my doctrine, the which I have ever followed. Verily, that which I have heard and read in the word of God, I taught openly, and in no corners. And now ye shall witness the same, if your lordships will hear me. Except it stand by the word of God, I dare not be so bold to affirm any thing."

13. Thou false heretic hast preached plainly, saying, That there is no purgatory, and that it is a feigned thing any man after this life to be punished in purgatory.

"My lords, as I have oftentimes said heretofore, without express witness and testimony of the scripture I dare affirm nothing. I have oft and divers times read over the Bible, and yet such a term found I never, nor yet any place of scripture applicable thereunto. Therefore I was ashamed ever to teach of that thing which I could not find in the scripture." Then said he to Mr. John Lauder, his accuser, "If you have any testimony of the scripture, by the which you may prove any such place, shew it now before this auditory." But he had not a word to say for himself.

14. Thou false heretic hast taught plainly against the vows of monks, friars, nuns, and priests, saying, That whosoever was bound to such like vows, they vowed themselves to the estate of damnation. Moreover, That it was lawful for priests to marry wives, and not to live single.

"Of sooth, my lords, I have read in the evangelist, that there are three kinds of chaste men: some are eunuchs from their mother's womb; some are eunuchs by men; and some have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake. Verily I say, these men are blessed, by the scripture of God. But as many as have not the gift of chastity, nor yet for the evangelist have overcome the concupiscence of the flesh, and have vowed chastity; ye have experience, although I should hold my peace, to what inconvenience they have vowed themselves."

When he had said these words, they were all dumb, thinking better to have ten concubines than one married wife.

15. Thou false heretic and runagate saidst, Thou wilt not obey our general nor provincial councils.

"My lords, what your general councils are, I know not: I was never exercised in them, but to the pure word of God I gave my labours. Read here your general councils, or else give me a book wherein they are contained, that I may read them. If they agree with the word of God, I will not disagree."

Then the ravening wolves turned into a rage, and said, Wherefore let we him speak any further? Read forth the rest of the articles, and stay not upon them. Among these cruel tigers there was one false hypocrite, a seducer of the people, called John Graiind Scot, standing behind John Lauder's back, hastening him to read the rest of the articles, and not to tarry upon his witty and godly answers: for we may not abide them, (quoth he,) no more than the devil may abide the sign of the cross when it is named.

16. Thou heretic saidst, That it is in vain to build to the honour of God costly churches, seeing that God remaineth not in the churches, made with men's hands, nor yet can God be in so little space as betwixt the priest's hands.

"My lords, Solomon saith, If that the heaven of heavens cannot comprehend thee, how much less this house that I have builded? And Job consenteth to the same, Seeing that he is higher than the heavens, therefore what canst thou build unto him? he is deeper than hell, then how shalt thou know him? he is longer than the earth, and broader than the sea. So that God cannot be comprehended in one place, because that he is infinite. These sayings notwithstanding, I never said that churches should be destroyed, but of the contrary I affirm ever, that churches should be sustained and upholden, that the people should be congregated into them, there to hear of God. And, moreover, wheresoever is true preaching of the word of God, and the lawful use of the sacraments, undoubtedly there is God himself. So that both these sayings are true together: God cannot be com-

prehended in any place; and wheresoever two or three are gathered together in his name, there is he present in the midst of them." Then said he to his accuser, "If you think any otherwise than I say, shew forth your reasons before this auditory." But he was dumb, and proceeded in his articles.

17. Thou false heretic contemnest fasting, and saidst, Thou shouldst not fast.

"My lords, I find that fasting is commended in the scripture; therefore I were a slanderer of the gospel, if I contemned fasting. And not so only, but I have learned by experience, that fasting is good for the health of the body: but God knoweth who fasteth the true fast."

18. Thou false heretic hast preached openly, saying, "That the soul of man shall sleep till the latter day of judgment, and shall not obtain life immortal until that day."

"God, full of mercy and goodness, forgive them that say such things of me: I know surely by the word of God, that he which hath begun to have the faith of Jesus Christ, and believeth firmly in him, the soul of that man shall never sleep, but ever shall live an immortal life. The which life from day to day is renewed in grace; nor yet shall ever perish, or have an end, but, ever immortal, shall live with Christ. To the which life all that believe in him shall come, and rest in eternal glory, Amen."

When the bishops, with their accomplices, had accused this innocent man in manner and form aforesaid, they immediately condemned him to be burned as an heretic, not having respect to his godly answers and true reasons which he alleged, nor yet to their own consciences, thinking verily that they should do to God good sacrifice, conformable to the saying of St. John, "They shall excommunicate you: yea, and the time shall come, that he which killeth you shall think that he hath done to God good service."

#### *The Prayer of Mr. George Wiseheart.*

"O immortal God, how long shalt thou suffer the ungodly to exercise their fury upon thy servants which do further thy word in this world, seeing they desire to be contrary, that is, to choke and destroy the true doctrine and verity, by the which thou hast shewed thyself unto the world, which was all drowned in blindness and misknowledge of thy name! O Lord, we know surely that thy true servants must needs suffer, for thy name's sake, persecution, affliction, and troubles, in this present life, which is but a shadow, as thou hast shewed to us by thy prophets and apostles. But yet we desire thee heartily, that thou conserve, defend, and help, thy congregation, which thou hast chosen before the beginning of the world; and give them thy grace to hear thy word, and to be thy true servants in this present life."

Then by and by they caused the common people to go away, whose desire was always to hear that innocent man speak. Then the sons of darkness pronounced their sentence definitive, not having respect to the judgment of God. And when all this was done and said, the cardinal caused his warders to pass again with the meek lamb into the castle, until such time as the fire was made ready. When he was come into the castle, then there came two gray fiends, friar Scot and his mate, saying, Sir, ye must make your confession unto us. He answered and said, I will make no confession unto you; go, fetch me yonder man that preached this day, and I will make my confession unto him. Then they sent for the sub-prior of the abbey, who came to him with all diligence. But what he said in this confession I cannot shew.

When the fire was made ready, and the gallows, at the west part of the castle, near to the priory, the lord cardinal, dreading that Mr. George should have been taken away by his friends, commanded to bend all the ordinance of the castle right against that part, and commanded all his gunners to be ready and stand beside their guns, until such time as he were burned. All this being done, they bound Mr. George's hands behind his back, and led him forth with their soldiers from the castle, to the place of execution. As he came forth of the castle gate, there met him certain beggars, asking him alms for God's sake: to whom he answered, I want my hands wherewith I should give you alms; but the merciful Lord, of his benignity and abundance of grace, that feedeth all men, vouchsafe to give you necessities, both unto your bodies and souls. Then afterwards met him two false fiends, (I should say friars,) saying, Mr. George, pray to our Lady, that she may be mediatrix for you to her Son. To whom he answered meekly, Cease, tempt me not, my brethren. After this he was led to the fire with a rope about his neck, and a chain of iron about his middle.

When he came to the fire, he sat down upon his knees, and rose again, and thrice he said these words, "O thou Saviour of the world, have mercy on me! Father of heaven, I commend my spirit into thy holy hands!" When he had made this prayer, he turned him to the people, and said these words:

"I beseech you, Christian brethren and sisters, that ye be not offended in the word of God, for the affliction and torments which ye see already prepared for me; but I exhort you that you love the word of God, and suffer patiently and with a comfortable heart, for the word's sake, which is your undoubted salvation and everlasting comfort.

"Moreover, I pray you shew my brethren and sisters, which have heard me oft before, that they cease not nor leave off the word of God which I taught unto them, after the grace given to me, for any persecutions or troubles in this world, which last not; and shew unto them, that my doctrine was no old wife's fables, after the constitutions made by men. And if I had taught men's doctrine, I had gotten great thanks by men; but for the word's sake and true evangelist, which was given to me by the grace of God, I suffer this day by men, not sorrowfully, but with a glad heart and mind. For this cause I was sent, that I should suffer this fire for Christ's sake. Consider and behold my visage, ye shall not see me change my colour. This grim fire I fear not. And so I pray you to do, if that any persecution come unto you for the word's sake, and not to fear them that slay the body, and afterward have no power to slay the soul. Some have said of me, that I taught that the souls of men should sleep until the last day: but I know surely, and my faith is such, that my soul shall sup with my Saviour Christ this night, ere it be six hours: for whom I suffer this."

Then he prayed for them which accused him, saying, "I beseech thee, Father of heaven, to forgive them that have of any ignorance, or else have of any evil mind, forged any lies upon me; I forgive them with all my heart. I beseech Christ to forgive them that have condemned me to death this day ignorantly."

And last of all he said to the people, "I beseech you, brethren and sisters, to exhort your prelates to the learning of the word of God, that they at the last may be ashamed to do evil, and learn to do good. And if they will not convert themselves from their wicked error, there shall hastily come upon them the wrath of God, which they shall not eschew."

Many faithful words said he in the mean time, taking no heed or care of the cruel torments which were then prepared for him.

And at last of all the hangman that was his tormentor sat down upon his knees, and said, Sir, I pray you forgive me, for I am not guilty of your death. To whom he answered, Come hither to me. When that he was come to him, he kissed his cheek, and said, "Lo, here is a token that I forgive thee. My heart, do thine office." And by and by he was put upon the gibbet, and hanged, and there burned to powder. When the people beheld the great tormenting, they could not withhold from piteous mourning and complaining of the slaughter of this innocent lamb.

#### *A Note of the just Punishment of God upon the cruel Cardinal, Archbishop of St. Andrew's, named Beaton.*

It was not long after the martyrdom of the blessed man of God, Mr. George Wishart aforesaid, who was put to death by David Beaton, the bloody archbishop and cardinal of Scotland, as is above specified, anno 1546, the first day of March, but the said David Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, by the just revenge of God's mighty judgment, was slain within his own castle of St. Andrew's, by the hands of one Lech, and other gentlemen, who, by the Lord stirred up, brake in suddenly into his castle upon him, and in his bed murdered him the said year, the last day of May, crying out, "Alas, alas, slay me not, I am a priest!" And so like a butcher he lived, and by a butcher he died, and lay seven months or more unburied, and at last like a carrion buried in a dunghill, anno 1546.

After this David Beaton succeeded John Hamelton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, anno 1549; who, to the intent that he might in no ways appear inferior to his predecessor, in augmenting the number of the holy martyrs of God, in the next year following called a certain poor man to judgment, whose name was *Adam Wallace*. The order and manner of whose story here followeth.

#### *The Story and Martyrdom of ADAM WALLACE, in Scotland.*

There was set upon a scaffold made hard to the chancellery wall of the black friars' church in Edinburgh, on seats made thereupon, the lord governor. Above him at his back sat Mr. Gawin Hamelton, dean of Glasgow, representing the metropolitan pastor thereof. Upon a seat on his right hand sat the archbishop of St. Andrew's. At his back and side somewhat stood the official of Louthaine. Next to the bishop of St. Andrew's, the bishop of Dunblane, the bishop of Murray, the abbot of Dunfermling, the abbot of Glenluce, with other churchmen of lower estimation, as the official of St. Andrew's, and other doctors of that city. And at the other end of the seat sat Mr. Uchiltzie. On his left hand sat the earl of Argyle, justice, with his deputy, Sir John Campbell, of Lunday, at his feet. Next him the earl of Huntley. Then the earl of Angus, the bishop of Galloway, the prior of St. Andrew's, the bishop of Orkney, the lord Forbes, dean John Winryme, sub-prior of St. Andrew's; and behind the seats stood the whole senate, the clerk of the register, &c.

At the further end of the chancellery wall in the pulpit was placed Mr. John Lander, parson of Marbottle, accuser, clad in a surplice and red hood, and a great congregation of the whole people in the body of the church, standing on the ground.

After that Sir John Ker, prebendary of St. Giles' church, was accused, convicted, and condemned, for the false making and giving forth of a sentence of divorce, whereby he falsely divorced and parted a man and his lawful wife in the name of the dean of Roscalrige and certain other judges appointed by the holy father the pope. He granted the falsehood, and that never any such thing was done indeed, nor yet meant nor moved by the aforesaid judges; and was agreed to be banished the realms of Scotland and England for his life-time, and to lose his right hand, if he were found or apprehended thereafter, and in the mean time to leave his benefices for ever, and they to be vacant.

After that, was brought in *Adam Wallace*, a simple poor man in appearance, conveyed by John of Cunnocke, servant to the bishop of St. Andrew's, and set in the midst of the scaffold, who was commanded to look to the accuser; who asked him what was his name? he answered, Adam Wallace. The accuser said he had another name; which he granted, and said he was commonly called *Feane*. Then asked he where he was born? Within two miles of Fayle, said he, in Kyle. Then said the accuser, I repent that ever such a poor man as you should put these noble lords to so great incumbrance this day by your vain speaking. And I must speak (returned he) as God giveth me grace; and I believe I have said no evil to hurt any body. Would God (said the accuser) ye had never spoken; but you are brought forth for so horrible crimes of heresy, as never were imagined nor heard of in this country before, and shall be sufficiently proved, that ye cannot deny it; and I forthink that it should be heard, for hurting of weak consciences. Now I will *ye* thee no more, and thou shalt hear the points that thou art accused of.

Adam Wallace, *alias* Feane, thou art openly delated and accused for preaching, saying, and teaching, of the blasphemies and abominable heresies under written. In the first thou hast said and taught, that the bread and wine on the altar, after the words of consecration, are not the body and blood of Jesus Christ.

He turned to the lord governor, and lords aforesaid, saying, I never said nor taught any thing but what I found in this book and writ, (having there a Bible at his belt, in French, Dutch, and English,) which is the word of God; and if you will be content that the Lord God and his word be judge to me, and this his holy writ, here it is; and where I have said wrong, I shall take that punishment you shall put to me: for I never said any thing concerning this that I am accused of, but that which I found in this writ.

What didst thou say? said the accuser. I said, (quoth he,) that after our Lord Jesus Christ had eaten the paschal lamb in his latter supper with his apostles, and fulfilled the ceremonies of the old law, he instituted a new sacrament in remembrance of his death then to come. He took bread, he blessed, and brake it, and gave it to his disciples, and said, "Take ye, eat ye, this is my body which shall be broken and given for you." And likewise the cup he blessed, and bade them drink all thereof, for that was the cup of the new testament which should be shed for the forgiving of many. How oft ye do this, do it in my remembrance."

Then said the bishop of St. Andrew's, and the official of Louthaine, with the dean of Glasgow, and many other prelates, We know this well enough. The earl of Huntley said, Thou answerest not to that which is laid to thee; say either nay or yea thereto. He answered, If ye will admit God, and his word, spoken by the mouth of his blessed Son Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour, ye will admit that which I have said; for I have said and taught nothing but what the

word, which is the trial and touchstone, saith; which ought to be judge to me, and to all the world.

Why, (quoth the earl of Huntley,) hast thou not a judge good enough? and trowest thou that we know not God and his word? Answer to what is spoken to thee. And then they made the accuser speak the same thing over again.

He answered, I never said more than the writ saith, nor yet more than I said before. For I know well by St. Paul when he saith, "Whosoever eateth this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily, receiveth to himself damnation." And therefore, when I taught (which was but seldom, and to them only which required and desired me,) I said, That if the sacrament of the altar were truly ministered, and used as the Son of the living God did institute it, where that was done there was God himself by his divine power, by the which he is over all.

The bishop of Orkney asked him, Believest thou not that the bread and wine in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of the consecration, is the very body of God, flesh, blood, and bone?

He answered, I wot not what that word consecration meaneth. I have not much Latin, but I believe that the Son of God was conceived of the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary, and hath a natural body, with hands, feet, and other members, and in the same body he walked up and down in the world, preached, and taught; he suffered death under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried, and that by his godly power he raised that same body again the third day; and the same body ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father, which shall come again to judge both the quick and the dead. And that this body is a natural body with hands and feet, and cannot be in two places at once, he sheweth well himself; for the which everlasting thanks be to him that maketh this matter clear: when the woman brake that ointment on him, answering to some of his disciples which grudged thereat, he said, "The poor shall you always have with you, but me ye shall not have always." Meaning of his natural body. And likewise at his ascension said he to the same disciples that were fleshly, and would ever have had him remaining with them corporally, "It is needful for you that I pass away, for if I pass not away, the Comforter, the Holy Ghost, shall not come to you;" (meaning that his natural body behoved to be taken away from them;) "but be stout, and be of good cheer, for I am with you unto the world's end.

And that the eating of his very flesh profiteth not, may well be known by his words which he spake in the sixth of John, where after that he had said, "Except ye eat my flesh, and drink my blood, ye shall not have life in you;" they murmuring thereat, he reproved them for their gross and fleshly taking of his words, and said, "What will ye think when ye see the Son of man ascend to the place that he came from? It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing," to be eaten as they took it; and even so take ye it.

It is an horrible heresy, said the bishop of Orkney. When he began to speak again, and bade the lord governor to judge if he had right by the writ, then the accuser cried, To the second article. Then was he bidden to hear the accuser, who propounded the second article, and said, Thou saidst likewise, and openly didst teach, that the mass is very idolatry, and abominable in the sight of God.

He answered and said, I have read the Bible and word of God in three tongues, and have understood them so far as God gave me grace, and yet never read I that word, mass, in it all; but I found, said he, that the thing that was highest

and most in estimation among men, and not in the word of God, was idolatry, and abominable in the sight of God.

Then said the accuser, Thou hast said and openly taught, That the God which we worship, is but bread, sown of corn, growing of the earth, baked of men's hands, and nothing else.

He answered, I worship the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three Persons in one Godhead, which made and fashioned the heaven and earth, and all that is therein; but I know not which god you worship; and if you will shew me whom you worship, I will shew you what he is, as I can by my judgment.

Believest thou not (said the accuser) that the sacrament of the altar, after the words of the consecration betwixt the priest's hands, is the very body and blood of the Son of God, and God himself?

What the body of God is, said he, and what kind of body he hath, I have shewed you, so far as I have found in the scripture.

Then said the accuser, Thou hast preached, said, and openly taught, divers and sundry other great errors and abominable heresies against all the seven sacraments, which for shortness of time I overpass. Whether dost thou grant thy aforesaid articles that thou art accused of, or no? and thou shalt hear them shortly. And then repeated the accuser the three articles aforesaid shortly over, and asked him whether he granted or denied them?

He answered that which before he had said of his answers, and that he said nothing but agreeing to the holy word as he understood, so God judge him, and his own conscience accuse him, and thereby would he abide unto the time he were better instructed by scripture, and the contrary proved, even to the death: and he said to the lord governor and other lords, If you condemn me for holding by God's word, my innocent blood shall be required at your hands, when ye shall be brought before the judgment-seat of Christ, who is mighty to defend my innocent cause, before whom ye shall not deny it, nor yet be able to resist his wrath, to whom I refer the vengeance, as it is written, "Vengeance is mine, and I will reward."

Then gave they forth sentence, and condemned him by the laws, and so left him to the secular power, in the hands of Sir John Campbel, justice deputy, who delivered him to the provost of Edinburgh, to be burnt on the Castle hill; who made him to be put in the uppermost house in the town, with irons about his legs and neck, and gave charge to Sir Hugh Terry to keep the key of the said house, an ignorant minister and imp of Satan and of the bishops; who by direction sent to the poor man two gray friars, to instruct him; with whom he would enter into no communing. Soon after that, were sent in two black friars, an English friar, and another subtle sophister, called Arbirotomy; with which English friar he would have reasoned and declared his faith by the scriptures. Who answered, that he had no commission to enter into disputation with him; and so departed and left him.

Then was sent to him a wise man, and not ungodly in the understanding of the truth, the dean of Roscalrige, who gave him Christian consolation, among the which he exhorted him to believe the reality of the sacrament after the consecration. But he would consent to nothing that had not evidence in the holy scripture; and so passed over that night in singing, and lauding God, having learned the Psalter of David without book, to his consolation: for they had before spoiled him of his Bible, which always, till after he was condemned, was with him wherever he went. After that Sir Hugh knew that he had certain books to read and comfort his spirit, he

came in a rage and took the same from him, leaving him desolate of all consolation, and gave him divers ungodly and injurious provocations to have perverted him, a poor innocent, from the patience and hope he had in Christ his Saviour; but God suffered him not to be moved therewith, as plainly appeared to the hearers and seers for the time.

So all the next morning abode this poor man in irons, and provision was commanded to be made for his burning against the next day. Which day the lord governor, and all the principal lords, both spiritual and temporal, departed from Edinburgh to their other business.

After they were departed, came the dean of Roscalrige to him again, and reasoned with him, after his wit. Who answered as before, He would say nothing concerning his faith, but as the scripture testifieth, yea, though an angel came from heaven to persuade him to the same; saying that he confessed himself to have received good consolation of the said dean in other behalf, as becometh a Christian.

Then after came in the said Terry again, and examined him after his old manner, and said he would cause the devils to come forth of him ere even. To whom he answered, You should rather be a godly man, to give me consolation in my case. When I knew you were come, I prayed God I might resist your temptations: which, I thank him, he hath made me able to do; therefore, I pray you, let me alone in peace.

Then he asked of one of the officers that stood by, Is your fire making ready? Who told him, it was. He answered, As it pleaseth God, I am ready soon or late, as it shall please him. And then he spake to one faithful in that company, and bade him commend him to all the faithful, being sure to meet together with them in heaven. From that time to his coming to the fire, spake no man with him.

At his coming, the provost with great menacing words forbade him to speak to any man, or any to him, as helike he had commandment of his superiors. Coming from the town to the Castle-hill, the common people said, God have mercy upon him: And on you too, said he. Being beside the fire, he lifted up his eyes to heaven twice or thrice, and said to the people, Let it not offend you that I suffer death this day for the truth's sake; for the disciple is not greater than his Master. Then was the provost angry that he spake. Then looked he to heaven again, and said, They will not let me speak. The cord being about his neck, the fire was lighted, and so departed he joyfully to God, anno 1550.

#### *The SCHISM that arose in SCOTLAND about the PATER NOSTER.*

After that Richard Marshall, doctor of divinity, and prior of the black friars at the New-castle in England, had declared in his preaching at St. Andrew's in Scotland, that the Lord's Prayer (commonly called the *Pater Noster*) should be said only to God, and not to saints, neither to any other creature; the doctors of the university of St. Andrew's, together with the gray friars, who had long ago taught the people to pray the *Pater Noster* to saints, had great indignation that their old doctrine should be opposed, and stirred up a gray friar, called friar Toittis, to preach again to the people, that they should and might pray the *Pater Noster* to saints. Who finding no part of the scripture to found his purpose upon, yet came to the pulpit the first of November, being the feast of All-hallows, anno 1551, and took the text of the gospel for that day read in their mass, written in the fifth chapter of Matthew, containing these words, "Blessed



are the poor in spirit, for to them pertaineth the kingdom of heaven."

This feeble foundation being laid, the friar began to reason most impertinently, that the Lord's Prayer might be offered to saints, because every petition thereof appertaineth to them. For if we meet an old man in the street (said he,) we will say to him, Good day, father; and therefore much more may we call the saints our fathers; and because we grant also that they be in heaven, we may say to each, "Our father which art in heaven." Our father God hath made their names holy; therefore ought we, as followers of God, to hold their names holy, and so we may say to any of the saints, "Our father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name." And for the same cause, said the friar, as they are in the kingdom of heaven, so that kingdom is theirs by possession; and so praying for the kingdom of heaven, we may say to them, and every one of them, "Thy kingdom come." And except their will had been the very will of God, they had never come to that kingdom: and therefore seeing their will is God's will, we may say to every one of them, "Thy will be done."

But when the friar came to the fourth petition, touching our daily bread, he began to be astonished and ashamed, so that he did sweat abundantly, partly because his sophistry began to fail him, not finding such a colour for that part as for the other which went before, and partly because he spake against his own knowledge and conscience; and so he was compelled to confess that it was not in the saints' power to give us our daily bread, but that they should pray to God for us (said he) that we may obtain our daily bread by their intercession: and so glozed he the rest to the end. Not being yet content with this detestable doctrine, he affirmed most blasphemously, that St. Paul's napkin, and St. Peter's shadow, did miracles; and that the virtue of Elisha's cloak divided the waters; attributing nothing to the power of God; with many other errors horrible to be heard.

Upon this followed a dangerous schism in the church of Scotland: for not only the clergy, but the whole people, were divided among themselves, one defending the truth, and another the Papistry, in such sort that there rose a proverb, "To whom say you your Pater Noster?" And although the Papists had the upper hand as then, whose words were almost hoken for law, (so great was the blindness of that age,) yet God so inspired the hearts of the common people, that so many as could get the understanding of the bare words of the Lord's Prayer in English (which was then said in Latin) utterly detested that opinion, holding that it should in no wise be said to saints. So that the craftsmen and the servants in their booths, when the friar came, exploded him with shame enough, crying, "Friar Pater Noster! Friar Pater Noster?" Who at last being convicted in his own conscience, and ashamed of his former sermon, was compelled to leave the town of St. Andrew's.

In the mean time of this noise, there were two pasquins set on the abbey church; the one in Latin, bearing these words:

*Doctores nostri de Collegio  
Concludunt idem cum Lucifero.  
Quod sancti sunt similes altissimo:  
Et se tuentur gratatorio  
De mandato officialis,  
Ad instantiam fiscalis,  
Gaw et Harvey non carui  
In premissis connotarii.*

Mr. D. Gaw and Mr. T. Harvey were two of the procurators.

The following in English, bearing these words:

Great doctors of theology, of more than fourscore years,  
With the old jolly Lupoyes and all the bald Gray Friars;  
Each would be called a Rabbi and eke Magister noster,  
And wot not yet to whom they say their pious Pater Noster.

Shortly, the Christians were so much offended, and the Papists on the other side so proud and obstinate, that it was necessary, to eschew great inconveniences, that the clergy at last should be assembled to dispute and conclude the whole matter, that the lay-people might be put out of doubt. Which being done, and the university agreed, who-soever had been present might have heard much subtle sophistry. For some of the Popish doctors affirmed that it should be said to God *formaliter*, in due form; and to saints *materialiter*, by way of respect. Others *ultimate*, ultimately; *et non ultimate*, and others not ultimately. Others said it should be said to God *principaliter*, principally; and to saints *minus principaliter*, less principally. Others, that it should be said to God *primarie*, primarily; and to saints *secundarie*, secondarily. Others, that it should be said to God *capiendo stricte*, in the strictest sense; and to saints *capiendo large*, in a general sense. Which vain distinctions being heard and considered by the people, they that were simple remained in greater doubtfulness than they were in before: so that an aged man, a servant to the sub-prior of St. Andrew's, called the sub-prior's Thome, being demanded to whom he said his Pater Noster? he answered, To God only. Then they asked again, what should be said to the saints? he answered, "Give them Aves and Creeds enow in the devil's name, for that may suffice them well enough, that they may not spoil God of his right." Others, making their vaunts of the doctors, said, That because Christ, who made the Pater Noster, never came into the isle of Britain, and so understood not the English tongue; therefore it was that the doctors concluded it should be said in Latin! Such were thy guides, O Israel, in times of popish darkness!

This perturbation yet depending, it was thought good to call a provincial council to decide the matter. Which being assembled at Edinburgh, the Papists having no reason on their sides, defended their parts with lies, alleging that the university of Paris had concluded that the Lord's Prayer should be said to saints. But because that could not be proved, and that they could not prevail by reason, they used their will in place of reason, backed with despicable and injurious talk. As friar Scot, being asked by one, to whom he should say the Pater Noster, he answered, "Say it to the devil, knave." So the council perceiving that they could profit nothing by reasoning and debating, were compelled to pass to voting.

But then they that were called churchmen were found divided among themselves. For some bishops, with the doctors and friars, consented that the Pater Noster should be said to saints; but the bishops of St. Andrew's, Caithness, and Athens, with other more learned men, refused utterly to subscribe to the same. Finally, with consent of both parties, commission was given by the holy church to dean John Winryme, then sub-prior of St. Andrew's, to declare to the people how and after what manner they should pray the Lord's Prayer. Who, accepting of the commission, declared that it should be said to God only,—and thus settled this knotty point of theology!

This dean Winryme became afterwards a zealous Protestant minister.

*Martyrdom of the blessed servant of God, WALTER MILLE.*

Among the rest of the martyrs of Scotland, the marvellous constancy of *Walter Mille* should not be passed over in silence; out of whose ashes sprang thousands of his opinion and religion in Scotland, who altogether chose rather to die than to be any longer over-trodden by the tyranny of the aforesaid cruel, ignorant, and beastly bishops, abbots, monks, and friars; and so began the congregation of Scotland to debate the true religion of Christ against the Frenchmen and Papists, who sought always to depress the same; for it began soon after the martyrdom of *Walter Mille*, of which the form hereafter followeth.

In the year of our Lord 1558, in the time of Mary, duchess of Longaway, queen regent of Scotland, and the said John Hamelton being bishop of St. Andrew's and primate of Scotland, this *Walter Mille* (who in his youth had been a Papist) after that he had been in Germany, and had heard the doctrine of the gospel, returned again into Scotland, and setting aside all Papistry and compelled chastity, married a wife; which thing caused him by the bishops of Scotland to be suspected of heresy; and after long watching him, he was taken by two popish priests, one called Sir George Traquehen, and the other Sir Hugh Turry, servants to the said bishop for the time, within the town of Dysart, in Fife, and brought to St. Andrew's, and imprisoned in the castle. He being in prison, the Papists earnestly travelled and laboured to have seduced him, and threatened him with death and corporal torments, to the intent they might cause him to recant and forsake the truth. But seeing they could profit nothing, and that he remained still firm and constant, they laboured to persuade him by fair promises, and offered unto him a monk's portion for life, in the abbey of Dunfermeling, so that he would deny the things he had taught, and grant that they were heresy; but he, continuing in the truth even unto the end, despised their threatenings and fair promises.

Then assembled together the bishops of St. Andrew's, Murray, Brechin, Craithness, and Athelins, the abbots of Dunfermeling, Landois, Bahadmot, and Towpers, with doctors of theology of St. Andrew's, as John Green, black friar, and dean John Winryne, sub-prior of St. Andrew's, William Transton, provost of the old college, with divers others, as sundry friars, black and grey.

These being assembled, and having consulted together, he was taken out of prison, and brought to the metropolitan church, where he was put in a pulpit before the bishops to be accused, the 20th day of April. Being brought into the church, and climbing up into the pulpit, they seeing him so weak and feeble of person, partly by age and travel, and partly by evil treatment, that without help he could not climb up, they were out of hope to have heard him for weakness of voice. But when he began to speak, he made the church ring and sound again, with so great courage and stoutness, that the Christians which were present were no less rejoiced than the adversaries were confounded and ashamed. He being in the pulpit, and on his knees at prayer, Sir Andrew Oliphant, one of the bishops' priests, commanded him to arise and to answer to his articles; saying on this manner, Sir *Walter Mille*, arise and answer to the articles, for you hold my lord here over long. To whom *Walter*, after he had finished his prayer, answered, saying, We ought to obey God more than men; I serve one more mighty, even the omnipotent Lord; and where ye call me Sir *Walter*, call me *Walter*, and not Sir *Walter*. I have been over long one of the pope's knights. Now say what thou hast to say.

*These were the Articles whereof he was accused, with his Answers unto the same.*

*Oliphant.* What think you of priests' marriage?

*Mille.* I hold it a blessed band: for Christ himself maintained it, and approved the same, and also made it free to all men; but you think it not free to you, ye abhor it, and in the mean time take other men's wives and daughters, and will not keep the band that God hath made. Ye vow chastity, and break the same. St. Paul had rather marry than burn; the which I have done, for God never forbade marriage to any man, of what state or degree soever he were.

*Oliphant.* Thou sayest there be not seven sacraments.

*Mille.* Give me the Lord's supper and baptism, and take you the rest, and part them among you. For if there be seven, why have you omitted one of them, to wit, marriage, and give yourselves to slanderous and ungodly whoredom?

*Oliph.* Thou art against the blessed sacrament of the altar, and sayest that the mass is wrong, and is idolatry.

*Mille.* A lord or a king sendeth and calleth many to a dinner, and when the dinner is in readiness, he causeth to ring a bell, and the men come to the hall, and sit down to be partakers of the dinner; but the lord turning his back unto them, eateth all himself, and mocketh them: So do ye.

*Oliph.* Thou deniest the sacrament of the altar to be the very body of Christ really in flesh and blood.

*Mille.* The scripture of God is not to be taken carnally, but spiritually, and standeth in faith only; and as for the mass, it is wrong: for Christ was once offered on the cross for man's trespass, and will never be offered again, for then he ended all sacrifice.

*Oliph.* Thou deniest the office of a bishop.

*Mille.* I affirm that they, whom ye call bishops, do no bishops' works, nor use the office of bishops, as Paul biddeh, writing to Timothy; but live after their own sensual pleasure, and take no care of the flock, nor yet regard they the word of God, but desire to be honoured, and called My lords.

*Oliph.* Thou speakest against pilgrimage, and calledst it a pilgrimage to whoredom.

*Mille.* I affirm and say, that it is not commanded in the scripture; and that there is no greater whoredom in any place than at your pilgrimages, except it be in common brothels.

*Oliph.* Thou preachedst secretly and privately in houses, and openly in the fields.

*Mille.* Yea, man; and I have preached on the sea also, sailing in a ship.

*Oliph.* Wilt thou recant thy erroneous opinions? If thou wilt not, I will pronounce sentence against thee.

*Mille.* I am accused of my life; I know I must die once, and therefore, as Christ said to Judas, "What thou doest, do quickly." Ye shall know that I will not recant the truth, for I am corn, I am no chaff; I will not be blown away with the wind, nor burst with the flail; but I will abide both.

Then Sir Andrew Oliphant pronounced sentence against him, that he should be delivered to the temporal judge, and punished as an heretic; which was, to be burnt. Notwithstanding, his boldness and constancy moved so the hearts of many, that the bishop's steward of his regality, provost of the town, called Patrick Learmond, refused to be his temporal judge, to whom it appertained, if the cause had been just. Also, the bishop's chamberlain being therewith charged, would in no wise take upon him so ungodly an office.—Yea, the whole town was so offended with his unjust condemnation, that the bishop's servants could not get for their

money so much as one cord to tie him to the stake, or a tar-barrel to burn him, but were constrained to cut the cords of their master's own pavilion to serve their turn. Nevertheless, one servant of the bishop's, more ignorant and cruel than the rest, called Alexander Simmerwail, undertaking the office of a temporal judge in that part, conveyed him to the fire, where, against all natural reason of man, his boldness and hardness did more and more increase, so that the Spirit of God working miraculously in him, made it manifest to the people that his cause and articles were most just, and he was an innocent sufferer.

Now, when all things were ready for his death, and he conveyed with armed men to the fire, Oliphant bade him pass to the stake; and he said, Nay, but wilt thou put me up with thy hand, and take part of my death, thou shalt see me pass up gladly; for by the law of God I am forbidden to put hands upon myself. Then Oliphant put him up with his hand, and he ascended gladly, saying, "I will draw nigh unto the altar of God;" and desired that he might have space to speak to the people; which Oliphant and others of the burners denied, saying, that he had spoken over-much; for the bishops were altogether offended that the matter was so long continued. Then some of the young men committed both the burners and the bishops their masters to the devil, saying, that they believed they should lament that day; and desired the said Walter to speak what he pleased.

And so, after he made his humble supplication to God on his knees, he arose, and standing upon the coals, said on this wise: "Dear friends, the cause why I suffer this day, is not for any crime laid to my charge, (albeit I be a miserable sinner before God,) but only for the defence of the faith of Jesus Christ, set forth in the Old and New Testament unto us; for which, as the faithful martyrs have offered themselves gladly before, being assured, after the death of their bodies, of eternal felicity; so this day I praise God that he hath called me of his mercy among the rest of his servants to seal up his truth with my life: which, as I have received it of him, so willingly I offer it to his glory. Therefore, as you will escape the eternal death, be no more seduced with the lies of priests, monks, friars, priors, abbots, bishops, and the rest of the sect of Antichrist, but depend only upon Jesus Christ and his mercy, that ye may be delivered from condemnation."

All that while there was great mourning and lamentation of the multitude: for they perceiving his patience, stoutness, and boldness, constancy and hardness, were not only moved, but their hearts also were so inflamed, that he was the last martyr that died in Scotland for religion. After his prayer, he was hoisted up upon the stake, and being in the fire, he said, "Lord, have mercy upon me! Pray, people, while there is time." And so he departed in the faith.

#### EPITAPHIUM.

*Non nostra impietas aut actæ crimina vitæ  
Armarunt hostes in mea fata truces;  
Sola fides Christi sacris signata libellis,  
Quæ vitæ causa est, est mihi causæ necis.*

After this, by the just judgment of God, in the same place where Walter Mille was burnt, the images of the great church of the abbey, which excelled both in number and costliness, were burnt in the time of the Reformation.

And thus much concerning such matters as happened, and such martyrs as suffered, in the realm of Scotland, for the faith of Jesus Christ, and testimony of his truth.

#### PERSECUTION IN KENT.

IN revolving the registers of William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, I find moreover, besides these above comprehended in the time and reign of king Henry, the names of divers others, whereof some suffered martyrdom for the like testimony of God's word, and some recanted, which although here they do come a little out of order, and should have been placed before in the beginning of king Henry's reign, yet rather than they should utterly be omitted, I thought here to give them a place, though somewhat out of time; yet not altogether, I trust, without fruit unto the reader, being no less worthy to be registered and preserved from oblivion, than others of their fellows before them.

*A Table of certain true Servants of God, and Martyrs, which were burned in the diocese of Canterbury, under William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, anno 1511.*

William Carder, of Tenterden, weaver; Agnes Grebil, of Tenterden, wife of John Grebil, the elder, and mother to John and Christopher Grebil, (who, with her own husband, accused her to death, being then threescore years of age;) Robert Harrison, of Halden, of the age of sixty years; John Browne, of Ashford; and Edward Walker, of Maidstone, cutler.

The articles whereupon these five blessed martyrs were accused, and condemned by the judges and witnesses, were these, as follow:

1. For holding that the sacrament of the altar was not the very body of Christ.
2. That auricular confession was not to be made to a priest.
3. That no power is given of God to priests, to minister sacraments, say mass, or other divine service, more than to laymen.
4. That the solemnization of matrimony is not necessary to the salvation of souls, neither was instituted of God, (for a sacrament they meant.)
5. That the sacrament of extreme unction is not available nor necessary to the soul's health.
6. That the images of the cross, of the crucifix, of the blessed Virgin, and other saints, are not to be worshipped; and that they which worship them, do commit idolatry.
7. That pilgrimages to holy places, and holy relics, are not necessary nor meritorious.
8. That invocation is not to be made to saints, but only to God.
9. That holy bread and holy water have no more virtue after their consecration than before.
10. That they have believed, taught, and holden, all and every of the same damnable opinions before, as they did at that present.
11. That where they now have confessed their errors, they would not have so done, but only for fear of manifest proofs brought against them; or else but for fear to be convicted by them they would never have confessed the same of their own accord.
12. That they have communed and talked of the said damnable errors heretofore with divers other persons, and have had books concerning the same.

*The order and form of process used against these five Martyrs; and, first, of WILLIAM CARDER, anno 1511.*

William Carder being cited before William Warham, archbishop, and his chancellor, Cuthbert Tonstal, Dr. Sylvester,

Dr. Welles, Clement Brown, with others more, the notaries being William Potking and David Cowper, the articles and interrogatories above specified were laid against him. The archbishop seeking all advantages against him, brought in such witnesses as before were abjured, whom he knew for fear of relapse durst do none other but disclose whatsoever they knew; to wit, Christopher Grebil, William Rich, Agnes Ive, John Grebil, Robert Hilles, and Stephen Castelin. Whose depositions being taken, and the said Carder being asked what he could say for himself? he had nothing, he said, to produce against their attestations, but submitted him unto their mercy. Saying, moreover, that if he had ever any misbelief of the sacraments of the church, contrary to the common holding of the Catholics, he now was sorry, and repented him thereof. Which being done, the archbishop, (this his submission notwithstanding, and notwithstanding that the register maketh no mention of any relapse,) contrary to good law, at least contrary to all Christian charity, proceeded to the reading of the sentence, and so condemned him; who neither stood stubbornly to that which he did hold, neither yet did hold any thing contrary to the mind of holy scripture, to merit burning.

Then after him was called forth *Agnes Grebil*, and examined of the said twelve articles above recited; which she in like manner denied, as the other had done before, putting her adversaries to their proof. Then the archbishop calling for John Grebil, her husband, and Christopher and John Grebil, her two sons, (who had been abjured before,) caused them upon their oath to depose against their own natural mother; and so they did.

First, John Grebil, the elder, her husband, examined by virtue of his oath, deposed, That first about the end of king Edward the Fourth's days, in his house, by the teaching of John Ive, she was brought to that belief, and so forth from thence daily until the time of detection she hath continued.

And besides that, (said he,) when my children, Christopher and John, being about seven years of age, were then taught of me in my house the said error of the sacrament of the altar, and by the said Agnes, my wife, divers times, she was always of one mind in the said misbelief against the sacrament of the altar; that it was not Christ's body, flesh, and blood, but only bread. Furthermore, being examined how he knew that she was steadfast in the said error; he said that she always without contradiction affirmed this teaching, and said the said opinion was good, and was well contented that her children aforesaid were of the same opinions against the sacrament of the altar.

The bishop, with his Catholic doctors, not yet contented with this, to set the husband against the wife, proceeding further in their Catholic zeal, caused her two children, Christopher and John, to be produced, one of the age of two-and-twenty, the other of nineteen, against their own natural mother. Who likewise being pressed with their oath, witnessed and said, that the aforesaid Agnes, their mother, held, believed, taught, and defended, that the sacrament of the altar was but bread, and not the very body of Christ's flesh and blood; that baptism was no better in the font, than out of the font; that confirmation was of no effect; that the solemnization of matrimony was no sacrament; that confession to God alone was sufficient; also, that going on pilgrimage, and worshipping of saints and images, was of none effect, &c. Item, That their father, and the said Agnes their mother, held, taught, and communed of the said errors within their house divers times, by the space of these three years past, as well on holidays as working days, affirming and teaching that the said opinions were good and

lawful, and to be holden and maintained; and agreement was made amongst them, that none of them should discover or bewray either of these beliefs in any wise. Finally, that they never heard their said father and mother holding or teaching any other opinions, than be the said errors against the sacrament of the altar, and pilgrimages, offerings, worshipping of saints and images, as far as they could remember.

Here hast thou, Christian reader, before thine eyes an horrible spectacle of a singular, yea, of a double impiety; first, of an unnatural husband witnessing against his own wife; and of as unnatural children, accusing and witnessing against their own mother. The husband to come in against his own wife, and the children to bring in the knife wherewith to cut the throat of their own natural mother that bare them, that nourished them, that brought them up, what is this but impiety upon impiety, prodigious and horrible for all Christian ears to hear? And yet the greatest impiety of all resteth in these pretended Catholics and clergymen, which were the authors and causers of all this mischief.

The cause why this good woman so stood, as she did, in the denial of these aforesaid articles objected, was this, for that she never thought that her husband and her own children, who only were privy to her religion, would testify against her. Whom notwithstanding after she perceived to come in, and to depose this against her, being now destitute of all friends and comfort, burst out in these words openly, That she repented the time that ever she bare those children of her body. And thus the archbishop, with his doctors, having now the thing that they sought for, although she was ready to deny all errors, and to conform herself to their religion, yet notwithstanding they refused, and proceeded to their sentence; and so condemned her to death.

After her condemnation, next was brought to examination *Robert Harrison*, who in like manner, because he stood in his denial, contrary witnesses again were produced, to wit, Christopher Grebil, William Rich, William Olberd, and Agnes Ive, who a little before had been abjured, and therefore were so much the more apt and applicable to serve the bishop's humour for danger of relapse. After the deposition and conviction of which witnesses, although he submitted himself to repentance and conformity, yet notwithstanding it would not be received, but sentence was read, and he condemned with the other two aforesaid to the fire.

And thus these three were condemned and burned, and certificate given up of them together, to the king, from Warham the archbishop, upon the same, anno 1511.

Besides these three martyrs, I find in the aforesaid registers of William Warham, two other martyrs also in the same year, and for the same twelve articles above specified, to be condemned upon the depositions of certain witnesses brought in against them. Whereupon they were adjudged likewise for heretics to be burned, the year aforesaid, 1511. The names of which two martyrs were *John Brown* and *Edward Walker*.

*The Martyrdom of LAUNCELOT, one of the King's Guards; JOHN, a Painter; and GILES GERMAN.*

About the year of our Lord 1539, one *John*, a painter, and *Giles German*, were accused of heresy; and whilst they were in examination at London before the bishop and other judges, by chance there came one of the king's servants, named *Launcelot*, a very tall man, and of no less godly mind and disposition than strong and tall of body.

This man, standing by, seemed by his countenance and gesture to favour both the cause and the poor men his friends. Whereupon he being apprehended, was examined and condemned together with them. And the next day, at five of the clock in the morning, was carried with them into St. Giles in the field, and there burned, there being but a small concourse or company of people at their death.

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*The Story of one STILE, Martyr.*

In the company and fellowship of these blessed saints and martyrs of Christ, which innocently suffered within the time of king Henry's reign, for the testimony of God's word and truth, another good man also was with like cruelty oppressed, and burned in Smithfield, about the latter end of Cuthbert Tonstal's time, bishop of London; whose name was called *Stile*, as Sir Robert Outred tells, who was at the same time present himself at his burning and martyrdom, and eyewitness of the same. With him there was burned also a book of the Apocalypse, which belike he was wont to read upon. This book when he saw fastened unto the stake to be burned with him, lifting up his voice, "O blessed Apocalypse, (said he,) how happy am I that I shall be burned with thee!" And so this good man and the blessed Apocalypse were both together consumed in the fire.

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JOHN BROWN, a blessed Martyr of Christ Jesus, burned at Ashford, by Archbishop Warham, and Dr. Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, about the second year of King Henry VIII.

The first occasion of the trouble of this *John Brown*, the blessed servant of God, was by a certain priest; who passing down to Gravesend in the common barge, where the said John Brown was amongst divers other passengers more, and disclaiming that he so saucily should sit so near unto him in the barge, at length bursting forth in his priestly voice and disdainful countenance, he asked him in this manner, Dost thou know (said he) who I am? Thou sittest too near me, and sittest on my clothes. No sir, (said the other,) I know not what you are. I tell thee, (quoth he,) I am a priest. What, sir, are you a parson or vicar, or some lady's chaplain? No, (quoth he again,) I am a soul priest, I sing for a soul. Do you so, sir, (said the other;) that is well done. I pray you sir, (said he,) where find you the soul when you go to mass? I cannot tell thee, (said the priest.) I pray you, where do you leave it, sir, when the mass is done? I cannot tell thee, (said the priest.) Neither can you tell where you find it when you go to mass, nor where you leave it when the mass is done, how can you then save the soul? (said he.) Go thy ways, (said the priest;) I perceive thou art an heretic, and I will be even with thee.

So at the landing, the priest taking with him Walter More and Wm. More, two gentlemen and brethren, rode straightways to the archbishop, who at that time was William Warham. Whereupon the said John Brown, within three days after, was sent for by the archbishop. Those who were sent, came suddenly into his house upon him, the same day when his wife was churched, as he was bringing in a mess of pottage to the serving of his guest; and so laying hands upon him, they set him upon his own horse, and binding his feet under the horse's belly, carried him away to Canterbury, neither he, nor his wife, nor any of his friends, knowing whither he went; and there continuing the space of forty days, from Low-Sunday till the Friday before Whitsunday: through the cruel handling of the said archbishop, and the Bishop of Rochester, Dr. Fisher, he was so piteously treated,

that his bare feet were set upon the hot burning coals, to make him deny his faith. Which notwithstanding he would not do, but patiently abiding the pain, continued in the Lord's quarrel unmovable. At length, after all this cruelty sustained, his wife yet not knowing where he was, on Friday before Whitsunday he was sent to Ashford, where he dwelt, the next day there to be burned.

In the mean time, as he was brought to the town over night, there to be set in the stocks, it happened, as God would, that a young maid of his house coming by, and seeing her master, ran home and told her mistress.

Then she coming to him, and finding him in the stocks, appointed to be burned the next morning, sat by him all the night long. To whom he declared the whole story or rather tragedy how he was handled, and how his feet were burned to the bones, by the two bishops aforesaid, that he could not set them upon the ground, (he thanked God therefore,) and all to make me (said he) to deny my Lord; which I will never do. For if I should deny him (said he) in this world, he would deny me hereafter: and therefore I pray thee, good Elizabeth, continue as thou hast begun, and bring up thy children virtuously in the fear of God.

And so the next day, which was on Whitsun-even, this godly martyr was burned; where he, standing at the stake, said this prayer which followeth, holding up his hands:

O Lord, I yield me to thy grace,  
Grant me mercy for my trespass:  
Let never the fiend my soul chase.  
Lord, I will bow, and thou shalt beat;  
Let never my soul come in hell's heat.

Into thy hand I commend my spirit; thou hast redeemed me, O Lord, of thy truth.

And so this blessed martyr ended his life in peace, anno 1511.

This story the said Elizabeth Brown, his wife, did oft-times repeat to Alice, his daughter, who dwelling in the parish of St. Pulehre's, testified the narration hereof unto me, and certain others, upon whose credible information I have recorded the same -- Fox, vol. 2. p. 551.

Furthermore, it is to be noted, that the said John Brown bare a faggot seven years before this, in the days of king Henry VII. Whose son also, named Richard Brown, for the like cause of religion, was imprisoned at Canterbury in the latter time of queen Mary, and should have been burned, with two more besides himself, the next day after the death of queen Mary, but that by the proclaiming of queen Elizabeth they escaped.

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*Here followeth the HISTORY, no less lamentable than notable, of WILLIAM GARDINER, an Englishman, suffering most valiantly in PORTUGAL, for the testimony of God's truth.*

Coming now to the year 1552, we will consider what was done in Portugal among the Popish merchants there, to a certain countryman of our's, named *William Gardiner*, a man verily in my judgment not only to be compared with the most principal and chief martyrs of these our days, but also such a one as the ancient churches in the time of the first persecutions cannot shew a more famous, whether we do behold the force of his faith, his firm and steadfast constancy, the invincible strength of his spirit, or the cruel and horrible torments, the report whereof were enough to put any man in horror.



Wherefore if any praise or dignity amongst men, as reason is, be due unto the martyrs of Christ, for their valiant acts, this one man amongst many seemeth worthy to be numbered, and also to be ranked in the church with Ignatius, Laurentius, Ciratius, Crescentius, and Gordianus. And if the church of Christ do receive so great and manifold benefits by these martyrs, with whose blood it is watered, by whose ashes it is enlarged, by whose constancy it is confirmed, by whose testimony it is witnessed, and finally, through whose agonies and victories the truth of the gospel doth gloriously triumph; let us not then think it any great matter to commit their glorious acts to memory, as a perpetual token of our goodwill towards that cause in and for which they suffered.

William Gardiner was of an honest stock, born at Bristol, honestly brought up, and by nature given unto gravity, of a mean stature of body, of a comely and pleasant countenance, but in no part so excellent as in the inward qualities of the mind, which he always from his childhood preserved without spot of reprehension. Also his extensive learning did not a little commend and beautify his other ornaments.

When he grew unto those years at which young men are accustomed to settle their minds to some kind of life, it happened that he gave himself to merchandise, under the conduct and guiding of a certain merchant of Bristol, called Mr. Paget, by whom he was at the last (being of the age of twenty-six years or thereabout) sent into Spain, and by chance the ship arriving at Lisbon, he tarried there about his merchandise, where at the last he having got understanding of the language, and being accustomed to their manners, became a profitable servant both to his master and others, in such things as pertained to trade; whereunto he did so apply himself, that nevertheless he in that Popish country, reserving still the religion of his own country of England, ever kept himself sound and undefiled from the Portuguese superstition. There were also besides him divers other good men in the same city. Neither did he lack good books, or the conference of good and honest men; unto whom he would oftentimes bewail his weakness, that he was neither sufficiently touched with the hatred of his sins, neither yet inflamed with the love of godliness.

Whilst he was there, it happened that there should be a solemn marriage celebrated the first of September, in the year aforesaid, betwixt the son of the king of Portugal and the Spanish king's daughter. The marriage day being come, there was great resort of the nobility and estates. There lacked no bishops with mitres, nor cardinals with hats, to set out this royal wedding. To be short, they went forward to the wedding with great pomp, where a great concourse of people resorted, some of good will, some for service sake, and some (as the manner is) to gaze and look. There was great preparation of all parties throughout the whole city, as in such cases is usual, and all places were filled with mirth and gladness.

In this great assembly of the whole kingdom, William Gardiner, although he did not greatly esteem such kind of spectacles, yet being allured through the fame and report thereof, was there also, coming thither early in the morning, to the intent he might have the better opportunity to hear and see.

The hour being come, they flocked into the church with great solemnity and pomp, the king first, and then every estate in order; the greater the persons, the more ceremonies were about them. After all things were set in order, they went forward to the celebrating of their masses. The cardinal did execute, with much singing and organ playing. The people stood with great devotion and silence, praying,

looking, kneeling, and knocking; their minds being fully bent and set, as it is the manner, upon the external sacrament.

How grievously these things did prick and move this young man's mind, it cannot be expressed; partly to behold the miserable absurdity of those things, and partly to see the folly of the common people, and not only of the common people, but especially to see the king himself, and his council, with so many sage and wise men as they seemed to be, seduced with like idolatry as the common people were; inso-much that it lacked very little, but that he would even that present day have done some notable thing in the king's sight and presence, but that the great press and through that was about him hindered him from coming to the altar.

When the ceremonies were ended, he came home very sad and heavy in his mind, inso-much that all his fellows marvelled greatly at him; who by divers conjectures conceived the cause of his sadness, notwithstanding they did not fully understand that those matters did so much trouble his godly mind; neither yet did he declare it unto any man, but seeking solitariness, falling down prostrate before God, with manifold tears he bewailed the neglecting of his duty, deliberating with himself how he might call that people from their impiety and superstition.

In this deliberation his mind being fully settled, and thinking that the matter ought not to be any longer deferred, he renounced the world, making up all his accounts so exactly, as well of that which was due unto him as that which he owed unto others, as no man could justly ask so much as one farthing. Which thing done, he continued night and day in prayer calling upon God, and continual meditation of the scriptures, that scarcely he would take any meat by day, or sleep by night, or at the most above one hour or two of rest in the night, as Pendigrace, his fellow companion both at bed and board, did testify.

The Sunday came, to be celebrated either with like pomp and solemnity, or not much less; where the said William was present early in the morning, very cleanly apparelled, even of purpose, that he might stand near the altar without repulse. Within a while after cometh the king with all his nobles. Then Gardiner setteth himself as near the altar as he might, having a Testament in his hand, the which he diligently read upon, and prayed, until the time was come that he had appointed to enter on his work. The mass began, which was then solemnized by a cardinal: yet he sat still. He who said mass proceeded, he consecrated, sacrificed, lifted up on high, shewed his god unto the people, and all the people gave great reverence: and as yet he stirred nothing. At the last they came unto that place of the mass where they used to take the ceremonial host, and toss it to and fro round about the chalice, making certain circles and semicircles.

Then the said William Gardiner, being not able to suffer any longer, ran speedily unto the cardinal, and even in the presence of the king and all his nobles and citizens, with the one hand he snatched away the cake from the priest, and trod it under his feet, and with the other hand overthrew the chalice. This matter at the first made them all abashed, but by and by there arose a great tumult, and the people began to cry out. The nobles and the common people ran together, amongst whom one drawing out his dagger gave him a great wound in his shoulder, and as he was about to strike him again to have slain him, the king twice commanded him to have him saved; so by that means they abstained from murder.

After the tumult was ceased, he was brought to the king

by whom he was demanded what countryman he was, and how he durst be so bold to work such a contumely against his majesty, and the sacraments of the church?—He answered, “Most noble king, I am not ashamed of my country; I am an Englishman both by birth and religion, and am come hither only for traffic; and when I saw in this famous assembly so great idolatry committed, my conscience neither ought, neither could any longer suffer, but that I must needs do that which you have seen me lately do. Which thing, most noble prince, was not done nor thought of me for any contumely or reproach of your presence, but only for this purpose, as before God I do clearly confess, to seek the salvation of this people.”

When they heard that he was an Englishman, and called to remembrance how the religion was restored by king Edward, they were by and by brought in suspicion that he was suborned by Englishmen thus to do, to mock and deride their religion. Wherefore they were the more earnest upon him, to know who was the author and procurer that he should commit that act. Unto whom he answered, desiring them that they would conceive no such suspicion of him, forasmuch as he was not moved thereunto by any man, but only by his own conscience. For otherwise there was no man under heaven for whose sake he would put himself into so manifest danger; but that he owed this service first unto God, and secondarily unto their salvation: wherefore, if he had done any thing which was unpleasant unto them, they ought to impute it unto no man, but unto themselves, who so irreverently used the holy supper of the Lord unto so great idolatry, not without the peril of their own souls, except they repented.

Whilst that he spake these, with many other things more unto this effect, very gravely and stoutly, the blood ran abundantly out of the wound, so that he was ready to faint; wherefore surgeons were sent for, whereby he might be cured if it were possible, and be reserved for further examination and more grievous torment. For they were fully persuaded that this deed had divers abettors and setters on: which was the cause that all the other Englishmen also in the same city of Lisbon came into suspicion, and were commanded to safe custody. Amongst whom, Pendigrace, because he was his bed-fellow, was grievously tormented and examined more than the rest, and scarcely was delivered after two years' imprisonment. The others were much sooner set at liberty, at the intercession of a certain duke. Notwithstanding, their suspicion could not yet be thus satisfied, but they came into his chamber to seek if there were any letters, to understand and find out the author of this enterprise. And when they could find nothing there, they came again unto him, being grievously wounded, with torments to extort of him the author of this fact, and to accuse him as guilty of the most grievous heresy. Of both which points, with such dexterity as he could, he cleared himself. Wherein although he spake in the Portuguese tongue well, yet he used the Latin tongue much more exactly.

But they not being therewith satisfied, added another strange kind of torment, which, as I suppose, passeth the bull of Phalaris: because there should no kind of extreme cruelty be left untried, they caused a piece of linen to be sewed round like a ball, which they with violence put down his throat unto the bottom of his stomach, tied with a small string, which they held in their hands; and when it was down, they pulled it up again with violence, so plucking it to and fro in such sort, as that with much less grief they might have rid him out of his life at once.

Thus at the last, when all torments and tormentors were

wearied, and that it did nothing at all prevail to go this way to work, they asked him, whether he did not repent his wicked and seditious deed? As touching the deed, he answered, that it was so far off that he did repent, that if it were to do again, he thought he should do the same. But as touching the manner of the deed, he was not a little sorry that it was done in the king's presence, to the disquietness of his mind. Howbeit, that was not to be imputed unto him, who neither enterprised nor thought upon any such matter, but was rather to be ascribed unto the king, in that he, having power, would not prohibit so great idolatry used among his people. This he spake with great fervency.

After they had used all kinds of torments, and saw that there could nothing more be gathered of him, and also that through his wounds and pains he could not live long, they brought him three days after to execution. And first of all, bringing him into the vestry, they cut off his right hand, which he, taking up with his left hand, kissed. Then he was brought into the market-place, where his other hand also was cut off; which he, kneeling down upon the ground, also kissed. These things thus done, after the manner and fashion of Spain, his arms being bound behind him, and his feet under the horse's belly, he was carried to the place of execution.

There was in that place a certain engine, from which a great rope coming down by a pulley, was fastened about the middle of this Christian martyr, which first pulled him up. Then was there a great pile of wood set on fire underneath him, into which he was by little and little let down, not with the whole body, but so that his feet only felt the fire. Then was he hoisted up, and so let down again into the fire, and thus oftentimes pulled up and down. In which great torment, for all that, he continued with a constant spirit, and the more terribly he was burned, the more vehemently he prayed.

At the last, when his feet were consumed, the tormentors asked him, whether he did not yet repent him of his deed? and exhorted him to call upon our Lady and the saints. Whereunto he answered, That as he had done nothing whereof he did repent, so had he the less need of the help of our Lady, or any other saint; and what external torment soever they used, the truth (he said) remaineth always one and like unto itself; the which as he had before confessed in his life, so would he not now deny at his death: desiring them to leave off such vanities and folly. For when Christ did cease to be any more our advocate, then he would pray to our Lady to be his advocate; and said, “O eternal God, Father of all mercies, I beseech thee look down upon thy servant,” &c. And when they sought by all means possible to stop or hinder his praying and praising God in this sort, he cried out with a loud voice, rehearsing the forty-third Psalm, “Judge me, O God, and defend my cause against the unmerciful people.”

He was not come to the latter end of the psalm, when as they pulling him up and down in the fire for the more torment, the rope being burnt asunder, he fell down in the midst thereof; where giving his body for a sacrifice, he changed his temporal pains for everlasting rest.

Thus it seemed good in the sight of God by this messenger to provoke the Portuguese to the sincere knowledge of him; and therefore they ought the more to have acknowledged the love and kindness of God offered unto them, and also the more to be mindful of their own duty and thankfulness towards him. And if it be so great an offence to violate the ordinance of man's law, and to condemn the ambassadors of kings and princes, let the Portuguese and all others

look well unto it, what it is so cruelly to handle the heavenly messenger of the high God.

Neither was this their cruelty altogether unrevengeed by the mighty hand of God, when not only the very same night, amongst divers of the king's ships which were in the haven ready to sail, one was burned, being set on fire by a sparkle of Gardiner's fire driven thither with the wind, but also the king's son, who then was married, died within half a year, and in the next year after the king himself also died, and so both within one year after the tormenting of this blessed martyr.

### QUEEN MARY'S COMING TO THE THRONE;

WITH

### THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF POPERY IN THE KINGDOM OF ENGLAND.

WHEN king Edward by long sickness began to appear more feeble, in the mean while a certain marriage was provided, and shortly also upon the same solemnized in the month of May, between the lord Gildford, son to the duke of Northumberland, and the lady Jane, the duke of Suffolk's daughter; whose mother being then alive, was daughter to Mary, king Henry the Seventh's sister, who first was married to the French king, and afterwards to Charles, duke of Suffolk. The marriage being ended, and the king waxing every day more weak, and there seeming no hope of his recovery, it was brought to pass, not only by the consent of the nobility, but also of the chief lawyers of the realm, that the king by his testament did appoint the aforesaid lady Jane, daughter to the duke of Suffolk, to be inheretrix unto the crown of England, passing over his two sisters, Mary and Elizabeth.

To this order subscribed all the king's council, and the chief of the nobility, the mayor, and the city of London, and almost all the judges and chief lawyers of this realm, saving only justice Hales, of Kent, a man both favouring true religion, and also an upright judge, as any that hath been noted in this realm, who giving his consent unto lady Mary, would in no case subscribe to lady Jane. The causes laid against lady Mary, were as well for that it was feared she would marry with a stranger, and thereby entangle the crown; as also that she would alter that religion, used both in king Henry her father's, and also in king Edward her brother's days, and so bring in the pope, to the utter destruction of the realm: which indeed afterwards came to pass, as by the sequel of this story shall appear.

When king Edward was dead, this Jane was established in the kingdom by the nobles' consent, and was forthwith proclaimed queen at London, and in other cities where there was any great resort, and was there so taken and named. Between this young damsel and king Edward there was little difference in age, though in learning and knowledge of the tongues, she was not only equal but also superior unto him, being instructed of a master right nobly learned. If her fortune had been as good as her bringing up, joined with the fineness of her understanding, undoubtedly she might have seemed comparable not only to the most celebrated Roman ladies, or to any other woman that deserved high praise for singular learning, but also to the university men, who have taken many degrees in the schools.

In the mean time, while these things were carried on at London, Mary, who had knowledge of her brother's death, wrote to the lords of the council as followeth:

### *A Letter of the Lady Mary, sent to the Lords of the Council, claiming the Crown after the Decease of King Edward.*

"My lords, we greet you well, and have received sure advertisement that our dearest brother, the king, our late sovereign lord, is departed to God's mercy; which news how woful they be unto our heart, he only knoweth to whose will and pleasure we must and do humbly submit us and our wills. But in this so lamentable a case, that is, to wit, now after his majesty's departure and death, concerning the crown and governance of this realm of England, with the title of France, and all things thereto belonging, what hath been provided by act of parliament, and the testament and last will of our dearest father, besides other circumstances advancing our right, you know, the realm, and the whole world knoweth, the rolls and records appear by the authority of the king our said father, and the king our said brother, and the subjects of this realm; so that we verily trust that there is no good true subject, that is, can, or would pretend to be ignorant thereof: and of our part we have of ourselves caused, and, as God shall aid and strengthen us, shall cause our right and title, in this behalf to be published and proclaimed accordingly. And albeit this so weighty a matter seemeth strange, that our said brother dying upon Thursday at night last past, we hitherto had no knowledge from you thereof: yet we consider your wisdoms and prudence to be such, that having oftsoons, amongst you debated, pondered, and well weighed this present case with our estate, with your own estate, the commonwealth, and all our honours, we shall and may conceive great hope and trust, with much assurance in your loyalty and service, and therefore for the time interpret and take things not to the worst; and that ye will, like noble men, work the best. Nevertheless, we are not ignorant of your consultations, to undo the provisions made for our preferment, nor of the great bands and provisions forcible, wherewith ye be assembled and prepared, by whom, and to what end, God and you know, and nature cannot but fear some evil. But be it, that some consideration politic, or whatsoever thing else, hath moved you thereto, yet doubt you not, my lords, but we can take all these your doings in a gracious part, being also right ready to remit and fully pardon the same, and that freely to eschew bloodshed and vengeance against all those that can or will intend the same; trusting also assuredly you will take and accept this grace and virtue in good part, as appertaineth, and that we shall not be enforced to use the service of other our true subjects and friends, which in this our just and right cause, God, in whom our whole alliance is, shall send us. Wherefore, my lords, we require you and charge you, and every of you, that of your allegiance which you owe to God and us, and to none other, for our honour and the surety of our person only employ yourselves, and forthwith upon receipt hereof cause our right and title to the crown and government of this realm to be proclaimed in our city of London, and other places, as to your wisdom shall seem good, and as to this case appertaineth, not failing hereof, as our very trust is in you. And this our letter, signed with our hand, shall be your sufficient warrant in this behalf.

"Given under our signet, at our manor of Kening-hall, the 9th of July, 1553."

To this letter of the lady Mary, the lords of the council made answer again as followeth:

### *Answer of the Lords unto Lady Mary's Letter.*

"Madam, we have received your letters the 9th of this instant, declaring your supposed title, which you judge your-

self to have to the imperial crown of this realm, and all the dominions thereunto belonging. For answer whereof, this is to advertise you, that forasmuch as our sovereign lady queen Jane is, after the death of our sovereign lord Edward the Sixth, a prince of most noble memory, invested and possessed with the just and right title in the imperial crown of this realm, not only by good order of old ancient laws of this realm, but also by our late sovereign lord's letter patent, signed with his own hand, and sealed with the great seal of England, in presence of the most part of the nobles, counsellors, judges, with divers other grave and sage personages, assenting and subscribing to the same: We must therefore, as of most bounden duty and allegiance, assent unto her said grace, and to none other, except we should (which faithful subjects cannot) fall into grievous and unspeakable enormities. Wherefore we can no less do, but for the quiet both of the realm and you also, to advertise you, that forasmuch as the divorce, made between the king of famous memory, king Henry VIII. and the lady Katharine, your mother, was necessary to be had both by the everlasting laws of God, and also by the ecclesiastical laws, and by the most part of the noble and learned universities of Christendom, and confirmed also by the sundry acts of parliament's remaining yet in their force, and thereby you justly made illegitimate and unhereditary to the crown imperial of this realm, and the rules, and dominions, and possessions of the same; you will, upon just consideration hereof, and of divers other causes lawful to be alleged for the same, and for that just inheritance of the right line and godly order taken by the late king our sovereign lord king Edward the sixth, and agreed upon by the nobles and great personages aforesaid, cease by any pretence to vex and molest any of our sovereign lady queen Jane her subjects from their true faith and allegiance due unto her grace: Assuring you, that if you will for respect shew yourself quiet and obedient, (as you ought,) you shall find us all and several ready to do you any service that we with duty may, and glad with your quietness to preserve the common state of this realm, wherein you may be otherwise grievous unto us, to yourself, and to them. And thus we bid you most heartily well to fare. From the Tower of London, in this 9th of July, 1553.

"Your Ladyship's friends,  
(shewing yourself an obedient subject,)

"Thomas Canterbury,  
The Marquis of  
Winchester,  
John Bedford,  
William Northampton,  
Thomas Ely, chancellor,  
Northumberland,  
Henry Suffolk,  
Henry Arundel,  
Shrewsbury,  
Pembroke,  
Cobham,

R. Rich,  
Huntingdon,  
Darcy,  
Cheyney,  
R. Cotton,  
John Gates,  
W. Peter,  
W. Cecill,  
John Check,  
John Mason,  
Edward North,  
R. Bowes."

After she received this answer, lady Mary went secretly away from the city, hoping chiefly upon the good-will of the commons, and yet perchance not destitute altogether of the secret advertisements of some of the nobles. When the council heard of her sudden departure, they gathered speedily a power of men together, appointing an army, and first assigned that the duke of Suffolk should take that enterprise in hand, and so have the leading of the band. But afterwards altering their minds, they thought it best to send forth

the duke of Northumberland, with certain other lords and gentlemen, and that the duke of Suffolk should keep the Tower, where the lord Guilford and the lady Jane the same time were lodged.

These things being thus agreed upon, the duke then set forward after the best array out of London, having, notwithstanding, his times prescribed and his journey appointed by the council, to the intent he might not seem to do any thing but upon warrant.

Mary, in the mean while, tossed with much travel up and down, to work the surest way for her best advantage, withdrew herself into Norfolk and Suffolk, where she understood the duke's name to be had in much hatred for the service that had been done there of late under king Edward, in subduing the rebels, and there gathering to her such aid of the commons on every side as she might, keeping herself close for a space within Frenningham castle. To whom first of all the Suffolk men resorted, who being always forward in promoting the proceedings of the gospel, promised her their aid and help, so that she would not attempt any alteration of the religion which her brother king Edward had before established, by laws, and orders publicly enacted, and received by the consent of the whole realm in that behalf.

Unto this condition she soon agreed, with such promises made unto them that no innovation should be made of religion, as that no man would or could then have doubted her.

Thus Mary being guarded with the power of the gossellers, did vanquish the duke, and all those that came with him. In consideration whereof it was an heavy word that she answered to the Suffolk men afterwards, who did make supplication to her grace to perform her promise: "Forso-much, (saith she,) as you being but members, desire to rule your head, you shall one day well perceive that members must obey their head, and not look to bear rule over the same." And not only that, but also to cause the more terror unto others, a certain gentleman named Mr. Dobbe, dwelling at Wyndam, for the same cause, that is, for advertising her, by humble request, of her promise, was punished; being three sundry times set on the pillory, to be a gazing-stock unto all men. Divers others delivered her books and supplications made out of the scripture, to exhort her to continue in the true doctrine then established; and for their good will were sent to prison. But such is the condition of man's nature, that we are for the most part more ready always to seek friendship when we stand in need of help, than ready to requite a benefit once past and received. Howbeit, against all this one sheet-anchor we have, which may be a sure comfort to all miserable creatures, that equity and fidelity are ever perfect and certainly found with the Lord above, though the same, being shut out of the doors in this world, be not to be found among men.

The greatest help that made for the lady Mary, was the short journeys of the duke of Northumberland, which by commission were assigned to him before as is above mentioned. For the longer the duke lingered in his journey, the lady Mary more increased in power, the hearts of the people being mightily bent unto her. Which after the council at London perceived, and understood how the common multitude did withdraw their hearts from them to stand with her, and that certain noblemen began to go the other way, they turned their song, and proclaimed for queen the lady Mary, eldest daughter to king Henry VIII. and appointed by parliament to succeed king Edward, dying without issue.

And so the duke of Northumberland was left destitute and forsaken, alone at Cambridge with some of his sons and a few others, among whom the earl of Huntingdon was one

who there were arrested and brought to the Tower of London, as traitors to the crown, notwithstanding that he had there proclaimed her queen before.

Thus have ye Mary now made a queen, and the sword of authority put into her hand, which how she afterwards did use, we may see in the sequel of this book. Therefore, when she had been thus advanced by the gospellers, and saw all in quiet by means that her enemies were conquered, sending before her the duke captive to the Tower the 25th of July, she followed not long after, being brought up the 3d day of August to London, with the great rejoicing of many.

Coming to London, her first lodging she took at the Tower, where the aforesaid lady Jane, with her husband the lord Guilford, a little before her coming, were imprisoned; where they remained waiting her pleasure almost five months. But the duke, within a month after his coming to the Tower, being adjudged to death, was brought forth to the scaffold, and there beheaded.

Thus the duke of Northumberland, with sir John Gates and sir Thomas Palmer, being put to death; in the mean time, queen Mary entering thus her reign with the blood of these men, besides hearing mass herself in the Tower, gave full evidence, especially by the sudden delivering of Stephen Gardiner out of the Tower, that she was not minded to stand to that which she so deeply had promised to the Suffolk men before, concerning the not subverting or altering the state of religion; as in very deed the surmise of the people was therein nothing deceived.

About this time, Bonner, bishop of London, who had been degraded in king Edward's days, being restored, appointed Mr. Bourne, a canon of St. Paul's, to preach at the cross, who afterward was bishop of Bath; he taking occasion of the gospel of that day to speak something largely in justifying of Bonner, being then present; which Bonner, said he, upon the same text in that place, that day four years had preached before, and was upon the same most cruelly and unjustly cast into the most vile dungeon of the Marshalsea, and there kept during the time of king Edward. His words sounded so evil in the ears of the hearers, that they could not keep silence, and began to murmur and to stir in such sort, that the mayor and aldermen feared much an uproar. But the truth is, that one hurled a dagger at the preacher; but who it was could not then be proved, although afterward it was known. In fine, the stir was such, that the preacher plucked in his head, and durst no more appear in that place. The matter of his sermon tended much to the derogation and dispraise of king Edward, which thing the people in no case could abide. Then Mr. Bradford, at the request of the preacher's brother and others, then being in the pulpit, stood forth and spake so mildly, christianly, and effectually, that with few words he appeased all; and afterward he and Mr. Rogers conducted the preacher betwixt them from the pulpit to the grammar-school door, where they left him safe. But shortly after they were both rewarded with long imprisonment, and last of all, with fire in Smithfield.

By reason of this tumult at Paul's cross, an order was taken by the lords of the council with the mayor and aldermen of London, that they calling the next day following a common council of the city, should thereby charge every householder to cause their children, apprentices, and other servants, to keep their own parish churches upon the holidays, and not to suffer them to attempt any thing to the violating of the common peace; willing them also to signify to the said assembly the queen's determination uttered unto them by her highness the 12th of August, in the Tower. Which was, although her grace's conscience is stayed in the

matters of religion, yet she graciously meant not to compel or strain other men's consciences otherwise than God shall, as she trusted, put in their hearts a persuasion of the truth that she is in, through the opening of his word unto them, by godly, virtuous, and learned preachers, &c.

Also, it was then ordered, that every alderman in his ward should forthwith send for the curates of every parish within their liberties, and warn them not only to forbear to preach themselves, but also not to suffer any other to preach, or make any open or solemn reading of the scripture in their churches, unless the said preachers were severally licensed by the queen.

After this sermon at Paul's cross, the next day the queen's guard was at the cross with their weapons, to guard the preacher. And when men withdrew themselves from the sermon, order was taken by the mayor, that the ancients of all companies should be present, lest the preacher should be discouraged by his small auditory.

During this and the following month, (August and September, 1553,) many persons were taken up and imprisoned, for speaking against Mr. Bourne's sermon preached at St. Paul's cross.

The first day of October, queen Mary was crowned at Westminster; and the tenth day of the same month of October then following, began the parliament with the solemn mass of the Holy Ghost, after the Popish manner, celebrated with great pomp in the palace of Westminster. To which mass, among the other lords (according to the manner) should come the bishops which yet remained undeposed, which were, the archbishop of York, Dr. Taylor, bishop of Lincoln, John Harley, bishop of Hereford. Of the bishops, Dr. Taylor and Mr. Harley presenting themselves according to their duty, and taking their place amongst the lords, after they saw the mass begin, not abiding the sight thereof, withdrew themselves from the company: for which cause the bishop of Lincoln being examined, and protesting his faith, was upon the same commanded to attend; who not long after died at Ankerwife. Mr. Harley, because he was married, was excluded both from the parliament and from his bishopric.

Mass being done, the queen, accompanied with the estates of the realm, was brought into the parliament house, there according to the manner to enter and begin the consultation. At which consultation or parliament were repealed all statutes made in the time of king Henry the Eighth for *Præmunire*, and statutes made in king Edward the Sixth's time for administration of common prayer and the sacrament in the English tongue; and, furthermore, the attainder of the duke of Northumberland was by this parliament confirmed. In this mean while many men were forward in erecting of altars and masses in churches. And such as would stick to the laws made in king Edward's time, till others should be established, some of them were marked, and some presently apprehended. Among whom, sir James Hales, a knight of Kent, and justice of the Common Pleas, was one: who, notwithstanding he had ventured his life in queen Mary's cause, in that he would not subscribe to the unimbering of her by the king's will, yet for that he did at a quarter sessions give charge upon the statutes made in the time of king Henry VIII. and Edward VI. for the supremacy and religion, he was imprisoned in the Marshalsea, Compter, and Fleet, and so cruelly handled and put in fear by talk that the warden of the Fleet used to have in his hearing, of such torments as were in preparing for heretics, or for what other cause God knoweth, that he sought to rid himself out of this life by wounding himself with a knife; and afterward was con-



tented to say as they willed him. Whereupon he was discharged : but after that he never rested till he had drowned himself in a river, half a mile from his house in Kent.

During the time of this parliament, the clergy likewise, after their wonted manner, had a convocation, with a disputation also, appointed by the queen's commandment, at Paul's church in London, the same time, which was about the 18th of October. In which convocation, first Mr. John Harpsfield, bachelor of divinity, made a sermon *ad clerum*, the 16th of October. After the sermon done, it was assigned by the bishops, that they of the clergy-house, for avoiding confusion of words, should choose them a prolocutor : to which office by common assent was named Dr. Weston, dean of Westminster.

After these things thus sped in the convocation house, they proceeded next to the disputation appointed, as is above said, by the queen's commandment, about the matter of the sacrament ; which disputation continued six days. Wherein Dr. Weston was chief on the pope's part, who behaved himself outrageously in taunting and checking. In conclusion, such as disputed on the contrary part were obliged some to flee, some to deny, and some to die, though to the most men's judgments that heard the disputation, they had the upper hand.

In the days of king Henry, and also king Edward reigning after him, divers noblemen, bishops, and others, were cast into the Tower, some charged with treason, as lord Courtney and the duke of Norfolk ; some for the pope's supremacy, and suspicious letters tending to sedition, as Tonstal, bishop of Durham ; and others, for other things ; all which continued there prisoners till queen Mary's coming in. Unto whom the said queen soon granted their pardon, and restored them to their former dignities. Amongst whom also was Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, whom she not only freed out of captivity, but also advanced him to be high chancellor of England. Furthermore, to the lord Courtney she shewed such favour, that she made him earl of Devonshire, insomuch that there was a suspicion amongst many that she would marry him ; but that proved otherwise.

We have seen before, that Bonner, who had been prisoner in the Marshalsea, was delivered by queen Mary, and restored to the bishopric of London again ; Dr. Ridley, with divers other good bishops more, being deposed ; as Cranmer from Canterbury, the archbishop of York likewise, Poynt from Winchester, John Hooper from Worcester, Barlow from Bath, Harley from Hereford, Taylor from Lincoln, Farrar from St. David's, Coverdale from Exeter, Scorie from Chichester, &c. with a great number of archdeacons, deans, and briefly, all such beneficed men who either were married, or would constantly adhere to their profession. All which were removed from their livings, and other of the contrary sect put in the same, as cardinal Pole, Gardiner, Heath, White, Day, Troublefield, &c.

And as touching Cranmer, forso much as there was rumour spread of him the same time in London that he had recanted, and caused mass to be said at Canterbury ; for purging of himself, he published abroad a declaration of his truth and constancy in that behalf, protesting that he neither had so done, nor minded so to do. Adding, moreover, that if it would so please the queen, he, with Peter Martyr, and certain other whom he would choose, would in open disputation sustain the cause of the doctrine taught and set forth before in the time of king Edward, against all persons whomsoever. But while he was in expectation to have this disputation obtained, he, with other bishops, were laid fast in the Tower, and Peter Martyr permitted to depart to Strasburgh.

After this, in the month of November, the archbishop Cranmer, notwithstanding he had earnestly refused to subscribe to the king's will in disinheriting his sister Mary, alleging many grave and pithy reasons for her legitimation, was in the Guildhall of London arraigned and attainted of treason, with the lady Jane, and three of the duke of Northumberland's sons : which, at the entreaty of certain persons, were had again to the Tower, and there kept for a time. All which notwithstanding, Cranmer being pardoned of treason, stood only in the action and case of doctrine, which they called heresy, whereof he was right glad and joyful.

This being done in November, the people, and especially the churchmen, perceiving the queen so eagerly set upon her old religion, they likewise for their parts, to shew themselves no less forward to serve the queen's appetite, (as the manner is of the multitude, commonly to frame themselves after the humour of the prince and time present,) began in their choirs to set up the pageant of St. Katharine and of St. Nicholas, and of their processions, in Latin.

And when the month of December was come, the parliament broke up ; but, first of all, such statutes were repealed which were made either of *Præsumptio*, or touched any alteration of religion and administration of sacraments, under king Edward. In which parliament also communication was moved of the queen's marriage with king Philip, the emperor's son.

In this mean while, cardinal Pole being sent for by queen Mary, was by the emperor requested to stay with him, to the intent, as some think, that his presence in England should not be a hinderance to the marriage which he intended between Philip his son and queen Mary. For the making whereof he sent a most ample embassy, with full power to make up the marriage betwixt them ; which took such success, that after they had communed of the matters a few days, they knit up the knot.

The 12th day of February, 1554, was beheaded the lady Jane, to whom was sent Mr. Fecknam, alias Howman, from the queen, two days before her death, to commune with her, and to reduce her from the doctrine of Christ to queen Mary's religion. Which communication here followeth :

*Fecknam.* Madam, I lament your heavy case, and yet I doubt not but that you bear out this sorrow of your's with a constant and patient mind.

*Jane.* You are welcome unto me, sir, if your coming be to give Christian exhortation. And as for my heavy case, I thank God, I do so little lament it, that rather I account the same for a more manifest declaration of God's favour toward me, than ever he shewed me at any time before. And therefore there is no cause why either you, or other which bear me good-will, should lament or be grieved with this my case, being a thing so profitable for my soul's health.

*Feck.* I am here come to you at this present, sent from the queen and her council, to instruct you in the true doctrine of the right faith ; although I have so great confidence in you, that I shall have, I trust, little need to travel with you much therein.

*Jane.* Forsooth, I heartily thank the queen's highness, which is not unkindful of her humble subject ; and I hope likewise that you no less will do your duty therein both truly and faithfully, according to that you were sent for.

*Feck.* What is then required of a Christian man ?

*Jane.* That he should believe in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three Persons and one God.

*Feck.* What ! is there nothing else to be required or looked for in a Christian, but to believe in him ?

*Jane.* Yes, we must love him with all our heart, with all our soul, and with all our mind, and our neighbour as ourself.

*Feck.* Why, then faith justifieth not, nor saveth not.

*Jane.* Yes, verily, faith, as Paul saith, only justifieth.

*Feck.* Why, St. Paul saith, "If I have all faith without love, it is nothing."

*Jane.* True, it is: for how can I love him whom I trust not? or how can I trust him whom I love not? Faith and love go both together, and yet love is comprehended in faith.

*Feck.* How shall we love our neighbour?

*Jane.* To love our neighbour, is to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, and give drink to the thirsty, and to do to him as we would do to ourselves.

*Feck.* Why, then, it is necessary unto salvation to do good works also, and it is not sufficient only to believe.

*Jane.* I deny that, and I affirm that faith only saveth; but it is meet for a Christian, in token that he followeth his master, Christ, to do good works: yet may we not say that they profit to our salvation; for when we have done all, yet we be unprofitable servants, and faith only in Christ's blood saveth us.

*Feck.* How many sacraments are there?

*Jane.* Two: the one the sacrament of baptism, and the other the sacrament of the Lord's supper.

*Feck.* No, there are seven.

*Jane.* By what scripture find you that?

*Feck.* Well, we will talk of that hereafter. But what is signified by your two sacraments?

*Jane.* By the sacrament of baptism I am washed with water, and regenerated by the Spirit, and that washing is a token to me that I am a child of God. The sacrament of the Lord's supper offered unto me, is a sure seal and testimony that I am, by the blood of Christ which he shed for me on the cross, made partaker of the everlasting kingdom.

*Feck.* Why, what do you receive in that sacrament? Do you not receive the very body and blood of Christ?

*Jane.* No, surely, I do not so believe. I think that at the supper I neither receive flesh nor blood, but bread and wine; which bread when it is broken, and the wine when it is drunken, putteth me in remembrance how that for my sins the body of Christ was broken and his blood shed on the cross, and with that bread and wine I receive the benefits that come by the breaking of his body, and shedding of his blood, for our sins on the cross.

*Feck.* Why, doth not Christ speak these words, "Take, eat, this is my body?" Require you any plainer words? Doth he not say it is his body?

*Jane.* I grant he saith so; and so he saith, "I am the Vine, I am the Door:" but he is never the more the door nor the vine. Doth not St. Paul say, "He calleth things that are not, as though they were?" God forbid that I should say, that I eat the very natural body and blood of Christ: for then either I should pluck away my redemption, or else there were two bodies, or two Christs. One body was tormented on the cross, and if they did eat another body, then had he two bodies; or if his body were eaten, then was it not broken upon the cross; or if it were broken upon the cross, it was not eaten of his disciples.

*Feck.* Why, is it not as possible that Christ by his power could make his body both to be eaten and broken, and to be born of a Virgin, as to walk upon the sea, having a body; and other such like miracles as he wrought by his power only?

*Jane.* Yes, verily, if God would have done at his supper

any miracle, he might have done so: but I say, that then he minded no work nor miracle, but only to break his body, and shed his blood on the cross, for our sins. But I pray you to answer me this one question: Where was Christ when he said, "Take, eat, this is my body?" Was he not at the table when he said so? he was at that time alive, and suffered not till the next day. What took he but bread? what brake he but bread? and what gave he but bread? Look, what he took he brake; look, what he brake he gave; and look, what he gave they did eat: yet all this while he himself was alive, and at supper before his disciples, or else they were deceived.

*Feck.* You ground your faith upon such authors as say and unsay both in a breath, and not upon the church, to whom ye ought to give credit.

*Jane.* No, I ground my faith on God's holy word, and not upon the church. For if the church be a good church, the faith of the church must be tried by God's word, and not God's word by the church, either yet my faith. Shall I believe the church because of antiquity? or shall I give credit to the church that taketh away from me the half part of the Lord's supper, and will not let any man receive it in both kinds? Which things, if they deny to us, then deny they to us part of our salvation. And I say, that it is an evil church, and not the spouse of Christ, but the spouse of the devil, that altereth the Lord's supper, and both taketh from it and addeth to it. To that church, say I, God will add plagues, and from that church will he take their part out of the book of life. Do they learn that of St. Paul, when he ministered to the Corinthians in both kinds? Shall I believe this church? God forbid.

*Feck.* That was done for a good intent of the church, to avoid an heresy that sprang on it.

*Jane.* Why, shall the church alter God's will and ordinance for good intent? How did king Saul? The Lord God defend.

With these and such like persuasions he would have had her lean to the church; but it would not be. There were many more things wherof they reasoned, but these were the chiefest.

After this, Fecknam took his leave, saying, that he was sorry for her: for I am sure, (quoth he,) that we two shall never meet.

*Jane.* True it is, (said she,) that we shall never meet, except God turn your heart. For I am assured, unless you repent and turn to God, you are in an evil case: and I pray God, in the bowels of his mercy, to send you his holy Spirit; for he hath given you his great gift of utterance, if it please him also to open the eyes of your heart.

The following letters of this most amiable woman should not be lost. They contain strong sense and sound piety; and must be highly acceptable to all who fear and love God.

#### *A Letter of Lady Jane, sent unto her Father.*

"Father, although it hath pleased God to hasten my death by you, by whom my life should rather have been lengthened: yet can I so patiently take it, as I yield God more hearty thanks for shortening my woful days, than if all the world had been given unto my possession, with life lengthened at my own will. And albeit I am well assured of your impatient dolours, redoubled manifold ways, both in bewailing your own wo, and especially (as I hear) my unfortunate state; yet, my dear father, if I may without offence rejoice in my own mishaps, meseems in this I may account myself blessed, that washing my hands with the innocency

of my fact, my guiltless blood may cry before the Lord, Mercy to the innocent. And yet, though I must needs acknowledge, that being constrained, and, as you wot well enough, continually assayed, in taking upon me, I seemed to consent, and therein grievously offended the queen and her laws: yet do I assuredly trust, that this my offence towards God is so much the less, in that, being in so royal estate as I was, mine enforced honour blended never with mine innocent heart. And thus, good father, I have opened unto you the state wherein I at present stand. Whose death at hand, although to you perhaps it may seem woful, to me there is nothing that can be more welcome, than from this vale of misery to aspire to that heavenly throne of all joy and pleasure with Christ our Saviour. In whose steadfast faith (if it may be lawful for the daughter so to write to the father) the Lord that hitherto hath strengthened you, so continue you, that at the last we may meet in heaven with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost."

At what time her father was flourishing in freedom and prosperity in the time of king Edward, there belonged unto him a certain learned man, student and graduate of the university of Oxford; who then being chaplain to the said duke, and a sincere preacher, as he appeared, of the gospel, according to the doctrine of that time set forth and received, shortly after that the state of religion began to alter by queen Mary, altered also in his profession with the time, and of a Protestant became a friend and defender of the pope's proceedings. At whose sudden mutation and unconstant mutability, this Christian lady being not a little grieved, and most of all lamenting the dangerous state of his soul, in sliding so away for fear from the way of truth, writeth her mind unto him in a sharp and vehement letter; which, as it appeareth to proceed of an earnest and zealous heart, so would God it might take such effect with him, as to reduce him to repentance, and to take better hold again for the health and wealth of his own soul. The copy of the letter is this as followeth:

*Another Letter of the Lady Jane, to Mr. Harding, late Chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk, her father, and then fallen from the truth of God's most holy word.—A solemn warning to Backsliders of all sorts.*

"So oft as I call to mind the dreadful and fearful saying of God, "that he which hold layeth upon the plough, and looketh back, is not meet for the kingdom of heaven;" and, on the other side, the comfortable words of our Saviour Christ to all those that, forsaking themselves, do follow him: I cannot but marvel at thee, and lament thy case, which seemed some time to be the lively member of Christ, but now the deformed imp of the devil; some time the beautiful temple of God, but now the stinking and filthy kennel of Satan; some time the unspotted spouse of Christ, but now the unshameful paramour of Antichrist; some time my faithful brother, but now a stranger and apostate; some time a stout Christian soldier, but now a cowardly runaway. Yea, when I consider these things, I cannot but speak to thee, and cry out upon thee, Thou seed of Satan, and not of Judah, whom the devil hath deceived, the world hath beguiled, and the desire of life subverted, and made thee of a Christian an infidel. Wherefore hast thou taken the testament of the Lord in thy mouth? Wherefore hast thou preached the law and the will of God to others? Wherefore hast thou instructed others to be strong in Christ, when thou thyself dost now so shamefully shrink, and so horribly abuse the testament and law of the Lord? when thou thyself preaches not to steal,

yet most abominably stealest, not from men, but from God, and committing most heinous sacrilege, robbest Christ thy Lord of his right members, thy body and soul, and choosest rather to live miserably with shame in the world, than to die, and gloriously with honour reign with Christ, in whom even in death is life. Why dost thou now shew thyself most weak, when indeed thou oughtest to be most strong? The strength of a fort is unknown before the assault, but thou yieldst thy hold before any battery be made. O wretched and unhappy man, what art thou but dust and ashes? and wilt thou resist thy Maker that fashioned thee and framed thee? Wilt thou now forsake him, that called thee from the custom-gathering among the Romish Antichristians, to be an ambassador and messenger of his eternal word? He that first framed thee, and since thy first creation and birth preserved thee, nourished and kept thee, yea, and inspired thee with the spirit of knowledge, (I cannot say of grace,) shall he not now possess thee? Darest thou deliver up thyself to another, being not thine own, but his? How canst thou, having knowledge, or how darest thou, neglect the law of the Lord, and follow the vain traditions of men; and whereas thou hast been a public professor of his name, become now a defacer of his glory? Wilt thou refuse the true God, and worship the invention of man, the golden calf, the whore of Babylon, the Romish religion, the abominable idol, the most wicked mass? Wilt thou torment again, rend, and fear, the most precious body of our Saviour Christ with thy bodily and fleshly teeth? Wilt thou take upon thee to offer up any sacrifice unto God for our sins, considering that Christ offered up himself, as Paul saith, upon the cross, a lively sacrifice once for all? Can neither the punishment of the Israelites, which for their idolatry they so oft received, nor the terrible threatenings of the prophets, nor the curses of God's own mouth, fear thee to honour any other god than him? Dost thou so regard him that spared not his dear and only Son for thee, so diminishing, yea, utterly extinguishing his glory, that thou wilt attribute the praise and honour due unto him to the idols; which have mouths and speak not, eyes and see not, ears and hears not; which shall perish with them that made them?

"What saith the prophet Baruch, where he recited the epistle of Jeremy written to the captive Jews? Did he not forewarn them, that in Babylon they should see gods of gold, silver, wood, and stone, borne upon men's shoulders, to cast a fear before the heathen? But be not ye afraid of them, (saith Jeremy,) nor do as others do. But when you see others worship them, say you in your hearts, It is thou, O Lord, that oughtest only to be worshipped: for as for those gods, the carpenter framed them and polished them; yea, gilded be they, and laid over with silver and vain things, and cannot speak. He sheweth, moreover, the abuse of their dealings, how the priests took off their ornaments, and apparelled their women withal; how one holdeth a sceptre, another a sword in his hand, and yet can they judge in no matter, nor defend themselves, much less any other, from either battle or murder, nor yet from gnawing of worms, nor any other evil thing. These and such like words speaketh Jeremy unto them, whereby he proveth them to be but vain things, and no gods. And at last he concludeth thus, Confounded be all they that worship them. They were warned by Jeremy, and thou as Jeremy hast warned others, and art warned thyself by many scriptures in many places: God saith, he is a jealous God, which will have all honour, glory, and worship, given to him only. And Christ saith, in the fourth of Luke, to Satan which tempted him, even to the same Belzebub, the same devil, which prevailed against

thee, 'It is written, (saith he,) 'Thou shalt honour the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.'

'These and such like do prohibit thee and all Christians to worship any other God than which was before all worlds, and laid the foundations both of heaven and earth. And wilt thou honour a detestable idol invented by Romish popes, and the abominable college of crafty cardinals? Christ offered himself up once for all, and wilt thou offer him up again daily at thy pleasure? But thou wilt say, thou dost it for a good intent. O sinner of sin! O child of perdition! dost thou dream therein of a good intent, where thy conscience beareth thee witness of God's threatened wrath against thee? How did Saul, who for that he disobeyed the word of the Lord for a good intent, was thrown from his worldly and temporal kingdom? Shalt thou then, that dost deface God's honour, and rob him of his right, inherit the eternal and heavenly kingdom? Wilt thou for a good intent dishonour God, offend thy brother, and danger thy soul, wherefore Christ hath shed his most precious blood? Wilt thou for a good intent pluck Christ out of heaven, and make his death void, and deface the triumph of his cross, by offering him up daily? Wilt thou, either for fear of death, or hope of life, deny and refuse thy God, who enriched thy poverty, healed thy infirmity, and yielded to thee his victory, if thou couldest have kept it? Dost thou not consider, that the thread of thy life hangeth upon him that made thee, who can, as his will is, either twine it harder to last the longer, or untwine it again to break the sooner? Dost thou not remember the saying of David, a notable king, to teach thee, a miserable wretch, in his 104th Psalm, where he saith thus: 'When thou takest away thy spirit, O Lord, from men, they die, and are turned again to their dust; but when thou testest thy breath go forth, they shall be made, and thou shalt renew the face of the earth.' Remember the saying of Christ in his gospel, 'Whosoever seeketh to save his life, shall lose it: but whosoever will lose his life for my sake, shall find it.' And in the same place, 'Whosoever loveth father or mother above me, is not meet for me. He that will follow me, let him forsake himself, and take up his cross, and follow me.' What cross? The cross of infamy and shame, of misery and poverty, of affliction and persecution, for his name sake. Let the oft falling of those heavenly showers pierce thy stony heart. Let the two-edged sword of God's holy word shear asunder the sinews of worldly respect, even to the very marrow of thy carnal heart, that thou mayest once again forsake thyself, and embrace Christ. And like as good subjects will not refuse to hazard all in the defence of their earthly and temporal governor, so fly not like a white-livered milksop from the standing wherein thy chief Captain, Christ, hath set thee in array of this life. *Viriliter age, confortetur cor tuum sustine Dominum.* Fight manfully, come life, come death: the quarrel is God's, and undoubtedly the victory is ours.

'But thou wilt say, 'I will not break unity.' What! not the unity of Satan and his members! not the unity of darkness, the agreement of Antichrist and his adherents! Nay, thou deceivest thyself with a fond imagination of such an unity as is among the enemies of Christ. Were not the false prophets in an unity? Were not Joseph's brethren and Jacob's sons in an unity? Were not the Heathen, as the Amalekites, the Perizzites, and the Jebusites, in an unity? Were not the Scribes and Pharisees in an unity? Doth not king David testify, *Concenerunt in unum adversus Dominum?* Yea, thieves, murderers, conspirators, have their unity. But what unity? Truly saith of amity, *Amicitia non est, nisi inter bonos.* But mark, my friend, yea, friend, if thou be not

God's enemy: There is no unity, but where Christ knitteth the knot among such as be his. Yea, be well assured, that where his truth is resident, there it is verified that he himself saith, *Non veni mittere pacem in terram, sed gladium, &c.* but to set one against another, the son against the father, and the daughter against the mother-in-law. Deceive not thyself therefore with the glittering and glorious name of *Unity*; for Antichrist hath his unity, yet not in deed, but in name: the agreement of ill men is not an unity, but a conspiracy. Thou hast heard some threatenings, some cursings, and some admonitions, out of the scripture, to those that love themselves above Christ. Thou hast heard also the sharp and biting words to those that deny him for love of life: Saith he not, 'He that denieth me before men, I will deny him before my Father in heaven?' And to the same effect writeth Paul, Heb. vi. 'It is impossible, saith he, that they which were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift, and were partakers of the Holy Ghost, and have tasted of the good word of God, if they fall and slide away, crucifying to themselves the Son of God afresh, and making of him a mocking-stock, should be renewed again by repentance.' And again saith he, 'If we shall willingly sin after we have received the knowledge of his truth, there is no oblation left for sin, but the terrible expectation of judgment, and fire which shall devour the adversaries.' Thus St. Paul writeth, and thus thou readest; and dost thou not quake and tremble?

'Well, if these terrible and thundering threatenings cannot stir thee to cleave unto Christ, and forsake the world; yet let the sweet consolations and promises of the scriptures, let the example of Christ and his apostles, holy martyrs and confessors, encourage thee to take faster hold of Christ. Harken what he said: 'Blessed are you when men revile you, and persecute you, for my sake: rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven; for so persecuted they the prophets that were before you.' Hear what Isaiah the prophet saith, 'Fear not the curse of men, be not afraid of their blasphemies, for worms and moths shall eat them up like cloth and wool, but my righteousness shall endure for ever, and my saving health from generation to generation. What art thou then, (saith he,) that fearest a mortal man, the child of man, which fadeth away like the flower, and forgettest the Lord that made thee, that spread out the heavens, and laid the foundation of the earth? I am the Lord thy God, that make the sea to rage and be still, whose name is the Lord of hosts: I shall put my word in thy mouth, and defend thee with the turning of an hand.' And our Saviour saith to his disciples, 'They shall accuse you, and bring you before princes and rulers for my name's sake, and some of you they shall persecute and kill: but fear you not, (saith he,) nor care you what you shall say; for it is the Spirit of your Father that speaketh within you. Even the very hairs of your head are all numbered. Lay up treasures for yourselves, (saith he,) where no thief cometh, nor moth corrupteth. Fear not them that kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but fear him that hath power to destroy both soul and body. If ye were of the world, the world would love his own: but because ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you.'

'Let these and such like consolations, taken out of the scriptures, strengthen you to Godward: Let not the examples of holy men and women go out of your mind, as Daniel and the rest of the prophets, of the three children, of Eleazarus, that constant father, of the seven of the Maccabees' children, of Peter, Paul, Stephen, and other apostles and holy martyrs in the beginning of the church; as of good

Simeon, archbishop of Soloma, and Zetrophone, with infinite other under Saporess, the king of the Persians and Indians, who contained all torments devised by the tyrants, for their Saviour's sake. Return, return again into Christ's war, and, as becometh a faithful warrior, put on that armour that St. Paul teacheth to be most necessary for a Christian man. And, above all things, take to you the shield of faith, and be you provoked by Christ's own example to withstand the devil, to forsake the world, and to become a true and faithful member of his mystical body, who spared not his own body for our sins.

"Throw down yourself with the fear of his threatened vengeance for this so great and heinous an offence of apostasy: and comfort yourself on the other part with the mercy, blood, and promise of him that is ready to turn unto you whosoever you turn unto him. Disdain not to come again with the lost son, seeing you have so wandered with him. Be not ashamed to turn again with him from the swill of strangers, to the delicacies of your most benign and loving Father, acknowledging that you have sinned against heaven and earth: against heaven, by staining the glorious name of God, and causing his most sincere and pure word to be evil spoken of through you; against earth, by offending so many of your weak brethren, to whom you have been a stumbling-block through your sudden sliding. Be not abashed to come home again with Mary, and weep bitterly with Peter; not only with shedding the tears of your bodily eyes, but also pouring out the streams of your heart, to wash away out of the sight of God the filth and mire of your offensive fall. Be not abashed to say with the publican, 'Lord, be merciful unto me a sinner!' Remember the horrible history of Julian of old, and the lamentable case of Spira of late, whose case, methinks, should be yet so green in your remembrance, that being a thing of your time, you should fear the like inconvenience, seeing you are fallen into the like offence.

"Last of all, let the lively remembrance of the last day be always before your eyes, remembering the terror that such shall be in at that time, with the runagates and fugitives from Christ, which setting more by the world than by heaven, more by their life than by him that gave them life, did shrink, yea, did clean fall away from him that forsook not them: and contrariwise, the inestimable joys prepared for them, that, fearing no peril, nor dreading death, have manfully fought, and victoriously triumphed over all power of darkness, over hell, death, and damnation, through the most redoubted captain, Christ, who now stretcheth out his arms to receive you, ready to fall upon your neck and kiss you, and last all of to feast you with the dainties and delicacies of his own precious blood; which undoubtedly, if it might stand with his determinate purpose, he would not let to shed again rather than you should be lost. To whom, with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, be all honour, praise, and glory everlasting. Amen.

"Be constant, be constant, fear not for any pain:

"Christ hath redeem'd thee, and heaven is thy gain."

*A Letter written by the Lady Jane in the end of the New Testament, in Greek, which she sent unto her Sister, the Lady Katharine, the night before she suffered.*

"I have here sent you, good sister Katharine, a book, which, although it be not outwardly trimmed with gold, yet inwardly it is more worth than precious stones. It is the book, dear sister, of the law of the Lord. It is his testament and last will which he bequeathed unto us wretches, which shall lead you to the path of eternal joy; and if you

with a good mind read it, and with an earnest mind do purpose to follow it, it shall bring you to an immortal and everlasting life. It shall teach you to live, and learn you to die. It shall win you more than you should have gained by the possession of your woful father's lands: for as (if God had prospered him) you should have inherited his lands; so if you apply diligently to this book, seeking to direct your life after it, you shall be an inheritor of such riches, as neither the covetous shall withdraw from you, neither thief shall steal, neither yet the moth corrupt. Desire with David, good sister, to understand the law of the Lord God. Live still to die, that you by death may purchase eternal life. And trust not that the tenderness of your age shall lengthen your life; for as soon (if God call) goeth the young as the old; and labour always to learn to die. Defy the world, deny the devil, and despise the flesh, and delight yourself only in the Lord. Be penitent for your sins, and yet despair not; be strong in faith, and yet presume not; and desire with St. Paul to be dissolved and to be with Christ, with whom even in death there is life. Be like the good servant, and even at midnight be waking, lest when death cometh and stealeth upon you as a thief in the night, you be with the evil servant found sleeping; and lest, for lack of oil, you be found like the five foolish women, and like him that had not on the wedding garment, and then ye be cast out from the marriage. Rejoice in Christ, as I do. Follow the steps of your master, Christ, and take up your cross; lay your sins on his back, and always embrace him. And as touching my death, rejoice, as I do, good sister, that I shall be delivered of this corruption, and put on incorruption. For I am assured, that I shall, for losing of a mortal life, win an immortal life; the which I pray God grant you, and send you of his grace to live in his fear, and to die in the true Christian faith, from the which (in God's name) I exhort you, that you never swerve, neither for hope of life, nor for fear of death. For if you will deny his truth for to lengthen your life, God will deny you, and yet shorten your days: and if you will cleave unto him, he will prolong your days, to your comfort and his glory: To the which glory God bring me now, and you hereafter, when it pleaseth him to call you. Fare you well, good sister, and put your only trust in God, who only must help you."

*Here followeth a certain effectual Prayer made by the Lady Jane in the time of her troubles.*

"O Lord, thou God and Father of my life, hear me, poor and desolate woman, which flieth unto thee only in all troubles and miseries. Thou, O Lord, art the only defender and deliverer of those that put their trust in thee: And, therefore, I being defiled with sin, encumbered with affliction, unquieted with troubles, wrapped in cares, overwhelmed with miseries, vexed with temptations, and grievously tormented with the long imprisonment of this vile mass of clay, my sinful body, do come unto thee, O merciful Saviour, craving thy mercy and help, without the which so little hope of deliverance is left, that I may utterly despair of any liberty. Albeit it is expedient, that seeing our life standeth upon trying, we should be visited some time with some adversity, whereby we might both be tried whether we be of thy flock or no, and also know thee and ourselves the better: yet thou that saidst thou wouldest not suffer us to be tempted above our power, be merciful unto me now, a miserable wretch, I beseech thee; which, with Solomon, do cry unto thee, humbly desiring thee, that I may neither be too much puffed up with prosperity, neither too much pressed down with adversity, lest I, being too full, should deny thee, my



God, or being too low brought, should despair and blaspheme thee, my Lord and Saviour. O merciful God, consider my misery, best known unto thee; and be thou now unto me a strong tower of defence, I humbly require thee. Suffer me not to be tempted above my power, but either be thou a deliverer unto me out of this great misery, or else give me grace patiently to bear thy heavy hand and sharp correction. It was thy right hand that delivered the people of Israel out of the hands of Pharaoh, which for the space of four hundred years did oppress them, and keep them in bondage. Let it therefore likewise seem good to thy fatherly goodness, to deliver me, sorrowful wretch, (for whom thy Son Christ shed his most precious blood on the cross,) out of this miserable captivity and bondage, wherein I am now. How long wilt thou be absent? for ever? O Lord, hast thou forgotten to be gracious, and hast thou shut up thy loving-kindness in displeasure? Wilt thou be no more entreated? Is thy mercy clean gone for ever, and thy promise come utterly to an end for evermore? Why dost thou make so long tarrying? Shall I despair of thy mercy, O God? far be that from me. I am thy workmanship, created in Christ Jesus; give me grace therefore to tarry thy leisure, and patiently to bear thy works, assuredly knowing, that as thou canst, so thou wilt deliver me, when it shall please thee, nothing doubting or mistrusting thy goodness towards me; for thou knowest better what is good for me than I do: therefore do with me in all things what thou wilt, and plague me what way thou wilt. Only in the mean time arm me, I beseech thee, with thy armour, that I may stand fast, my loins being girded about with verity, having on the breast-plate of righteousness, and shod with the shoes prepared by the gospel of peace; above all things, taking to me the shield of faith, wherewith I may be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked, and taking the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is thy most holy word, praying always with all manner of prayer and supplication, that I may refer myself wholly to thy will, abiding thy pleasure, and comforting myself in those troubles that it shall please thee to send me: seeing such troubles be profitable for me, and seeing I am assuredly persuaded that it cannot be but well all that thou doest. Hear me, O merciful Father, for his sake, whom thou wouldest should be a sacrifice for my sins: To whom, with thee, and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory. Amen."

After these things, it remains now, coming to the end of this virtuous lady, next to declare the manner of her execution, with her words and behaviour at the time of her death:

First, when she mounted upon the scaffold, she said to the people standing thereabout, "Good people, I am come hither to die, and by a law I am condemned to the same. The fact against the queen's highness was unlawful, and the consenting thereunto by me: but touching the procurement and desire thereof by me, or on my behalf, I do wash my hands thereof in innocency before God, and the face of you, good Christian people, this day." (And therewith she wrung her hands, wherein she had her book.) Then said she, "I pray you all, good Christian people, to bear me witness that I die a true Christian woman, and that I do look to be saved by no other mean, but only by the mercy of God in the blood of his only Son Jesus Christ: and I confess, that when I did know the word of God, I neglected the same, loved myself and the world, and therefore this plague and punishment is happily and worthily happened unto me for my sins: and yet I thank God, that of his goodness he hath thus given me a time and respite to repent. And now, good people, while

I am alive, I pray you assist me with your prayers." And then kneeling down, she turned her to Fecknam, saying, "Shall I say this psalm?" And he said, Yea. Then said she the psalm of *Miserere mei Deus*, in English, in most devout manner, throughout to the end; and then she stood up, and gave her maiden, Mrs. Ellen, her gloves and handkerchief, and her book to Mr. Bruges; and then she untied her gown, and the hangman pressed upon her to help her off with it, but she desiring him to let her alone, turned towards her two gentlewomen, who helped her off therewith, and also with her frowes, paaft, and neckerchief, giving to her a fair handkerchief to knit about her eyes.

Then the hangman kneeled down, and asked her forgiveness, whom she forgave most willingly. Then he willed her to stand upon the straw; which doing, she saw the block. Then said she, "I pray you despatch me quickly." Then she kneeled down, saying, "Will you take it off before I lay me down?" And the hangman said, No, madam. Then tied she the handkerchief about her eyes, and feeling for the block, she said, "What shall I do? Where is it? Where is it?" One of the standers by guiding her thereunto, she laid her head down upon the block, and then stretched forth her body, and said, "Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit." And so finished her life, in the year of our Lord God 1554, the 12th day of February.

*Certain pretty Verses written by the said Lady Jane with a Pin.*

Non aliena putes homini, quæ obtingere possunt:  
Sors hodierna mihi, tunc erit illa tibi.

JANE DUDLEY.

Deo juvante, nil nocet livor malus:  
Et non juvante, nil juvat labor gravis.

Post tenebras spero lucem.

Thus was beheaded the lady Jane, and with her also the lord Guildford, her husband, one of the duke of Northumberland's sons.

Touching the condemnation of this lady Jane, here is to be noted, that the judge Morgan, who gave the sentence of condemnation against her, shortly after he had condemned her, fell mad; and in his raving cried out continually to have the lady Jane taken away from him, and so ended his life.

*The Style of Queen Mary altered, writing to Bonner for the summoning a Convocation.*

"*Maria, Dei gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Regina, fidei defensor, Reverendo in Christo Patri Edmundo Londino Episc. salutem. Licet nuper quibusdam arduis et urgentibus negotiis nos securitatem et defensionem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, ac pacem et tranquillitatem, &c.*"

Where note, concerning the altering the queen's style, the following clause is left out, *Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hiberniæ supremum caput*: Supreme head of the church of England and Ireland. Because in this present parliament the supremacy being given away from the crown of England to the pope, thereupon this parcel of the title was also taken away. Likewise the said Bonner giving his certificate upon the same, leaves out *Auctoritate illustrissimæ, &c. legitime suffultus*: which part also in the same parliament was repealed the same time.

*The Dignity of Priests extolled by Bonner.*

In this aforesaid convocation, Bonner, bishop of London, being vicegerent and president, as is said, made an oration to the clergy, wherein he seemeth to shew a great piece of

profound and deep learning in setting forth the most incomparable and super-angelical order of priesthood, as may appear by this fragment of his aforesaid oration: which, as it came to our hands, so I thought to impart it to the reader, both for that the author of so worthy a work should not pass unknown, and partly also, for that the estimation of this blessed order should lose nothing of its pre-eminence, but might be known in most ample perfection, so as it standeth above angels and kings, if it be true what Bonner saith.

*A Fragment of the Oration made by Bonner, bishop of London, to them of the Convocation, copied out by them that stood by and heard him:*

BONNER'S ORATION IN PRAISE OF PRIESTHOOD.

"Wherefore it is to be known that priests and elders be worthily of all men to be worshipped for the dignity sake which they have of God, as in Matthew the sixteenth chapter, 'Whatsoever ye shall loose upon earth,' &c. 'And whatsoever ye shall bind,' &c. For a priest by some means is like Mary the Virgin, as is shewed by three points: First, as the blessed Virgin by five words did conceive Christ, as it is said, Luke i. '*Fiat mihi secundum verbum tuum*;' that is to say, 'Be it unto me according to thy word:' so the priest by five words doth make the very body of Christ. Even as immediately after the consent of Mary, Christ was all whole in her womb: so, immediately after the speaking of the words of consecration, the bread is transubstantiated into the very body of Christ. Secondly, As the Virgin carried Christ in her arms, and laid him in an ox-stall after his birth: even so the priest after the consecration doth lift up the body of Christ, and placeth it, and carrieth it, and handleth it with his hands. Thirdly, As the blessed Virgin was sanctified before she had conceived: so the priest being ordained and anointed before he doth consecrate, because without orders he could consecrate nothing: therefore the laymen cannot do that thing, although he be never so holy, and do speak the self-same words of consecration. Therefore here is to be known, that the dignity of priests by some means passeth the dignity of angels, because there is no power given to any of the angels to make the body of Christ. Whereby the least priest may do in earth that which the greatest and highest angel in heaven cannot do, as St. Bernard saith, 'O worshipful dignity of priests, in whose hands the Son of God is, as in the womb of the Virgin he was incarnate.' St. Augustine saith, 'That angels in the consecration of the sacred host do serve him, and the Lord of heaven descendeth to him.' Whereupon St. Ambrose upon St. Luke saith, 'Doubt thou not the angels to be where Christ is present upon the altar.' Wherefore priests are to be honoured before all kings of the earth, princes, and nobles: for a priest is higher than a king, happier than an angel, maker of his Creator. Wherefore, &c."

Such assertions are blasphemy against God and his church, and treason against the state; but such was the language and logic of this blood-thirsty bishop.

THE PARTICULAR PROCESS AND NAMES OF SUCH MARTYRS, BOTH MEN AND WOMEN, AS WERE PUT TO DEATH IN THIS TIME OF QUEEN MARY.

*The Story, Life, and Martyrdom, of Mr. JOHN ROGERS.*

The 4th day of February, suffered the faithful martyr of God, Mr. John Rogers, concerning whose life, examinations, and suffering, here followeth in order set forth. And first, touching his life and bringing up:

John Rogers, brought up in the university of Cambridge, where he profited in good learning, at length was chosen by the merchant adventurers to be their chaplain at Antwerp, in Brabant, and whom he served to their edification many years. It chanced him there to fall in company with that worthy martyr of God, William Tindal, and with Miles Coverdale, which, both for the hatred they bare to Popish superstition and idolatry, and love to the true religion, had forsaken their native country. By perusing the scriptures with them, he came to great knowledge in the gospel of God, in so much that he cast off the heavy yoke of Popery, and joined himself with them in that painful and most profitable labour of translating the Bible into the English tongue, which is entitled, The Translation of Thomas Matthew.

He knowing by the scriptures, that unlawful vows may lawfully be broken, and that matrimony is both honest and honourable among all men, joined himself in lawful matrimony; and so went to Wittenberg in Saxony, where he with much soberness of living did not only greatly increase in all good and godly learning, but also so much profited in the knowledge of the Dutch tongue, that the charge of a congregation was orderly committed to his cure. In which ministry he diligently and faithfully served many years, until such time as it pleased God, by the faithful travel of his chosen and dear servant, king Edward VI. utterly to banish all Popery out of England, and to receive the true religion, setting God's gospel at liberty. He then being orderly called, having both a conscience and a ready good-will to help forward the work of the Lord in his native country, left Saxony, and came into England to preach the gospel, without certainty of any emolument. In which office after he had diligently and faithfully laboured, Nicholas Ridley, then bishop of London, gave him a prebend in the cathedral church of Paul; and the dean and the chapter chose him to be the reader of the divinity lecture there, in which he continued until such time as queen Mary obtained the crown, banished the gospel and true religion, and brought in the Antichrist of Rome, with his idolatry and superstition.

After the queen was come to the Tower of London, he made a godly and vehement sermon at Paul's cross, confirming such doctrine as he and others had there taught in king Edward's days, exhorting the people constantly to remain in the same, and to beware of all pestilent Popery, idolatry, and superstition. The council being then over-matched with Popish and bloody bishops, called him to account for his sermon: to whom he made a stout, witty, and godly answer; and yet so conducted himself, that at that time he was clearly dismissed. But after that proclamation was set forth by the queen, to prohibit true preaching, he was called again before the council; for the bishops thirsted after his blood.

The council quarrelled with him concerning his doctrine, and in conclusion commanded him as a prisoner to keep his own house; and so he did, although by flying he might easily have escaped their cruel hands. And many things there were which might have moved him hereunto: he did see the recovery of religion in England, for that present, desperate; he knew he could not want a living in Germany, and he could not forget his wife and ten children, and to seek means to succour them. But all these things set apart, after he was called to answer in Christ's cause, he would not depart, but stoutly stood in defence of the same, and for the third trial of that truth was content to hazard his life.

Thus he remained in his own house as prisoner a long time, till at length, through the uncharitable procurement of Bonner, bishop of London, who could not abide such honest

neighbours to dwell near to him, he was removed from his own house to the prison called Newgate, where he was lodged among thieves and murderers for a long space: during which time, what business he had with the adversaries of Christ, all is not known, neither yet any certainty of his examinations, further than he himself did leave in writing, which God would not to be lost, but to remain for a perpetual testimony in the cause of God's truth, as here followeth recorded and testified by his own writing.

*The Examination and Answers of John Rogers, made to the Lord Chancellor, and to the rest of the Council, the 22d of January, 1555.*

*L. Chancellor.* First the lord chancellor said unto me thus: Sir, ye have heard the state of the realm in which it standeth now.

*Rogers.* No, my lord, I have been kept in close prison, and except there have been some general thing said at the table when I was at dinner or supper, I have heard nothing; and there have I heard nothing whereupon any special thing might be grounded.

*L. Chan.* Then said the lord chancellor: General things! general things! mockingly. Ye have heard of my lord cardinal's coming, and that the parliament hath received his blessing, not one resisting unto it but one man, which did speak against it. Such an unity, and such a miracle, hath not been seen. And all they, of which there are eight score in one house, have with one assent and content received pardon of their offences, for the schism that we have had in England, in refusing the holy father of Rome to be the head of the Catholic church. How say ye? are ye content to unite and knit yourself to the faith of the Catholic church with us, in the state in which it is now in England? Will ye do that?

*Rogers.* The Catholic church I never did nor will dissent from.

*L. Chan.* Nay, but I speak of the state of the Catholic church, in that wise in which we stand now in England, having received the pope to be supreme head.

*Rogers.* I know none other head but Christ of his Catholic church, neither will I acknowledge the bishop of Rome to have any more authority than any other bishop hath by the word of God, and by the doctrine of the old and pure Catholic church four hundred years after Christ.

*L. Chan.* Why didst thou then acknowledge king Henry VIII. to be the supreme head of the church, if Christ be the only head?

*Rogers.* I never granted him to have any supremacy in spiritual things, as are the forgiveness of sins, communicating of the Holy Ghost, authority to be a judge above the word of God.

*L. Chan.* Yea, said he, and Toustal, bishop of Duresm, and N. bishop of Worcester, if thou hadst said so in his days, thou hadst not been alive now.

*Rogers.* Which thing I denied; and would have told how he was said and meant to be supreme head. But they looked and laughed one upon another, and made such a business, that I was constrained to let it pass. There lieth also no great weight thereupon; for all the world knoweth what the meaning was. The lord chancellor also said to the lord William Haward, that there was no inconvenience therein, to have Christ to be supreme head and the bishop of Rome also: and when I was ready to have answered that there could not be two heads of one church, and have more plainly declared the vanity of that reason, the lord chancellor said, What sayest thou? Make us a direct answer, whether thou

wilt be one of this Catholic church or not, with us in that state in which we are now?

*Rogers.* My lord, without fail, I cannot believe that ye yourselves do think in your hearts that he is supreme head, in forgiving sin, &c. as is before said, seeing you, and all the bishops of the realm, have now twenty years long preached, and some of you also written, to the contrary, and the parliament hath so long ago condescended unto it. And there he interrupted me thus:

*L. Chan.* Tush, that parliament was with most great cruelty constrained to abolish and put away the primacy from the bishop of Rome.

*Rogers.* With cruelty! why then I perceive that you take a wrong way with cruelty to persuade men's consciences. For it should appear by your doings now, that the cruelty then used hath not persuaded your consciences. How would you then have our consciences persuaded with cruelty?

*L. Chan.* I talk to thee of no cruelty, but that they were so often and cruelly called upon in that parliament, to let the act go forward; yea, and even with force driven thereunto; whereas in this parliament it was so uniformly received, as is aforesaid.

*Rogers.* Here my lord Paget told me more plainly what my lord chancellor meant. Unto whom I answered, My lord, what will ye conclude thereby? that the first parliament was of less authority, because but few condescended unto it? and this last parliament of great authority, because more condescended unto it? It goeth not, my lord, by more or lesser part, but by the wiser, truer, and godlier part. And I would have said more, but the lord chancellor interrupted me with his question, willing me once again to answer him. For, said he, we have more to speak with than thou, which must come in after thee. And so there were indeed ten persons more out of Newgate, besides two that were not called. Of which ten, one was a citizen of London, which granted unto them, and nine were contrary; which all came to prison again, and refused the cardinal's blessing, and the authority of his holy father's church, saying, that one of these nine was not asked the question, otherwise than thus, Whether he would be an honest man as his father was before him? and he answering, Yea; he was so discharged by the friendship of my lord William Haward, as I have understood. He bade me tell him what I would do; whether I would enter into the one church, with the whole realm as it is now, or not? No, said I, I will first see it proved by the scriptures. Let me have pen, ink, and books, &c. and I shall take upon me plainly to set out the matter, so that the contrary shall be proved to be true; and let any man that will confer with me by writing.

*L. Chan.* Nay, that shall not be permitted thee; thou shalt never have so much proffered thee as thou hast now, if thou refuse it, and wilt now not condescend and agree to the Catholic church. Here are two things, mercy and justice: if thou refuse the queen's mercy now, then shalt thou have justice ministered unto thee.

*Rogers.* I never offended, nor was disobedient unto her grace, and yet I will not refuse her mercy. But if this shall be denied me to confer by writing, and to try out the truth, then it is not well, but too far out of the way. Ye yourselves, all the bishops of the realm, brought me to the knowledge of the pretended primacy of the bishop of Rome, when I was a young man, twenty years past: and will ye now without conviction have me to say and do the contrary? I cannot be so persuaded.

*L. Chan.* If thou wilt not receive the bishop of Rome to be supreme head of the Catholic church, then thou shalt

never have her mercy, thou mayest be sure; and as touching conferring and trial, I am forbidden by the scriptures to use any conferring and trial with thee. For St. Paul teacheth me, that I should shun and eschew an heretic after one or two monitions, knowing that such an one is overthrown, and is faulty, insomuch as he is condemned by his own judgment.

*Rogers.* My lord, I deny that I am an heretic: prove ye that first, and then allege the aforesaid text.

*L. Chan.* If thou wilt enter into one church with us, &c. tell us that, or else thou shalt never have so much proffered thee again as thou hast now.

*Rogers.* I will find it first in the scripture, and see it tried thereby, before I receive him to be supreme head.

*Wor.* Why, do ye not know what is in your creed, *Credo Ecclesiam sanctam Catholicam*: I believe the holy Catholic church?

*Rogers.* I find not the bishop of Rome there. For catholic signifieth not the Romish church; it signifieth the consent of all true teaching churches of all times, and all ages. But how should the bishop of Rome's church be one of them, which teacheth so many doctrines that are plainly and directly against the word of God? Can that bishop be the true head of the Catholic church, that doeth so? That is not possible.

*L. Chan.* Shew me one of them, one, let me hear one.

*Rogers.* I remembered myself, that amongst so many I were best to shew one; and said, I will shew you one.

*L. Chan.* Let me hear that, let me hear that.

*Rogers.* The bishop of Rome and his church say, read, and sing, all that they do in their congregations, in Latin, which is directly and plainly against the first to the Corinthians, the fourteenth chapter.

*L. Chan.* I deny that, I deny that, that is against the word of God. Let me see you prove that; how prove you that?

*Rogers.* Thus I began to say the text from the beginning of the chapter, *Qui loquiter lingua*, &c. to speak with tongue, said I, is to speak with a strange tongue, as Latin, Greek, &c. and so to speak, is not to speak unto men, but to God. But ye speak in Latin, which is a strange tongue; wherefore ye speak not unto men, but unto God, (meaning God only at the most.)—This he granted, that they spake not unto men, but unto God.

*Rogers.* Well, then, it is vain unto men.

*L. Chan.* No, not in vain: for one man speaketh in one tongue, another in another tongue, and all well.

*Rogers.* Nay, I will prove then that he speaketh neither to God nor to man, but unto the wind.

I was willing to have declared how and after what sort these two texts do agree (for they must agree, they be both the sayings of the Holy Ghost, spoken by the apostle Paul,) as to wit, to speak not to men, but unto God, and to speak unto the wind: and so to have gone forward with the proof of my matter begun: but here arose a noise and confusion.

Then said the lord chancellor, To speak unto God, and not unto God, were impossible.

*Rogers.* I will prove them possible.

No, (said my lord William Haward to my lord chancellor,) now will I bear you witness that he is out of the way: for he granted first, that they which speak in a strange speech speak unto God, and now he saith the contrary, that they speak neither to God nor to man.

*Rogers.* I have not granted nor said (turning me to my lord Haward) as you report. I have alleged the one text, and now I am come to the other. They must agree, and I

can make them to agree; but as for you, you understand not the matter.

*L. Haward.* I understand so much, that that is not possible.

This is a point of sophistry, (quoth secretary Bourne.)

Then the lord chancellor began to tell the lord Haward, that when he was in High Dutchland, they at Hale, which had before prayed and used their service all in Dutch, began then to turn part into Latin, and part into Dutch.

*Wor.* Yea, and at Wintenberg too.

*Rogers.* Yea, in an university, where men for the most part understand the Latin, and yet not all in Latin. I began to go forward, and said, that I would make the texts to agree, and to prove my purpose well enough.

*L. Chan.* No, no, thou canst prove nothing by the scripture: the scripture is dead, it must have a lively expositor.

*Rogers.* No, the scripture is alive. But let me go forward with my purpose.

*Wor.* All heretics have alleged the scriptures in their behalf; and therefore we must have a lively expositor for them.

*Rogers.* Yea, all heretics have alleged the scriptures: but they were confuted by the scriptures, and by none other expositor.

*Wor.* But they would not confess that they were overcome by the scriptures, I am sure.

*Rogers.* I believe that; and yet were they overcome by them, and in all councils they were disputed with and overthrown by the scriptures. And here I would have declared how they ought to proceed in these days, and so have come again to my purpose, but it was impossible; for one asked one thing, another said another, so that I was fain to hold my peace, and let them talk. And even when I would have taken hold on my proof, the lord chancellor ordered me to prison again. Away, away! (said he;) we have more to talk with. If I would not be reformed, (so he termed it,) away, away! Then up I stood; for I had kneeled all the while.

Then Sir Richard Southwell, who stood by in a window, said to me, Thou wilt not burn in this gear when it cometh to the purpose, I know well that.

*Rogers.* Sir, I cannot tell, but I trust in my Lord God, yes; lifting up mine eyes unto heaven.

Then my lord of Ely told me much of the queen's majesty's pleasure and meaning, and set it out with large words, saying, that she took them that would not receive the bishop of Rome's supremacy, to be unworthy to have her mercy, &c.

*Rogers.* I said I would not refuse her mercy, and yet I never offended her in all my life: and that I besought her grace and all their honours, to be good to me, reserving my conscience.

*Divers spake at once.* No! quoth they then, a great number of them, and especially secretary Bourne; a married priest, and have not offended the law?

*Rogers.* I said, I had not broken the queen's law, nor yet any point of the law of the realm therein: for I married where it was lawful.

*Divers at once.* Where was that? said they, thinking that to be unlawful in all places.

*Rogers.* In Dutchland; and if ye had not here in England made an open law, that priests might have had wives, I would never have come home again; for I brought a wife and eight children with me: which thing ye might be sure that I would not have done, if the laws of the realm had not permitted it.

Then there was a great noise, some saying that I was come too soon with such a number; I should find a sour coming of it; and some one thing, and some another. And one said, that there was never a catholic man or country that ever granted that a priest might have a wife.

*Rog.* I said, the Catholic church never denied marriage to priests, or yet to any other man. And therewith was I going out of the chamber, the sergeant which brought me thither having me by the arm.

Then the bishop of Worcester turned his face towards me, and said, I wist not where that church was or is.

*Rog.* I said, yes, that I could tell where it was; but therewith went the sergeant with me out of the door.

*The second Confession of John Rogers, made the 28th and 29th days of January, 1555.*

First, being asked again by the lord chancellor, whether I would come into one church with the bishops and whole realm, as now was concluded by parliament, (in the which all the realm was converted to the Catholic church of Rome,) and so receive the mercy before proffered me, arising again with the whole realm out of the schism and error in which we had long been, with recantation of my errors? I answered, That before I could not tell what his mercy meant, but now I understood that it was a mercy of the Antichristian church of Rome, which I utterly refused; and that the rising which he spake of, was a falling into error and false doctrine. Also, that I had and would be able, by God's grace, to prove that all the doctrine which I had ever taught was true and catholic, and that by the scriptures and the authority of the fathers that lived 400 years after Christ's death. He answered, That should not, might not, nor ought not, to be granted: for I was but a private man, and might not be heard against the determination of the whole realm. Should, quoth he, when a parliament hath concluded a thing, one, or any private person, have authority to discuss whether they have done right or wrong? No, that may not be.

I answered shortly, that all the laws of men might not, neither could, rule the word of God, but that they all must be discussed and judged thereby: and neither my conscience, nor any Christian man's, could be satisfied with such laws as disagreed from that word.

Then he said, That I at the first dash condemned the queen and the whole realm to be of the church of Antichrist. I answered, That the queen's majesty, God save her grace, would have done well enough, if it had not been for his counsel. He said, the queen went before him, and it was her own motion. I said without fail, I neither could, nor would I, ever believe it.

Then said Dr. Aldrife, the bishop of Carlisle, that they the bishops would bear him witness. Yea, quoth I, that I believe well; and with that the people laughed.

Then after many words he asked me, What I thought concerning the blessed sacrament? and stood up, and put off his cap, and all his fellow bishops (of which there were a great number, new men, of whom I knew few,) whether I believed in the sacrament to be the very body and blood of our Saviour Christ, that was born of the Virgin Mary, and hanged on the cross, really and substantially.

I answered, I had often told him that it was a matter in which I was no meddler, and therefore suspected of my brethren to be of a contrary opinion. Notwithstanding, even as the most part of your doctrine in other points is false, and the defence thereof only by force and cruelty; so in this matter I think it to be as false as the rest. For I cannot understand really and substantially to signify otherwise than cor-

porally: but corporally Christ is only in heaven, and so cannot Christ be corporally also in your sacrament. And here I somewhat set out his charity after this sort: My lord, quoth I, ye have dealt with me most cruelly; for ye have put me in prison without law, and kept me there now almost a year and a half. For I was almost half a year in my house, where I was obedient to you, God knoweth, and spake with no man. And now have I been a full year in Newgate, at great costs and charges, having a wife and ten children to maintain, and I had never a penny of my livings; which was against the law.

He answered, that Dr. Ridley, which had given them me, was an usurper, and therefore I was the unjust possessor of them.

Was the king then an usurper, quoth I, which gave Dr. Ridley the bishopric?

Yea, quoth he; and began to set out the wrongs that the king had done to the bishop of London, and to himself also. But yet I do misuse my terms, quoth he, to call the king usurper.—But the word was gone out of the abundance of the heart before; and I think that he was not very sorry for it in heart. I might have said more concerning that matter, but I did not.

I asked him wherefore he put me in prison? He said, because I preached against the queen.

I answered, that it was not true; and I would be bound to prove it, and to stand to the trial of the law, that no man should be able to disprove it, and thereupon would set my life. I preached, quoth I, a sermon at the cross, after the queen came to the Tower; but therein was nothing said against the queen, I take witness of all the audience, which was not small. I alleged also, that he had after examination let me go at liberty after the preaching of that sermon.

Yea, but thou didst read thy lectures after, quoth he, against the commandment of the council.

That did I not, quoth I; let that be proved, and let me die for it. Thus have you now, against the law of God and man, handled me, and never sent for me, never conferred with me, never spoke of my learning, till now that ye have gotten a whip to whip me with, and a sword to cut off my neck, if I will not condescend to your mind. This charity doth all the world understand.

This is the sum of the words which were spoken on the 28th day of January at afternoon, after that Mr. Hooper had been the first, and Mr. Cardmaker the second, in examination before me. The Lord grant us grace to stand together, fighting lawfully in his cause, till we be snitten down together, if the Lord's will be so to permit it. For there shall not a hair of our heads perish against his will, but with his will. Whereunto the same Lord grant us to be obedient unto the end, and in the end, Amen: Sweet, mighty, and merciful Lord Jesus, the Son of David, and of God, Amen, Amen.

Then it being about four o'clock, the lord chancellor said, that he and the church must yet use charity with me; and gave me respite till to-morrow, to see whether I would remember myself well to-morrow, and whether I would return to the Catholic church again, and repent, and they would receive me to mercy.

I said, that I was never out of the true Catholic church, nor would be; but into his church would I, by God's grace, never come.

Well, quoth he, then is our church false and antichristian?

Yea, quoth I.

And what is the doctrine of the sacrament?

False, quoth I; and cast my hands abroad.



Come again, quoth the lord chancellor, to-morrow between nine and ten.

I am ready to come again whensoever ye call, quoth I.

The second day, which was the 29th of January, we were sent for in the morning about nine of the clock, and by the sheriffs fetched from the Compter in Southwark to the church again. And when Mr. Hooper was condemned, as I understood afterward, then they sent for me. Then my lord chancellor said unto me :

Rogers, here thou wast yesterday, and we gave thee liberty to remember thyself this night, whether thou wouldst come to the holy Catholic church of Christ again or not : Tell us now what thou hast determined, whether thou wilt be repentant and sorry for thy errors, and wilt return again and take mercy.

My lord, quoth I, I have remembered myself right well, what you yesterday said to me, and desire you to give me leave to declare my mind, what I have to say thereunto ; and that done, I shall answer you to your demanded question.

When I yesterday desired that I might be suffered by the scripture and authority of the first, best, and purest church, to defend my doctrine by writing ; ye answered me, that it might not, nor ought not, to be granted me, for I was a private person ; and that the parliament was above the authority of all private persons, and therefore the sentence thereof might not be found faulty and valueless by me, being but a private person. And yet, my lord, quoth I, I am able to shew examples, that one man hath come into a general council, and after the whole had determined and agreed upon an act or article, some one man coming in afterward, hath, by the word of God, declared so pithily that the council had erred in decreeing the said article, that he caused the whole council to change, and alter their act or article before determined. And of these examples, said I, I am able to shew two. I can also shew the authority of St. Augustine, that when he disputed with an heretic, he would neither himself, nor yet have the heretic, to lean unto the determination of two former councils, of the which the one made for him, and the other for the heretic that disputed against him ; but said, that he would have the scriptures to be their judge, which were common and indifferent for them both, and not proper to either of them.

Item. I could shew, said I, the authority of a learned lawyer, Panormitanus, which saith, that unto a simple layman that bringeth the word of God with him, there ought more credit to be given than to a whole council gathered together. By these things will I prove that I ought not to be denied to say my mind, and to be heard against a whole parliament, bringing the word of God for me, and the authority of the old church 400 years after Christ, albeit that every man in the parliament had willingly, and without respect of fear and favour, agreed thereunto, which thing I doubt not a little of ; especially seeing the like had been permitted in the old church, even in general councils, yea, and that in one of the chiefest councils that ever was, unto which neither any acts of this parliament, nor yet any of the late general councils of the bishops of Rome, ought to be compared. For, said I, if Henry VIII. were alive, and should call a parliament, and begin to determine a thing—(and here I would have alleged the example of the act of making the queen a bastard, and of making himself the superior head ; but I could not, being interrupted.)

Here my lord chancellor would suffer me to speak no more, but bade me sit down, mockingly saying, that I was sent for to be instructed of them, and I would take upon me to be their instructor.

My lord, quoth I, I stand, and sit not : shall I not be suffered to speak for my life ?

Shall we suffer thee to tell a tale, and to prate, quoth he. And with that he stood up, and began to face me, as his manner is, with taunt upon taunt, and check upon check : for in that case, being God's cause, I told him he should not make me afraid to speak.

L. Chan. See what a spirit this fellow hath, said he ; finding fault at my accustomed earnestness, and haughty manner of speaking.—Rogers. I have a true spirit, quoth I, agreeing and obeying the word of God ; and would further have said, That I was never the worse, but the better, to be earnest in a just and true cause, and in my master Christ's matters ; but I could not be heard. And at the length he proceeded towards his excommunication and condemnation, after that I had told him that his church of Rome was the church of Antichrist.

To be short, he read my condemnation before me, particularly mentioning therein but two articles ; first, That I affirmed the Romish Catholic church to be the church of Antichrist ; and that I denied the reality of their sacrament. He caused me to be degraded and condemned, and put into the hands of the laity ; and so he gave me over into the sheriff's hands, which were much better than his.

After the sentence was read, he sent us (Mr. Hooper and me) to the Clink, there to remain till night ; and when it was dark they carried us, Mr. Hooper going before with the one sheriff, and I coming after with the other, with bills and weapons enow, out of the Clink, and led us through the bishop's house, and so through St. Mary Overy's churchyard, and so into Southwark, and over the bridge, in procession to Newgate through the city.

But I must shew you this also, that when he had read the condemnation, he declared that I was in the great curse, and what a vengeance dangerous matter it was to eat and drink with us that were accursed, or to give us any thing ; for all that so did should be partakers of the same great curse.

Well, my lord, quoth I, here I stand before God and you, and all this honourable audience, and take him to witness, that I never wittingly or willingly taught any false doctrine ; and therefore have I a good conscience before God and all good men. I am sure that you and I shall come before a Judge that is righteous, before whom I shall be as good a man as you ; and I nothing doubt but that I shall be found there a true member of the true Catholic church of Christ, and everlastingly saved. And as for your false church, ye need not to excommunicate me from it : I have not been in it these twenty years ; the Lord be thanked therefore. But now ye have done what ye can, my lord, I pray you yet grant me one thing.

What is that ? quoth he.

That my poor wife, being a stranger, may come and speak with me so long as I live ; for she hath ten children that are her's and mine, and somewhat I would counsel her, what were best for her to do.

No, quoth he ; she is not thy wife.

Yes, my lord, quoth I, and hath been these eighteen years.

Should I grant her to be thy wife ? quoth he.

Choose you, quoth I, whether ye will or not, she shall be so nevertheless.

She shall not come at thee, quoth he.

Then I have tried out all your charity, said I. You make yourself highly displeased with the matrimony of priests : but you maintain open whoredom ; as in Wales, quoth I,

where every priest hath his whore openly dwelling with him, and lying by him; even as your holy father suffereth all the priests of Dutchland, and in France, to do the like.

Thereto he answered not; and thus I departed, and saw him no more.

Now when the time came that he, being delivered to the sheriffs, should be brought out of Newgate to Smithfield, the place of his execution, first came to him Mr. Woodroofe, one of the aforesaid sheriffs, and calling Mr. Rogers unto him, asked him if he would revoke his abominable doctrine, and his evil opinion of the sacrament of the altar? Mr. Rogers answered, That which I have preached I will seal with my blood. Then, quoth Mr. Woodroofe, thou art an heretic. That shall be known, (quoth Rogers,) at the day of judgment. Well, quoth Mr. Woodroofe, I will never pray for thee. But I will pray for you, (quoth Mr. Rogers.) And so he was brought the same day, which was Monday the 4th of February, by the sheriffs toward Smithfield, saying the psalm *Miserere*, by the way, all the people wonderfully rejoicing at his constancy, with great praises and thanks to God for the same; and there in the presence of Mr. Rochester, comptroller of the queen's household, sir Richard Southwell, both the sheriffs, and a wonderful number of people, he was burned into ashes, washing his hands in the flame as he was in burning.

A little before his burning at the stake, his pardon was brought, if he would have recanted; but he utterly refused it. He was the first martyr of all the blessed company that suffered in Queen Mary's time. His wife and children, being eleven in number, but ten only able to go, and one sucking on her breast, met him by the way as he went toward Smithfield. This sorrowful sight of his own flesh and blood could not move him, but he cheerfully took his death with wonderful patience, in the defence of Christ's gospel.

*The History and Martyrdom of LAURENCE SAUNDERS, burned for the Defence of the Gospel at Coventry, February 8th, anno 1555.*

After that queen Mary, by public proclamation in the first year of her reign, had inhibited the sincere preaching of God's holy word, as is before declared, divers godly ministers of the word, which had the cure and charge of souls committed to them, did notwithstanding, according to their bounden duty, feed their flock faithfully, not as preachers authorized by public authority, (as the godly order of the realm was in the happy days of blessed king Edward,) but as the private pastors of particular flocks; among whom *Laurence Saunders* was one, a man of worshipful parentage. His bringing up was in learning from his youth, in places meet for that purpose, as, namely, in the school of Eton. From whence (according to the manner there used) he was chosen to go to the king's college in Cambridge, where he continued scholar of the college three whole years, and there profited in knowledge and learning very much for that time. Shortly after that, he did forsake the university, and went to his parents, upon whose advice he was minded to become a merchant; for that his mother, who was a gentlewoman of great estimation, being left a widow, and having a good portion for him among his other brethren, she thought to set him up wealthily; and so he coming up to London, was bound apprentice with a merchant, named sir William Chester, (who afterwards chanced to be sheriff of London the same year that Saunders was burned at Coventry.) Thus, by the minds of his friends, Laurence should needs have been

a merchant; but Almighty God, which hath his secret working in all things, saw better for his servant, as it fell out in the end.

It happened that his master, being a good man, and bearing his apprentice often in his secret prayers inwardly to mourn by himself, called him unto him, to know what was the cause of that his solitariness and lamentation? who then perceiving his mind nothing to fancy that kind of life, (for so Saunders declared unto him,) and perceiving also his whole purpose to be bent on the study of his book and spiritual contemplation, like a good man sent letters unto his friends, and gave him his indenture to set him free. And thus Laurence Saunders, being delighted with the love of learning, and especially with the reading of God's word, tarried not long in traffic, but shortly returned to Cambridge again to his study; where he began to add to the knowledge of the Latin the study of the Greek tongue, wherein he profited in small time very much: therewith also he joined the study of the Hebrew. Then gave he himself wholly to the study of the scripture, to furnish himself to the office of a preacher.

In study he was diligent and painful, in godly life he declared the fruits of a well-exercised conscience; he prayed often and with great fervour, and in his prayers, as also at other times, he had his part of spiritual exercises, which his hearty sighing to God declared, in which when any special assault did come, by prayer he felt present relief: then was his company marvellous comfortable. For as his exercises were special teachings, so in the end they proved singular consolations; wherein he became so expert, that within short space he was able to comfort others which were in any affliction, by the consolation wherewith the Lord did comfort him. Thus continued he in the university, till he became master of arts, and a long space after.

In the beginning of king Edward's reign, when God's true religion was begun to be restored, after silence obtained, he began to preach, and was so well liked of them which then had authority, that they appointed him to read a divinity lecture in the college at Fotheringay, where by doctrine and life he edified the godly, drew many ignorant people to God's true knowledge, and stopped the mouth of the adversaries. He married about that time, and in the married state led a life unblameable before all men. The college of Fotheringay being dissolved, he was placed to be reader in the minster at Litchfield: where he so behaved himself in teaching and living, that the very adversaries did give him a full report as well of learning as of much godliness. After a certain space, he departed from Litchfield to a benefice in Leicestershire, called Churchlangton; whereupon he keeping residence taught diligently, and kept a liberal house. From thence he was orderly called to take a benefice in the city of London, named Allhallows, in Bread-street. Then minded he to give over his cure in the country: and therefore, after he had taken possession of his benefice in London, he departed from thence into the country, clearly to discharge himself thereof. And even at that time began the broil about the claim that queen Mary made to the crown, by reason whereof he could not accomplish his purpose.

In this trouble, and even among the beginners of it, (such I mean as were for the queen,) he preached at Northampton, nothing meddling with the state, but boldly uttered his conscience against Popish doctrine and Antichrist's damnable errors, which were like to spring up again in England, as a just plague for the little love which the English nation did bear to the blessed word of God, which had been so plentifully offered unto them. The queen's men which were there and heard him, were highly displeased with him for his ser-

mon, and for it kept him among them as prisoner. But partly for the love of his brethren and friends, which were chief doers for the queen among them, partly because there was no law broken by his preaching, they dismissed him. He seeing the dreadful days at hand, inflamed with the fire of godly zeal, preached with diligence at both those benefices, as time could serve him, seeing he could resign neither of them now, but into the hand of a Papist.

Thus passed he to and fro preaching, until the queen's proclamation was put forth; at which time he was at his benefice in the country, where he, notwithstanding the proclamation, taught diligently God's truth, confirming the people therein, and arming them against false doctrine, until he was not only commanded to cease, but also with force resisted, so that he could not proceed there in preaching. Some of his friends, perceiving such fearful menacing, counselled him to flee out of the realm; which he refused so to do. But seeing he was with violence kept from doing good in that place, he returned towards London, to visit the flock of which he had there the charge.

On Saturday the 14th of October, as he was coming nigh to the city of London, Sir John Mordant, a counsellor to queen Mary, did overtake him, and asked him whither he went? I have (said Saunders) a cure in London, and now I go to instruct my people according to my duty. If you will follow my counsel, (quoth Mr. Mordant,) let them alone, and come not at them. To this Saunders answered, How shall I then be discharged before God, if any be sick and desire consolation, if any want good counsel and need instruction, or if any should slip into error and receive false doctrine? Did you not (quoth Mordant) preach such a day (and named the day) in Bread-street, in London? Yes, verily, (said Saunders,) that same is my cure. I heard you myself, (quoth Mr. Mordant;) and will you preach now there again? If it please you, (said Saunders,) to-morrow you may hear me again in that same place, where I will confirm by the authority of God's word, all that I said then, and whatsoever before that time I taught them.

I would counsel you, (quoth the other,) not to preach. If you can and will forbid me by lawful authority, then must I obey, (said Saunders.) Nay, (quoth he,) I will not forbid you, but I do give you counsel. And thus entered they both the city, and departed each from other. Mr. Mordant, of an uncharitable mind, went to give warning to Bonner, bishop of London, that Saunders would preach in his cure the next day. Saunders resorted to his lodging, with a mind bent to do his duty; where because he seemed to be somewhat troubled, one which was there about him asked him how he did? In very deed, (said he,) I am in prison till I be in prison: meaning that his mind was unquiet until he had preached, and that he should have quietness of mind, though he were put in prison.

The next day, which was Sunday, in the forenoon, he made a sermon in his parish, treating on that place which Paul writeth to the Corinthians, "I have coupled you to one man, that you should make yourselves a chaste virgin unto Christ. But I fear lest it come to pass, that as the serpent beguiled Eve, even so your minds should be corrupted from the singleness which ye had towards Christ." He recited a sum of that true Christian doctrine, through which they were coupled to Christ, to receive of him free justification through faith in his blood. The Papistical doctrine he compared to the serpent's deceiving; and lest they should be deceived by it, he made a comparison between the voice of God, and the voice of the Popish serpent; descending to more particular declaration thereof, as it were to let them

plainly see the difference that is between the order of the church service set forth by king Edward in the English tongue, and comparing it with the Popish service then used in the Latin tongue.

The first he said was good, because it was according to the word of God, Cor. xiv. and the order of the primitive church. The other he said was evil; and though in that evil be intermingled some good Latin words, yet was it but as a little honey or milk mingled with a great deal of poison, to make them drink up all. This was the sum of his sermon.

In the afternoon he was ready in his church to have given another exhortation to his people. But the bishop of London interrupted him, by sending an officer for him. This officer charged him, upon the pain of disobedience and contumacy, forthwith to come to the bishop his master. Thus, as the apostles were brought out of the temple where they were teaching, unto the rulers of the priests, so was Laurence Saunders brought before this bishop, who had in his company the aforementioned Sir John Mordant, and some of his chaplains. The bishop laid no more to Laurence Saunders' charge, but treason for breaking the queen's proclamation, heresy and sedition for his sermon.

The treason and sedition his charity was content to let slip, until another time; but an heretic he would now prove him, and all those, he said, which did teach and believe that the administration of the sacraments, and all orders of the church, are most pure, which do come most nigh to the order of the primitive church. For the church was then but in her infancy, and could not abide that perfection which was afterwards to be furnished with ceremonies. And for this cause Christ himself, and after him the apostles, did in many things bear with the rudeness of that church.

To this, Laurence Saunders answered with the authority of St. Augustine, That ceremonies were even from the beginning invented and ordained for the rude infancy and weak infirmity of man; and therefore it was a token of the greater perfection of the primitive church, that it had few ceremonies, and of the rudeness of the church papistical, because it had so many ceremonies, partly blasphemous, partly unsavoury and unprofitable.

After much talk had concerning this matter, the bishop willed him to write what he believed of transubstantiation. Laurence Saunders did so, saying, My lord, ye do seek my blood, and ye shall have it: I pray God that ye may be so baptized in it, that ye may thereafter loathe blood-sucking, and become a better man. This writing the bishop kept for his purpose, even to cut the writer's throat, as shall appear hereafter. The bishop, when he had his will, sent Laurence Saunders to the lord chancellor, as Annas sent Christ to Caiaphas: and like favour found Saunders as Christ his master did before him. But the chancellor being not at home, Saunders was constrained to tarry for him by the space of four hours, in the outer chamber, where he found a chaplain of the bishop's very merrily disposed with certain gentlemen, playing at tables, with divers others of the same family or house occupied there in the same exercise. All this time Saunders stood very modestly and soberly at the screen or cupboard, bareheaded, sir John Mordant, his guide or leader, walking up and down by him; who, as I said before, was one of the council. At last the bishop returned from the court, whom as soon as he was entered, a great many suitors met and received; so that before he could get out of one house into another, half an hour was passed. At last he came into the chamber where Saunders was, and went through into another chamber; where in the mean way Saunders' leader gave him a writing, containing

thankfulness, crave pardon for me in your earnest prayers, commending me to God's great mercies in Christ.

"To number these mercies in particular, were-to number the drops of water which are in the sea, the sands on the shore, the stars in the sky. O my dear wife, and ye the rest of my friends, rejoice with me; I say, rejoice! with thanksgiving for this my present promotion, in that I am made worthy to magnify my God, not only in my life, by my slow mouth and uncircumcised lips, bearing witness unto his truth, and also by my blood to seal the same, to the glory of my God, and confirming of his true church: and as yet I testify unto you that the comfort of my sweet Christ doth drive from my fantasy the fear of death. But if my dear husband, Christ, doth for my trial leave me alone a little to myself, alas, I know in what case I shall be then! but if for my proof he do so, yet I am sure he will not be long or far from me. Though he stand behind the wall and hide himself, (as Solomon saith in his mystical ballad,) yet will he peep in by a crevice to see how I do. He is a very tender-hearted Joseph: though he speak roughly to his brethren, and handle them hardly, yea, threaten grievous bondage to his best beloved brother Benjamin; yet can he not contain himself from weeping with us and upon us, with falling on our necks, and sweetly kissing us. Such, such a brother is our Christ unto all. Wherefore hasten to go unto him, as Jacob did with his sons and family, leaving their country and acquaintance. Yea, this our Joseph hath obtained for us, that Pharaoh the infidel shall minister unto us chariots, wherein at ease we may be carried to come unto him: as we have experienced how our very adversaries do help us unto our everlasting bliss by their speedy despatch; yea, and how all things have been helpings hereunto, blessed be our God. Be not afraid of fray-bugs which lie in the way: fear rather the everlasting fire; fear the serpent which hath that deadly sting, of which by bodily death they shall be brought to taste, which are not grafted in Christ, wanting faith and a good conscience, and so are not acquainted with Christ the killer of death. But, O my dear wife and friends! we, we whom God hath delivered from the power of darkness, and hath translated us into the kingdom of his dear Son, by putting off the old man, and by faith putting on the new, even our Lord Jesus Christ, his wisdom, holiness, righteousness, and redemption; we, I say, have to triumph against the terrible, spiteful serpent the devil, sin, hell, death, and damnation. For Christ our brazen serpent hath pulled away the sting of this serpent, so that now we may boldly, in beholding it spoiled of sting, triumph, and with our Christ and all his elect, say, 'Death, where is thy sting? Hell, where is thy victory?' Thanks be to God, who hath given us the victory, through our Lord Jesus Christ.'

"Wherefore be merry, my dear wife, and all my dear fellow heirs of the everlasting kingdom; always remember the Lord.—Rejoice in hope, be patient in tribulation, continue in prayer, and pray for us now appointed to the slaughter, that we may be unto our heavenly Father a fat offering, and an acceptable sacrifice. I may hardly write unto you: wherefore let these few words be a witness of my commendations to you, and all them which love us in the faith; and, namely, unto my flock, among whom I am resident by God's providence, but as a prisoner.

"And although I am not so among them, as I have been, to preach to them out of a pulpit, yet doth God now preach unto them by me, by this my imprisonment and captivity which now I suffer among them for Christ's gospel sake, bidding them to beware of the Romish Antichristian religion and kingdom, requiring and charging them to abide in the

truth of Christ, which is shortly to be sealed with the blood of their pastor; who though he be unworthy of such a ministry, yet Christ their high pastor is to be regarded, whose truth hath been taught them by me, is witnessed by my chains, and shall be by my death, through the power of that high Pastor. Be not careful, good wife, cast your care upon the Lord, and commend me unto him in repentant prayer, as I do you and our Samuel; whom, even at the stake, I will offer as myself unto God. Fare ye well, all in Christ, in hope to be joined with you in joy everlasting. This hope is put up in my bosom. Amen, Amen, Amen, pray, pray."

*Extract of a Letter to Mrs. Lucy Harrington, a godly gentlewoman, and friendly to him in his troubles.*

"Your most gentle commendations, whereof this messenger made remembrance unto me, were for two causes very comfortable: First, For that thereby I understood of the state of your health and bodily welfare, for the which I give thanks unto God, who grant the long continuance thereof to his honour and fatherly good-will, whereunto I will daily say, Amen. And further, I was refreshed by the expressing of your mindful friendship towards me, far unworthy thereof. Wherein I take occasion of much rejoicing in our so gracious a God and merciful Father, who as he hath in his immeasurable mercy by faith hand-fastened us his chosen children unto his dear Son our Christ, as the spiritual spouse of such a heavenly husband; so he linketh us by love one unto another, being by that bond compact together, with charitable readiness to do good one to another.

"My need concerning bodily necessities is as yet furnished by God's provision, so that I am not driven to any extremity, wherefore to be burdensome to you, as your gentle benevolence provoketh me; the Lord reward you therefore. If God make me worthy to be his witness at this present, in giving this corruptible body to burn for the testimony of his truth, it is enough for me to say to you, that I have a poor wife and child, whom I love in the Lord, and whom I know for my sake you will tender when I am departed hence, &c."

*Another Letter to Mrs. Lucy Harrington.*

"Grace and mercy, &c. It happeneth oftentimes that abundance of matter bringeth with it much vehemency of friendly affection, maketh men dumb, and even then chiefly, when there is most eager purpose of speaking, silence doth suppress, and causeth the party so affected unperfectly to express that he goeth about to utter. Many times faith is feeble, and then love loveth her savour. Pray we therefore, Lord increase our faith, and love forthwith will be on fire. And immortal thanks be given unto our God, who in our Christ hath bestowed upon us the first-fruits of his Spirit, who crieth in our hearts, Abba, Father. And as St. Paul saith, 'Seeing we have the same spirit of faith, according as it is written,—I believed, and therefore I have spoken; we also believe, and therefore we speak.' Yea, God knoweth, this spirit putteth in us a mind to speak, but in attempting thereof we are driven with Moses to say, O Lord, I am slow mouthed, and of uncircumcised lips; and with Jeremy, O Lord, I cannot speak.

"Albeit, that this infancy restraineth the opening of such abundance of heart in my tender Christian duty to be declared towards you, yet I beseech you, let this be settled in your understanding; that as St. Paul expresseth unto his Corinthians, that they were in his heart either to live or to die, with many other such sayings uttered unto them and the Galatians, expressing his vehement affection towards them:

so in some part I would be like affected towards all God's children, and especially towards you whom I know in Christ, and to whom I will not say how much I am indebted. I thank you for your great friendship and tender good-will towards my wife; yea, that good gracious God recompense you, which may worthily with the more countervail the same, and fulfil that which lacketh of thankful duty in us. And because of that which heretofore I have conceived of you, and of your more than natural love toward me and mine, I make myself thus bold to lay this burden upon you, even the care and charge of my said poor wife; I mean, to be unto her a mother and mistress, to rule and direct her by your discreet counsel. I know she conceiveth of you the same that I do, and is thankful unto God with me for such a friend, and therefore I beseech you, even for Christ's sake, put never from you this friendly charge over her, whether I live longer, or shortly depart. But to charge you otherwise, thanks be to God, neither I, neither she, have any such extreme need: if we had, I would be as bold with you as mine own mother. I beseech you give my hearty salutations unto Mr. Fitzwilliams, and my good lady, with thanks also for my poor wife and child; the Lord recompense them.

"L. SAUNDERS."

*Another Letter to his Wife, with a certain remembrance to Mr. Harrington and Mr. Hurland.*

"Grace and comfort, &c. Wife, you shall do best not to come often unto the grate, where the porter may see you. Put not yourself in danger where it needs not: you shall, I think, shortly come far enough into danger by keeping faith and a good conscience: which, dear wife, I trust you do not slack to make reckoning and account upon, by exercising your inward man in meditation of God's most holy word, being the sustenance of the soul, and also by giving yourself to humble prayer: for these two things be the very means how to be made members of our Christ, meet to inherit his kingdom.

"Do this, dear wife, in earnest, and not leaving off, and so we two shall, with our Christ and all his chosen children, enjoy the merry world in that everlasting immortality; whereas here will nothing else be found but extreme misery, even of them which most greedily seek this worldly wealth: and so, if we two continue God's children grafted in our Christ, the same God's blessing which we receive shall also settle upon our Samuel. Though we do shortly depart hence, and leave the poor infant (to our seeming) at all adventures, yet shall he have our gracious God to be his God: for so hath he said, and he cannot lie; I will be thy God, saith he, and the God of thy seed. Yea, if you leave him in the wilderness destitute of all help, being called of God to do his will, either to die for the confession of Christ, either any work of obedience; that God which heard the cry of the little poor infant of Hagar, Sarah's handmaiden, and did succour it, will do the like to the child of you, or any other fearing him, and putting your trust in him.

"And if we lack faith, as we do indeed many times, let us call for it, and we shall have the increase both of it, and also of any other good grace needful for us; and be merry in God, in whom also I am very merry and joyful. O Lord, what great cause of rejoicing have we, to think upon that kingdom, which he vouchsafed for his Christ's sake freely to give us, forsaking ourselves and following him! Dear wife, this is truly to follow him, even to take up our cross, and follow him; and then, as we suffer with him, so shall we reign with him everlastingly, shortly. Amen."

*Another letter to his Wife, to Mr. R. Harrington, and Mr. Hurland, &c.*

"Grace and comfort, &c. Dear wife, rejoice in our gracious God, and his and our Christ; and give thanks most humbly and heartily to him for this day's work, that in any part I, most unworthy wretch, should be made worthy to bear witness unto his everlasting verity, which Antichrist, with his, by main force, I perceive, and by most impudent pride and boasting, will go about to suppress. Remember God always, my dear wife, and so shall God's blessing light upon you and your Samuel. O remember always my words for Christ's sake, be merry, and grudge not against God, and pray, pray. We be all merry here, thanks be unto our God, who in his Christ hath given us great cause to be merry, by whom he hath prepared for us such a kingdom, and doth and will give unto us some little taste thereof, even in this life, and to all such as are desirous to take it. 'Blessed, (saith our Christ,) be they which hunger and thirst after righteousness, for such shall be satisfied.' Let us go, yea, let us run, to seek such treasure, and that with whole purpose of heart to cleave unto the Lord, to find such riches in his heavenly word through his Spirit obtained by prayer. My dear friends and brethren, Mr. Harrington and Mr. Hurland, pray, pray. 'The spirit is ready, but the flesh is weak.' When I look upon myself, being astonished and confounded, what have I else to say but these words of Peter, 'Lord, go from me, for I am a sinful man!' But then feel I that sweet comfort, 'The word of the Lord is a lantern unto my feet, and a light unto my paths'; and this is my comfort in my trouble. Then wax I bold with the same Peter to say, 'Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of everlasting life.' This comfort have I when the giver thereof doth give it. But I look for battles, which the root of unfaithfulness (the which I feel in me) will most eagerly give unto my conscience, when we come once to the combat. We be, I ween, within the sound of the trumpet of our enemies. Play, ye that be abroad, the part of Moses, 'praying in all places, lifting up pure hands'; and God's people shall prevail. Yea, our blood shall be their perdition who do most triumphantly spill it, and we then being in the hands of our God shall shine in his kingdom, and shall stand in great steadfastness against them which have dealt extremely with us; and when these our enemies shall thus see us, they shall be vexed with horrible fear, and shall wonder at the hastiness of the sudden health; and shall say with themselves, having inward sorrow and mourning for very anguish of mind, 'These are they whom we sometime had in derision, and jested upon: we fools thought their lives to be very madness, and their end to be without honour; but, lo, how they are accounted among the children of God!' The blessing of God be with you all, &c.

"L. SAUNDERS."

*To his Wife, a little before he was burnt.*

"Grace and comfort in Christ, Amen. Dear wife, be merry in the mercies of our Christ, and also ye my dear friends. Pray, pray for us, every body: We be shortly to be despatched hence unto our good Christ, Amen, Amen.— Wife, I would you sent me my shirt, which you know whereunto it is consecrated. Let it be sewed down on both sides, and not open. O my heavenly Father, look upon me in the face of thy Christ, or else I shall not be able to abide thy countenance, such is my filthiness. He will do so, and therefore I will not be afraid what sin, death, hell, and damnation, can do against me. O wife, always remember the



Lord. God bless you; yea, he will bless thee, good wife, and thy poor boy also: only cleave thou unto him, and he will give thee all things. Pray, pray, pray.

*Another Letter to Mr. Robert and John Glover, written the same morning that he was burnt.*

"Grace and consolation in our sweet Saviour Christ. O my dear brethren, whom I love in the Lord, being loved of you also in the Lord, be merry and rejoice for me, now ready to go up to that mine inheritance, which I myself indeed am most unworthy of; but my dear Christ is worthy, who hath purchased the same for me with so dear a price. Make haste, my dear brethren, to come unto me, that we may be merry with that joy which no man shall take from us. O wretched sinner, that I am not thankful unto this my Father, who hath vouchsafed me worthy to be a vessel unto his honour. But, O Lord, now accept my thanks, though they proceed out of a not enough circumcised heart. Salute my good sisters, your wives; and good sisters, fear the Lord. Salute all other that love us in the truth. God's blessing be with you always, Amen. Even now towards the offering of a burnt sacrifice, O my Christ, help, or else I perish.

"LAURENCE SAUNDERS."

*The Life and Martyrdom of JOHN HOOPER, Bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, who was burnt at Gloucester, February 9, 1555.*

John Hooper, student and graduate in the university of Oxford, after the study of the sciences, wherein he had abundantly profited, through God's secret vocation was stirred with fervent desire to the love and knowledge of the scriptures. In the reading and searching whereof, as there lacked in him no diligence, joined with earnest prayer, so neither wanted unto him the grace of the Holy Ghost to satisfy his desire, and to open unto him the light of true divinity.

Thus Mr. Hooper growing more and more in ripeness of spiritual understanding, and shewing withal some sparkles of his fervent spirit in the time of king Henry VIII. fell soon under the displeasure of certain rabbies in Oxford, who began to stir up persecution against him, whereby, through the procurement of Dr. Smith, he was compelled to leave the university; and so removing from thence, was taken into the house of sir Thomas Arundel to be his steward, till the time that sir Thomas Arundel, (having intelligence of his opinions and religion, which he in no case did favour, and yet exceedingly favouring the person and conduct of the man,) found the means to send him on a message to the bishop of Winchester, writing his letter privately to the bishop, by conference of learning to do some good upon him, but in any case requiring him to send home his servant to him again.

Winchester, after long conference with Mr. Hooper four or five days together, when he at length perceived that neither he could do that good which he thought to him, nor that he would take any good at his hand, according to Mr. Arundel's request, he sent home his servant again, right well commending his learning and wit, but yet bearing in his breast a grudge against Mr. Hooper.

It followed not long after this, as malice is always working mischief, that intelligence was given to Mr. Hooper to provide for himself, for the danger that was working against him. Whereupon Mr. Hooper leaving Mr. Arundel's house, and borrowing a horse of a certain friend (whose life he had

saved a little before from the gallows) took his journey to the sea-side to go to France, sending back the horse again by one, which indeed did not deliver him to the owner. Mr. Hooper being at Paris, tarried there not long, but in short time returned into England again, and was retained of Mr. Sentlow, till the time that he was again molested; whereby he was compelled, under the pretence of being a captain of a ship going to Ireland, to take the seas, and so escaped he, although not without extreme peril of drowning, through France to the higher parts of Germany. Where gathering acquaintance with learned men, was of them friendly and lovingly entertained, both at Basle and Zurich, especially by Mr. Bullinger, being his singular friend. Where also he married his wife, who was a Burgonian, and applied very studiously to the Hebrew tongue.

At length, when God saw it good to stay the bloody time of the Six Articles, and to give us king Edward to reign over this realm, with some peace and rest unto the gospel, amongst many other English exiles which then repaired homeward, Mr. Hooper also, moved in conscience, thought not to absent himself, but seeing such a time and opportunity, offered to help forward the Lord's work, to the uttermost of his ability. And so coming to Mr. Bullinger, and other of his acquaintance in Zurich, as duty required, to give them thanks for their singular kindness and humanity toward him manifold ways declared, with like humanity again purposed to take his leave of them at his departing; and so did. Unto whom Mr. Bullinger again spake on this wise: Mr. Hooper, although we are sorry to part with your company for our own cause, yet much greater cause we have to rejoice, both for your sake, and especially for the cause of Christ's true religion, that you shall now return out of long banishment into your native country again, where not only you may enjoy your own private liberty, but also the cause and state of Christ's church by you may fare the better, as we doubt not but it shall. And if you will please not to forget us again, then I pray you let us hear from you.

Whereunto Mr. Hooper answering again, first gave to Mr. Bullinger and the rest hearty thanks, for that their singular good-will and undeserved affection. And added, You shall be sure from time to time to hear from me; and I will write unto you how it goeth with me. But the last news of all I shall not be able to write: for there (said he,) taking Mr. Bullinger by the hand, where I shall take most pains, there shall you hear of me to be burned to ashes; and that shall be the last news, which I shall not be able to write unto you, but you shall hear of me, &c.

To this also may be added another like prophetic demonstration, foreshewing before the manner of this martyrdom wherewith he should glorify God, which was this:—When Mr. Hooper, being made bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, should have his arms given him by the herald, as the manner is here in England, every bishop to have his arms assigned unto him, whether by the appointment of Mr. Hooper, or by the herald, I have not certainly to say; but the arms which were to him allotted was this: A lamb in a fiery bush, and the sun-beams from heaven descending down upon the lamb; rightly denoting, as it seemed, the order of his suffering which afterward followed.

When Mr. Hooper had taken his farewell of Mr. Bullinger and his friends in Zurich, he came again into England in the reign of king Edward the Sixth, and coming to London, he used continually to preach, most times twice, at least once, every day, and never failed.

In his sermons, according to his accustomed manner,

he corrected sin, and sharply inveighed again the iniquity of the world, and corrupt abuses of the church : the people in great flocks and companies daily came to hear his voice, as the most melodious sound and tune of Orpheus's harp, as the proverb saith ; insomuch, that oftentimes when he was preaching, the church would be so full, that many could enter no further than the doors thereof. In his doctrine he was earnest, in tongue eloquent, in the scriptures perfect, and in pains indefatigable.

Moreover, besides his other gifts and qualities, this is in him to be marvelled, that even as he began, so he continued still unto his life's end ; for neither could his labour and pains-taking break him, neither promotion change him, neither dainty fare corrupt him. His life was so pure and good, that no kind of slander could fasten any fault upon him, though there wanted not enemies. He was of body strong, his health whole and sound, his wit very pregnant, his invincible patience able to sustain whatsoever sinister fortune and adversity could do. He was constant of judgment, a good justice, spare of diet, sparer of words, and sparest of time. In housekeeping very liberal, and sometimes more free than his living could extend unto. Briefly, of all those virtues and qualities, required by St. Paul in a good bishop, in his epistles to Timothy, I know not one in this good bishop lacking. He bare in countenance and talk always a certain severe and grave grace, which might peradventure be wished sometime to have been a little more popular and vulgar-like in him ; but he knew what he had to do best himself.

This by the way I thought to note, for that there was once an honest citizen, and to me not unknown, which having in himself a certain conflict of conscience, came to his door for counsel ; but being abashed at his austere behaviour, durst not come in, but departed, seeking remedy of his troubled mind at other men's hands, which he afterwards by the help of Almighty God did find and obtain. Therefore, in my judgment, such as are appointed and made governors over the flock of Christ, to teach and instruct them, ought so to frame their life, manners, countenance, and external behaviour, as neither they shew themselves too familiar and light, whereby to be brought into contempt, nor on the other side again that they appear more lofty and rigorous than appertaineth to the edifying of the simple flock of Christ. Nevertheless, as every man hath his peculiar gift wrought in him by nature, so this disposition of fatherly gravity in this man neither was excessive, neither did he bear that personage that was in him without great consideration. For it seemed to him, peradventure, that this licentious and unbridled life of the common sort ought to be chastened, not only with words and discipline, but also with the grave and severe countenance of good men.

After he had thus practised himself in this popular and common kind of preaching, at length, and that not without the great profit of many, he was called to preach before the king's majesty, and soon after made bishop of Gloucester by the king's commandment. In that office he continued two years, and behaved himself so well, that his very enemies could find no fault with him ; and after that, he was made bishop of Worcester.

But I cannot tell what sinister and unlucky contention concerning the ordering and consecration of bishops, and of their apparel, with such other like trifles, began to disturb the good and lucky beginning of the godly bishop : for notwithstanding that godly reformation of religion that began in the church of England, besides other ceremonies, more ambitious than profitable or tending to edification, they used to wear such garments and apparel as the popish bishops were

went to do : first, a chymere, and under that a white rochet, then a mathematical cap with four angles, dividing the whole world into four parts. These trifles, tending more to superstition than otherwise, as he could never abide, so in no wise could he be persuaded to wear them. And for this cause he made supplication to the king's majesty, most humbly desiring his highness either to discharge him of the bishopric, or else to dispense with him for such ceremonial orders. Whose petition the king granted immediately, writing his letter to the archbishop.—

" Right reverend father, and right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Whereas we, by the advice of our council, have called and chosen our right well-beloved and well worthy Mr. John Hooper, professor of divinity, to be our bishop of Gloucester, as well for his great knowledge, deep judgment, and long study, both in the scriptures and profane learning, as also for his good discretion, ready utterance, and honest life, for that kind of vocation : To the intent all our loving subjects, which are in his said charge, and elsewhere, might by his sound and true doctrine learn the better their duty towards God, their obedience towards us, and love towards their neighbours ; from consecrating of whom we understand you to stay, because he would have you omit and let pass certain rites and ceremonies offensive to his conscience, whereby ye think ye should fall into *premunire* of laws : we have thought good, by the advice aforesaid, to dispense and discharge you of all manner of dangers, penalties, and forfeitures, you shall run, and be in any manner of way, by omitting any of the same. And these our letters shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge therefore.

" Given under our signet at our castle of Windsor, the 5th of August, the 4th year of our reign.

" ED. SOMERSET.

" Ed. Somerset,  
W. Wiltshire,  
W. North,

W. Paget,  
Au. Wingfield,  
N. Wooton."

Besides this letter of the king, also the earl of Warwick (who was afterwards duke of Northumberland) adjoined his letter to the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury, to this purpose and effect, that Mr. Hooper might not be burdened with the oath used then commonly in the consecration of bishops, which was against his conscience, as by the purport of the letter here is to be seen, as followeth :

" After my most hearty commendations to your grace, these may be to desire the same, that in such reasonable things, wherein this bearer, my lord elect of Gloucester, craveth to be borne withal at your hands, you would vouchsafe to shew him your grace's favour the rather at this my instance : which thing partly I have taken in hand by the king's majesty's own motion. The matter is weighed by his highness, none other but that your grace may facily condescend unto. The principal cause is, that you would not charge this said bearer with an oath burdensome to his conscience.—And so, for lack of time, I commit your grace to the tuition of Almighty God. From Westminster, the 23d of July, 1550. " Your grace's most assured loving friend,

" J. WARWICK."

Both this grant of the king, and also the earl's letters aforesaid, notwithstanding, the bishops still stood earnestly in defence of the aforesaid ceremonies ; saying, it was but a small matter, and that the fault was in the abuse of the things, and not in the things themselves ; adding, moreover,

that he ought not to be so stubborn in so light a matter, and that his wilfulness therein was not to be suffered.

To be short,—whilst both parties thus contended about this matter more than reason would, in the mean time occasion was given, as to the true Christians to lament, so to the adversaries to rejoice. In conclusion, this theological contention came to this end, that the bishops having the upper hand, Mr. Hooper was fain to agree to this condition, that sometimes he should in his sermon shew himself apparelled as the other bishops were. Wherefore, appointed to preach before the king, as a new player in a strange apparel, he cometh forth on the stage. His upper garment was a long scarlet chymere down to the foot, and under that a white linen rochet that covered all his shoulders; upon his head he had a geometrical, that is, a four-squared cap, albeit that his head was round. What cause of shame the strangeness hereof was that day to that good preacher, every man may easily judge. But this private contumely and reproach, in respect of the public profit of the church, which he only sought, he bare and suffered patiently. And I would to God in like manner they which took upon them the other part of that tragedy had yielded their private cause, whatsoever it was, to the public concord and edifying of the church: for no man in all the city was one hair the better for that hot contention.

And thus by the way thou hast heard, good reader, hitherto the weakness of these good men, plainly and simply, as the truth was, declared unto thee, to the end their fall may minister occasion to us, either of eschewing the like, or else to take heart and comfort in the like fall and frailness of ours. Now again on the other part it remaineth to record, after the aforesaid discord, the godly reconciliations of these good men in time of persecution, who afterward being in prison for the truth's sake, reconciled themselves again with most godly agreement.

Mr. Hooper, after all these tumults and vexations sustained about his investing and princely vestures, at length entering into his diocese, did there employ his time which the Lord lent him under king Edward's reign, with such diligence, as may be a spectacle to all bishops which shall ever hereafter succeed him, not only in that place, but in whatsoever diocese through the whole realm of England; so careful was he in his cure, that he left neither pains untaken nor ways unsought how to train up the flock of Christ in the true word of salvation, continually labouring in the same. Other men commonly are wont, for lucre or promotion's sake, to aspire to bishoprics, some hunting for them, and some purchasing or buying them, as men use to purchase lordships, and when they have them are loath to leave them, and thereupon also loath to commit that thing by worldly laws whereby to lose them.

To this sort of men Mr. Hooper was quite contrary, who abhorred nothing more than gain, labouring always to save and preserve the souls of his flock; who being bishop of two dioceses, so ruled and guided either of them, and both together, as though he had in charge but one family. No father in his household, no gardener in his garden, no husbandman in his vineyard, was more or better occupied than he in his diocese amongst his flock, going about his towns and villages in teaching and preaching to the people there.

That time that he had to spare from preaching, he bestowed either in hearing public causes, or else in private study, prayer, and visiting of schools: with his continual doctrine he adjoined due and discreet correction, not so much severe to any, as to them which for abundance of riches and wealthy state thought they might do what they

listed. And doubtless in his exhortations he spared no kind of people, but was indifferent to all men, as well rich as poor, to the great shame of no small number of men now-a-days. Whereof many we see so addicted to the pleasing of great and rich men, that in the mean time they have no regard to the meaner sort of poor people, whom Christ hath bought as dearly as the other.

His life in fine was such, that to the church and to all churchmen it might be a light and example, and to others a perpetual lesson and sermon. Finally, how virtuous and good a bishop he was, ye may conceive and know evidently by this: that even as he that was hated of none but of them which were evil, so yet the worst of them all could not reprove his life in any one jot.

I have now declared his usage and behaviour abroad in the public affairs of the church: and certainly there appeared in him at home no less example of a worthy prelate's life. For though he bestowed the most part of his care upon the public flock and congregation of Christ, for the which also he spent his blood; yet nevertheless there lacked no provision in him to bring up his own children in learning and good manners; insomuch, that ye could not discern whether he deserved more praise for his fatherly usage at home, or for his bishop-like doings abroad; for every where he kept one religion in one uniform doctrine and integrity. So that if you entered into the bishop's palace, you would suppose yourself to have entered into some church or temple. In every corner thereof there was some savour of virtue, good example, honest conversation, and reading of the holy scriptures. There was not to be seen in his house any courtly rioting or idleness; no pomp at all, no dishonest word, no swearing, could there be heard.

As for the revenues of both his bishoprics, although they did not greatly exceed, as the matter was handled, yet if any thing surmounted thereof, he pursed nothing, but bestowed it in hospitality. Twice I was, as I remembered, in his house at Worcester, where in his common hall I saw a table spread with good store of meat, and beset full of beggars and poor folks; and I asking his servants what this meant? they told me, that every day their master's manner was to have to dinner a certain number of poor folk of the said city by course, who were served by four at a mess with wholesome meats; and when they were served (being before examined by him, or his deputies, of the Lord's Prayer, the Articles of their Faith, and Ten Commandments,) then himself sat down to dinner, and not before.

After this manner Mr. Hooper executed the office of a most careful and vigilant pastor for the space of two years and more, so long as the state of religion in king Edward's time did safely flourish. And would God that all other bishops would use the like diligence, care, and observance, in their function! After this, king Edward being dead, and Mary being crowned queen of England, religion being subverted, this good bishop was one of the first that was sent for by a pursuivant, to be at London; and that for two causes:

First, To answer to Dr. Heath, then appointed bishop of that diocese, who was before in king Edward's days deprived thereof for Papistry.

Secondarily, To render account to Dr. Bonner, bishop of London, for that he in king Edward's time was one of his accusers, in that he shewed himself not conformable to such ordinances as were prescribed to him by the king and his council, openly at Paul's cross. And although the said Mr. Hooper was not ignorant of the evils that should happen to him, (for he was admonished by certain of his friends to get away and shift for himself,) yet he would not, but tarried still,

saying, "Once I did flee, and take me to my feet; but now, because I am called to this place and vocation, I am thoroughly persuaded to tarry, and to live and die with my success."

And when, at the day of his appearance, which was the first of September, he came to London, before he could come to the aforesaid Dr. Heath and Bonner, he was intercepted, and commanded violently against his will to appear before the queen and her council, to answer to certain bonds and obligations wherein, they said, he was bound unto her. And when he came before them, Winchester by and by received him very opprobriously, and, railing and rating of him, accused him of false religion. He again freely and boldly told his tale, and purged himself. But in fine it came to this conclusion, that by them he was commanded to ward; it being declared unto him at his departure, that the cause of his imprisonment was only for certain sums of money which he was indebted to the queen, and not for religion. This, how false and untrue it was, shall in its place more plainly appear.

The next year, being 1554, the 19th of March, he was called again to appear before Winchester, and other of the queen's commissioners; where, what for the bishop, and what for the unruly multitude, when he could not be permitted to plead his cause, he was deprived of his bishopric, as, indeed, had been before determined.

At this meeting, the bishops of Winchester, London, Durham, Llandaff, and Chichester, sat as commissioners.

At Mr. Hooper's coming in, the lord chancellor asked, whether he was married?

*Hooper.* Yea, my lord, and will not be unmarried till death unmarry me.

*Durham.* That is matter enough to deprive you.

*Hooper.* That is not, my lord, except ye act plainly against the law.

The matter concerning marriage was no more talked of then for a great space; but as well the commissioner, as such as stood by, began to make such outcries, and laughed, and used such gesture, as was unseemly for the place, and for such a matter. The bishop of Chichester, Dr. Day, called Mr. Hooper hypocrite, with vehement words and scornful countenance. Bishop Tonstal called him beast; so did Smith, one of the clerks of the council, and divers others that stood by. At length the bishop of Winchester said, That all men might live chaste that would; and brought in this text, "There be that have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven," Matt. xix.

Mr. Hooper said, That text proved not that all men could live chaste, but such only to whom it was given; and read that which goeth before in the text. But there was a clamour and cry, mocking and scorning, with calling him beast, that the text could not be examined.

After long and brutish talk, Tonstal, bishop of Durham, asked Mr. Hooper, whether he believed the corporal presence in the sacrament? And Mr. Hooper said plainly, that there was none such presence, neither did he believe any such thing.

Mr. Hooper would have said more to have opened the text, but all men that stood next about the bishop interrupted so his words with clamours and cries, that Mr. Hooper was not permitted to say any more against the bishop. Whereupon they bade the notaries write that he was married, and said that he would not go from his wife, and that he believed not the corporal presence in the sacrament; wherefore he was worthy to be deprived of his bishopric.

*The true Report of Mr. Hooper's Entertainment in the Fleet, written with his own hand the 7th of January, 1554.*

The first of September, 1553, I was committed unto the Fleet from Richmond, to have the liberty of the prison; and within six days after I paid for my liberty five pounds sterling to the warden, for fees: who, immediately upon the payment thereof, complained unto Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and so was I committed to close prison one quarter of a year, in the tower-chamber of the Fleet, and used very ill. Then, by the means of a good gentlewoman, I had liberty to come down to dinner and supper, but not suffered to speak with any of my friends; but, as soon as dinner and supper was done, to repair to my chamber again. Notwithstanding, whilst I came down thus to dinner and supper, the warden and his wife picked quarrels with me, and complained untruly of me to their great friend the bishop of Winchester.

After one quarter of a year, and somewhat more, Babington, the warden, and his wife, fell out with me for the wicked mass: and thereupon the warden went to the bishop of Winchester, and got me put into the wards, where I have continued a long time, having nothing appointed to me for my bed but a little pad of straw, and a rotten covering, with a tick and a few feathers therein, the chamber being vile and stinking, until by God's means good people sent me bedding to lie in. On the one side of which prison is the sink and filth of the house, and on the other side the town ditch, so that the stench of the house hath infected me with sundry diseases.

During which time I have been sick, and the doors, bars, hasps, and chains, being all closed and made fast upon me, I have mourned, called, and cried for help; but the warden, when he hath known me many times ready to die, and when the poor men of the wards have called to help me, hath commanded the doors to be kept fast, and charged that none of his men should come at me, saying, "Let him alone, it were a good riddance of him."

I paid always like a baron to the said warden, as well in fees as for my board, which was twenty shillings a week, besides my man's table, until I was wrongfully deprived of my bishopric, and since that time I have paid him as the best gentleman doth in his house; yet hath he used me worse and more vilely than the veriest slave that ever came to the hall commons.

The said warden hath also imprisoned my man, William Downton, and stripped him out of his clothes to search for letters, and could find none, but only a little remembrance of good people's names that gave me their alms to relieve me in prison; and to undo them also, the warden delivered the same bill unto the said Stephen Gardiner, God's enemy and mine.

I have suffered imprisonment almost eighteen months, my goods, living, friends, and comfort, taken from me; the queen owing me by just account eighty pounds or more. She hath put me in prison, and giveth nothing to find me, neither is there suffered any one to come at me whereby I might have relief. I am with a wicked man and woman, so that I see no remedy, saving God's help, but I shall be cast away in prison before I come to judgment. But I commit my just cause to God, whose will be done, whether it be by life or death.

*Another Examination of Mr. Hooper.*

The 22d of January following, 1555, Babington, the warden of the Fleet, was commanded to bring Mr. Hooper be-

fore the bishop of Winchester, with other bishops and commissioners, at the said Winchester's house at St. Mary Overy's.

The bishop of Winchester, in the name of himself and the rest, moved Mr. Hooper earnestly to forsake the evil and corrupt doctrine, as he termed it, preached in the days of king Edward VI. and to return to the unity of the Catholic church, and to acknowledge the pope's holiness to be head of the same church, according to the determination of the whole parliament; promising, that as he himself, with other his brethren, had received the pope's blessing and the queen's mercy, even so mercy was ready to be shewn to him and others, if he would arise with them, and condescend to the pope's holiness.

Mr. Hooper answered, That forasmuch as the pope taught doctrine altogether contrary to the doctrine of Christ, he was not worthy to be accounted as a member of Christ's church, much less to be a head thereof; wherefore he would in no wise condescend to any such usurped jurisdiction, neither esteemed he the church, whereof they called him head, to be the Catholic church of Christ: for the church only heareth the voice of her spouse Christ, and fieth the strangers. Howbeit, (said he,) if in any point (to me unknown) I have offended the queen's majesty, I shall most humbly submit myself to her mercy, if mercy may be had with safety of conscience, and without the displeasure of God.

Answer was made, That the queen would shew no mercy to the pope's enemies.

Whereupon Babington was commanded to take him to the Fleet again; who did so, and shifted him from his former chamber into another, near unto the warden's own chamber, where he remained six days; and in the mean time his former chamber was searched by Dr. Martin and others, for writings and books, which Mr. Hooper was thought to have made; but none was found.

The 28th of January, Winchester and other the commissioners sat in judgment at St. Mary Overy's, where Mr. Hooper appeared before them at afternoon again, and there, after much reasoning and disputation to and fro, he was commanded aside till Mr. Rogers, who was then come, had been likewise examined.

Examinations being ended, the two sheriffs of London were commanded, about four of the clock, to carry them to the Compter in Southwark, there to remain till the morrow at nine o'clock, to see whether they would relent, and come home again to the Catholic church. So Mr. Hooper went before with one of the sheriffs, and Mr. Rogers came after with the other; and being out of the church door, Mr. Hooper looked back, and stayed a little till Mr. Rogers drew near: unto whom he said, Come, brother Rogers, must we two take this matter first in hand, and begin to fry these faggots? Yea, sir, said Mr. Rogers, by God's grace. Doubt not, said Mr. Hooper, but God will give strength. So going forward, there was such a press of people which rejoiced at their constancy, that they had much ado to pass.

By the way the sheriff said to Mr. Hooper, I wonder that ye were so hasty and quick with my lord chancellor, and did use no more patience. He answered, I was nothing at all impatient, although I was earnest in my Master's cause, and it standeth me so in hand; for it goeth upon life and death, not the life and death of this world only, but also of the world to come. Then were they committed to the keeper of the Compter, and appointed to several chambers, with commandment that they should not be suffered to speak one with another, neither yet any other permitted to come at them that night.

Upon the next day following, the 29th of January, at the hour appointed, they were brought again by the sheriffs before the said bishop and commissioners, in the church where they were the day before. And after long and earnest talk, when they perceived that Mr. Hooper would by no means condescend unto them, they condemned him to be degraded, and read unto him his condemnation. That done, Mr. Rogers was brought before them, and in like manner treated; and so they delivered both of them to the secular power, the two sheriffs of London, who were willed to carry them to the Clink, a prison not far from the bishop of Winchester's house, and there to remain till night.

When it was dark, Mr. Hooper was led by one of the sheriffs, with many bills and weapons, first through the bishop of Winchester's house, and so over London-bridge through the city to Newgate. And by the way some of the sergeants were willed to go before, and put out the costermongers' candles, who use to sit with lights in the streets: either fearing, of likelihood, that the people would have made some attempt to have taken him away from them by force, if they had seen him go to that prison; or else, being burdened with an evil conscience, they thought darkness to be a most fit season for such a business.

But notwithstanding this device, the people having some foreknowledge of his coming, many of them came forth of their doors with lights, and saluted him, praising God for his constancy in the true doctrine which he had taught them, and desiring God to strengthen him in the same to the end: Mr. Hooper passed by, and required the people to make their earnest prayer to God for him, and so went through Chrepside to the place appointed, and was delivered as close prisoner to the keeper of Newgate, where he remained six days, nobody being permitted to come to or talk with him, saving his keepers and others appointed thereto.

During this time, Bonner, bishop of London, and other at his appointment, as Fecknam, Chedsey, and Harpsfield, &c. resorted divers times unto him, to try if by any means they could persuade him to relent, and become a member of their antichristian church. All the ways they could devise, they attempted: for, besides the disputations and allegations of testimonies of the scriptures, and of ancient writers, wrested to a wrong sense, according to their accustomed manner, they used also all outward gentleness and significations of friendship, with many great proffers and promises of worldly commodities, not omitting also most grievous threatenings, if with gentleness they could not prevail; but they found him always the same man, steadfast and immoveable.

When they perceived that they could by no means reclaim him to their purpose with such persuasions and offers as they used for his conversion, then went they about by false rumours and reports of recantation, (for it is well known that they and their servants did spread it first abroad,) to bring him, and the doctrine of Christ which he professed, out of credit with the people. So the noise being a little spread abroad, and believed of some of the weaker sort, by reason of the frequent resort of the bishop of London and others, it increased more, and at the last came to Mr. Hooper's ears. Wherewith he was not a little grieved, that the people should give so light credit unto false rumours, having so simple a ground; as may appear by the following letter.

*A Letter of Mr. Hooper, for the stopping of certain false Rumours spread abroad, of his Recantation.*

"The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with all them that unfeignedly look for the coming of our Saviour Christ. Amen.



"Dear brethren and sisters in the Lord, and my fellow-prisoners for the cause of God's gospel, I do much rejoice and give thanks unto God for your constancy and perseverance in affliction, unto whom I wish continuance unto the end. And as I do rejoice in your faith and constancy in afflictions that be in prison, even so do I mourn and lament to hear of our dear brethren that yet have not felt such dangers for God's truth as we have, and do feel, and be daily like to suffer more, yea, the very extreme and vile death of the fire. Yet such is the report abroad, as I am credibly informed, that I, John Hooper, a condemned man for the cause of Christ, should now after sentence of death, (being in Newgate prisoner, and looking daily for execution,) recant and abjure that which heretofore I have preached. And this talk ariseth of this, that the bishop of London and his chaplains resort unto me. Doubtless, if our brethren were as godly as I could wish them, they would think, that in case I did refuse to talk with them, they might have just occasion to say that I were unlearned, and durst not speak with learned men; or else proud, and disdained to speak with them. Therefore, to avoid just suspicion of both, I have and do daily speak with them when they come, not doubting but that they report that I am neither proud nor unlearned. And I would wish all men to do as I do in this point. For I fear not their arguments, neither is death terrible unto me, praying you to make true report of the same, as occasion shall serve; and that I am more confirmed in the truth which I have preached heretofore, by their coming.

"Therefore, ye that may send to the weak brethren, pray them that they trouble me not with such reports of recantations as they do. For I have hitherto left all things of the world, and suffered great pains and imprisonment, and I thank God I am as ready to suffer death as a mortal man may be. It were better for them to pray for us, than to credit or report such rumours that be untrue. We have enemies enow of such as know not God truly. But yet the false report of weak brethren is a double cross. I wish you eternal salvation in Jesus Christ, and also require your continual prayers, that he which hath begun a good work in us, may continue in it to the end.

"I have taught the truth with my tongue, and with my pen, heretofore; and hereafter shortly shall confirm the same, by God's grace, with my blood. Forth of Newgate the second of February, anno 1554.

"Your brother in Christ,

"JOHN HOOPER."

After the sentence of degradation thus declared, now let us see the form and manner of their degrading, which here also followeth.—But first here is to be noted, that they degrading this blessed bishop, did not proceed against him as a bishop, but as only against a priest, as they termed him; for such as he was, these Balaamites accounted for no bishop.

*Here followeth the Form and Manner used in the Degrading of Bishop Hooper.*

The fourth of February, the year above-mentioned, in the chapel of Newgate, the bishop of London there sitting with his notary and certain other witnesses, came Alexander Andrew, the gaoler, bringing with him Mr. Hooper and Mr. Rogers, being condemned before by the chancellor; where the said bishop of London, at the request of the aforesaid Winchester, proceeded to the degradation of the parties above-mentioned, Mr. Hooper and Mr. Rogers. after this form and

manner: First, he put upon him all the vestures and ornaments belonging to a priest, with all other things to the same order appertaining, as though (being re-vested) they should solemnly execute their office. Thus they being apparelled and re-vested, the bishop beginneth to pluck off; first the uttermost vesture, and so by degree and order coming down to the lowest vesture, which they had only in taking *benet* and *collet*; and so being stript and deposed, he deprived them of all order, benefit, and privilege, belonging to the clergy: and consequently that being done, pronounced, decreed, and declared, the said parties so degraded to be given personally to the secular power, as the sheriffs being for that year, Mr. David Woodroffe and Mr. William Chester; who receiving first the said Mr. Rogers at the hands of the bishop, had him away with them.

The same Monday at night, being the fourth of February, his keeper gave him an inkling that he should be sent to Gloucester to suffer death; whereat he rejoiced very much, lifting up his eyes and hands unto heaven, and praising God, that he saw it good to send him among the people over whom he was pastor, there to confirm with his death the truth which he had before taught them; not doubting but the Lord would give him strength to perform the same to his glory. And immediately he sent to his servant's house for his boots, spurs, and cloak, that he might be in readiness to ride when he should be called.

The next day following, about four of the clock, before day, the keeper with others came to him and searched him, and the bed wherein he lay, to see if he had written any thing; and then he was led by the sheriffs of London and other their officers forth of Newgate, to a place appointed, not far from St. Dunstan's church in Fleet-street, where six of the queen's guard were appointed to receive him, and to carry him to Gloucester, there to be delivered unto the sheriffs, who, with the lord Shandois, Mr. Wicks, and other commissioners, were appointed to see execution done. The which guard brought him to the Angel, where he brake his fast with them, eating his meat at that time more liberally than he had used to do a good while before. About the break of the day he went to horse, and leapt cheerfully on horseback without help, having a hood upon his head under his hat, that he should not be known; and so he took his journey joyfully towards Gloucester, and always by the way the guard learned of him where he was accustomed to bait or lodge, and ever carried him to another inn.

Upon the Thursday following, he came to a town in his diocese, called Cirencester, fifteen miles from Gloucester, about eleven of the clock, and there dined at a woman's house which had always hated the truth, and spoken all evil she could of Mr. Hooper. This woman, perceiving the cause of his coming, shewed him all the friendship she could, and lamented his case with tears, confessing that she before had often reported, that if he were put to the trial he would not stand to his doctrine.

After dinner he rode forwards, and came to Gloucester about five of the clock, and a mile without the town was much people assembled, who cried and lamented his estate; insomuch, that one of the guard rode post into the town, to require aid of the mayor and sheriffs, fearing lest he should be taken from them. The officers and their retinue repaired to the gate with weapons, and commanded the people to keep their houses, &c. but there was no man that once gave any signification of any such rescue or violence. So was he lodged at one Ingram's house in Gloucester; and that night, as he had done all the way, he did eat his meat quietly, and slept his first sleep soundly, as it was reported by them of

the guard and others. After this first sleep he continued all that night in prayer until the morning, and then he desired that he might go into the next chamber, (for the guard were also in the chamber where he lay,) that there being solitary, he might pray and talk with God: so that all the day, saving a little at meat, and when he talked at any time with such as the guard licensed to speak with him, he spent in prayer.

Amongst others that spake with him, Sir Anthony Kingston, knight, was one. Who seeming in times past his very friend, was then appointed by the queen's letters to be one of the commissioners to see execution done upon him. Mr. Kingston being brought into the chamber, found him at his prayers; and as soon as he saw Mr. Hooper, he burst forth in tears. Mr. Hooper at the first blush knew him not. Then said Mr. Kingston, Why, my lord, do you not know me, an old friend of your's, Anthony Kingston?

Yes, Mr. Kingston, I do now know you well, and am glad to see you in health, and do praise God for the same.

But I am sorry to see you, said Sir Anthony, in this case; for, as I understand, you be come hither to die. But, alas! consider that life is sweet, and death is bitter: therefore, seeing life may be had, desire to live, for life hereafter may do good.

Indeed it is true, Mr. Kingston, I am come hither to end this life, and to suffer death here, because I will not gainsay the former truth that I have heretofore taught amongst you in this diocese and elsewhere; and I thank you for your friendly counsel, although it be not so friendly as I could have wished it. True it is, Mr. Kingston, that death is bitter, and life is sweet: but, alas! consider that the death to come is more bitter, and the life to come is more sweet. Therefore, for the desire and love I have to the one, and the terror and fear of the other, I do not so much regard this death, nor esteem this life, but have settled myself, through the strength of God's holy Spirit, patiently to pass through the torments and extremities of the fire now prepared for me, rather than to deny the truth of his word; desiring you and others, in the mean time, to commend me to God's mercy in your prayers.

Well, my lord, then I perceive there is no remedy, and therefore I will take my leave of you. And I thank God that ever I knew you, for God did appoint you to call me, being a lost child; and by your good instructions, where before I was an adulterer and a fornicator, God hath brought me to the forsaking and detesting of the same.

If you have had the grace so to do, I do highly praise God for it; and if you have not, I pray God ye may have, and that you may continually live in his fear.

After these and many other words, the one took leave of the other, Mr. Kingston with bitter tears, Mr. Hooper with tears also trickling down his cheeks. At which departure Mr. Hooper told him, that all the troubles he had sustained in prison had not caused him to utter so much sorrow.

The same day in the afternoon, a blind boy, after long intercession made to the guard, obtained license to be brought unto Mr. Hooper. The same boy not long afore had suffered imprisonment at Gloucester for confessing of the truth. Mr. Hooper, after he had examined him of his faith, and the cause of his imprisonment, beheld him steadfastly, and (the water appearing in his eyes) said unto him, Ah, poor boy, God hath taken from thee thy outward sight, for what reason he best knoweth; but he hath given thee another sight much more precious, for he hath endued thy soul with the eye of knowledge and faith. God give thee grace continually to pray unto him, that thou lose not that

sight, for then shouldest thou be blind both in body and soul.

After that, another came to him, (whom he knew to be a very Papist, and a wicked man,) who appeared to be sorry for Mr. Hooper's trouble, saying, Sir, I am sorry to see you thus.—To see me! Why (said he) art thou sorry?—To see you, suith the other, in this case; for I hear say you are come hither to die, for the which I am sorry.—Be sorry for thyself, man, said Mr. H. and lament thine own wickedness; for I am well, I thank God, and death to me for Christ's sake is welcome.

The same night he was committed by the guard (their commission being then expired) unto the custody of the sheriffs of Gloucester. The name of the one was Jenkins, the other Bond, who with the mayor and aldermen repaired to Mr. Hooper's lodging, and at the first meeting saluted him, and took him by the hand. Unto whom Hooper spake on this manner:—Mr. Mayor, I give most hearty thanks to you, and to the rest of your brethren, that you have vouchsafed to take me, a prisoner and a condemned man, by the hand; whereby to my rejoicing it is some deal apparent, that your old love and friendship towards me is not altogether extinguished; and I trust also, that all the things I have taught you in times past are not utterly forgotten, when I was here, by the godly king that is dead, appointed to be your bishop and pastor. For the which most true and sincere doctrine, because I will not now account it falsehood and heresy, as many other men do, I am sent hither (as I am sure you know) by the queen's commandment, to die, and am come where I taught it, to confirm it with my blood. And now, Mr. Sheriffs, I understand, by these good men, and my very friends, (meaning the guard,) at whose hands I have found so much favour and gentleness by the way hitherward, as a prisoner could reasonably require, (for the which also I most heartily thank them,) that I am committed to your custody, as unto them that must see me brought to-morrow to the place of execution. My request therefore to you shall be only, that there may be a quick fire, shortly to make an end; and in the mean time I will be as obedient unto you as yourselves would wish. If you think I do amiss in any thing, hold up your finger, and I have done. For I am not hither as one enforced or compelled to die: for it is well known I might have had my life, with worldly gain; but as one willing to offer and give my life for the truth, rather than to consent to the wicked papistical religion of the bishop of Rome, received and set forth by the magistrates of England, to God's high displeasure and dishonour; and I trust by God's grace to-morrow to die a faithful servant of God, and a true obedient subject to the queen.

These and such like words used Mr. H. to the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen, whereat many of them mourned and lamented. Notwithstanding, the two sheriffs went aside to consult, and were determined to have lodged him in the common gaol of the town, called Northgate, if the guard had not made earnest intercession for him; who declared at large how quietly, mildly, and patiently, he had behaved himself in the way; adding thereto, that any child might keep him well enough, and that they themselves would rather take pains to watch with him, than that he should be sent to the common prison. So it was determined at length he should still remain in Robert Ingram's house; and the sheriffs, and the sergeants, and other officers, did appoint to watch with him that night themselves.

His desire was, that he might go to bed that night betimes, saying, that he had many things to remember: and so he did at five of the clock, and slept one sleep soundly, and

bestowed the rest of the night in prayer. After he got up in the morning, he desired that no man should be suffered to come into the chamber, that he might be solitary till the hour of execution.

About eight of the clock came sir John Bridges, lord Shandois, with a great band of men, sir Anthony Kingston, sir Edmund Bridges, and other commissioners, appointed to see execution done. At nine of the clock, Mr. Hooper was willed to prepare himself to be in readiness, for the time was at hand.

Immediately he was brought down from his chamber by the sheriffs, who were accompanied with bills, gleaves, and weapons. When he saw the multitude of weapons, he spake to the sheriffs on this wise: Mr. Sheriffs, said he, I am no traitor, neither needed you to have made such a business to bring me to the place where I must suffer: for if ye had willed me, I would have gone alone to the stake, and have troubled none of you all. Afterward looking upon the multitude of people that were assembled, (being by estimation to the number of 7000, for it was market-day, and many also came to see his behaviour towards death,) he spake unto those that were about him, saying, Alas! why be these people assembled and come together? Peradventure they think to hear something of me now, as they have in times past; but, alas! speech is prohibited me. Notwithstanding, the cause of my death is well known unto them: when I was appointed here to be their pastor, I preached unto them true and sincere doctrine, and that out of the word of God: because I will not now account the same to be heresy and untruth, this kind of death is prepared for me.

So he went forward, led between the two sheriffs, as it were a lamb to the place of slaughter, in a gown of his host's, his hat upon his head, and a staff in his hand to stay himself withal; for the grief of the sciatica, which he had taken in prison, caused him somewhat to halt. All the way (being straitly charged not to speak) he could not be perceived once to open his mouth; but beholding the people all the way, which mourned bitterly for him, he would sometimes lift up his eyes towards heaven, and look very cheerfully upon such as he knew: and he was never known, during the time of his being amongst them, to look with so cheerful and ruddy a countenance as he did at that present.

When he came to the place appointed where he should die, smilingly he beheld the stake and preparation made for him, which was near unto the great elm-tree over against the college of priests, where he was wont to preach. The place round about the houses, and the boughs of the tree, were replenished with people, and in the chamber over the college-gate stood the priests of the college. Then kneeled he down (forasmuch as he could not be suffered to speak unto the people) to prayer, and beckoned six or seven times unto one whom he knew well, to hear the said prayer, to make report thereof in time to come, pouring tears upon his shoulders and in his bosom, who gave attentive ears unto the same; the which prayer he made upon the whole Creed, wherein he continued the space of half an hour. Now, after he was somewhat entered into his prayer, a box was brought and laid before him upon a stool, with his pardon from the queen, if he would turn. At the sight whereof he cried, "If you love my soul, away with it! If you love my soul, away with it!" The box being taken away, the lord Shandois said, Seeing there is no remedy, despatch him quickly. Mr. Hooper said, "Good, my lord; I trust your lordship will give me leave to make an end of my prayers."

Then said the lord Shandois to Sir Edmund Bridges' son, who gave ear before to Mr. Hooper's prayer at his request:

Edmund, take heed that he do nothing else but pray; if he do, tell me, and I shall quickly despatch him. Whilst this talk was, there stepped one or two uncalled, which heard him speak these words following:—

"Lord, (said he,) thou art a gracious God and a merciful Redeemer: have mercy therefore upon me, most miserable and wretched offender, after thy great mercy, and according to thine inestimable goodness. Thou art ascended into heaven: receive me to be a partaker of thy joys, where thou sittest in equal glory with thy Father. For well knowest thou, Lord, wherefore I am come hither to suffer, and why the wicked do persecute this thy poor servant; not for my sins and transgressions committed against thee, but because I will not allow their wicked doings, to the contaminating of thy blood, and to the denial of the knowledge of thy truth, wherewith it did please thee by thy holy Spirit to instruct me; the which, with as much diligence as a poor wretch might, being thereto called, I have set forth to thy glory. And well seest thou, my Lord and God, what terrible pains and cruel torments be prepared for thy creature; such, Lord, as without thy strength none is able to bear, or patiently to pass. But all things that are impossible with man, are possible with thee: therefore strengthen me of thy goodness, that in the fire I break not the rules of patience; or else assuage the terror of the pains, as shall seem most to thy glory."

As soon as the mayor had espied these men which made report of the former words, they were commanded away, and could not be suffered to hear any more.

Prayer being done, he prepared himself to the stake, and put off his host's gown, and delivered it to the sheriffs, requiring them to see it restored to the owner, and put off the rest of his geer, unto his doublet and hose, wherein he would have burned; but the sheriffs would not permit that, such was their greediness; unto whose pleasures, good man, he very obediently submitted himself, and his doublet, hose, and waistcoat, were taken off. Then being in his shirt, he took a point from his hose himself, and thrust his shirt between his legs, where he had a pound of gunpowder in a bladder, and under each arm the like quantity, delivered him by the guard. So desiring the people to say the Lord's Prayer with him, and to pray for him, (who performed it with tears during the time of his pains,) he went up to the stake. Now, when he was at the stake, three irons, made to bind him to the stake, were brought, one for his neck, another for his middle, and the third for his legs. But he refusing them, said, "Ye have no need thus to trouble yourselves: for I doubt not but God will give strength sufficient to abide the extremity of the fire without hands. Notwithstanding, suspecting the frailty and weakness of the flesh, but having assured confidence in God's strength, I am content ye do as ye shall think good."

So the hoop of iron prepared for his middle was brought; which being made somewhat too short (for his belly was swollen with imprisonment,) he shrank, and put in his belly with his hand, until it was fastened: and when they offered to have bound his neck and legs with the other two hoops of iron, he utterly refused them, and would have none, saying, "I am well assured I shall not trouble you."

Thus being ready, he looked upon the people, of whom he might be well seen, (for he was both tall, and stood also on an high-stool,) and beheld round about him; and in every corner there was nothing to be seen but weeping and sorrowful people. Then lifting up his eyes and hands unto heaven, he prayed to himself. By and by, he that was appointed to make the fire, came to him, and did ask him forgiveness.

Of whom he asked, why he should forgive him ; saying, that he knew never any offence he had committed against him. O Sir, said the man, I am appointed to make the fire. Therein, said Mr. Hooper, thou dost not offend me ; God forgive thee thy sins, and do thine office, I pray thee.

Then the reeds were cast up, and he received two bundles of them in his own hands, embraced them, kissed them, and put under either arm one of them, and shewed with his hand how the rest should be bestowed, and pointed to the place where any did lack.

Anon commandment was given that the fire should be set to ; and so it was. But because there were no fewer green faggots put to than two horses could carry upon their backs, it kindled not by and by, and was a pretty while also before it took the reeds upon the faggots. At length it burned about him ; but the wind having full strength in that place, (it was a lowering and cold morning,) it blew the flame from him, so that he was in a manner no more but touched by the fire.

Within a space after, a few dry faggots were brought, and a new fire kindled with faggots, (for there were no more reeds,) and that burned at the nether parts, but had small power above, because of the wind, saving that it did burn his hair and scorch his skin a little. In the time of which fire, even as at the first flame, he prayed, saying mildly and not very loud, but as one without pains, "O Jesus, the son of David, have mercy upon me, and receive my soul."

After the second fire was spent, he did wipe both his eyes with his hands, and beholding the people, he said with an indifferent loud voice, "For God's love, good people, let me have more fire." And all this while his nether parts did burn ; for the faggots were so few, that the flame did not burn strongly at his upper parts.

The third fire was kindled within a while after, which was more extreme than the other two ; and then the bladders of gunpowder brake, which did him small good, they were so placed, and the wind had such power. In this fire he prayed with somewhat a loud voice, "Lord Jesus, have mercy upon me ! Lord Jesus, have mercy upon me ! Lord Jesus, receive my spirit !" And these were the last words he was heard to utter : but when he was black in the mouth, and his tongue swollen that he could not speak, yet his lips went till they shrunk to the gums ; and he knocked his breast with his hands, until one of his arms fell off, and then knocked still with the other, what time the fat, water, and blood, dropped out at his fingers' ends, until by renewing of the fire his strength was gone, and his hand did cleave fast in knocking to the iron upon his breast. So immediately bowing forwards, he yielded up his spirit.

*In clarissimi Doctrina et Pietate Viri JOHANNIS HOOPERI  
Martyrium, Conradi Gesneri carmen.*

Aureus HOPERUS flammis invictus et igni,  
Atque suum Christum confessus ad ultima vitæ  
Momenta, integritate sua præclarus, at ardens  
Exterius flammis, divinus martyr et intus  
Eximio fidei fervore accensus, ad astra  
Spiritus ascendit, Cœlesti luce beatus.  
In terris cineresque manent, et fama corusca,  
Flammæ instar lucens, lucebit dum stabit orbis,  
Utcunque immanes Boreæ, magnæque procellæ  
Flatibus adversis tam clarum abruptum lumen,  
Nitantur frustra. Nam, quæ Deus ipse secundat,  
Quis prohibere queat ? mortalia facta sed ultro  
Et commenta ruunt, vâstaque voragine sidunt.  
HOOPERI exemplo, quotquot spiratis Jesu

Doctrinam Christi, discrimina temnere vitæ,  
Durare, et vosmet rebus servare secundis  
Discite. Namque dabit Deus his meliora ; nec auris  
Audiit ulla, oculus vel vidit, sed neque captus  
Humanæ mentis potuit complectier unquam,  
Qualia, quanta Deus servet sua bona beatis.

Thus was he three-quarters of an hour or more in the fire ; even as a lamb patiently he abode the extremity thereof, neither moving forwards, backwards, or to any side ; but having his nether parts burned, and his bowels fallen out, he died as quietly as a child in his bed ; and he now reigneth as a blessed martyr in the joys of heaven prepared for the faithful in Christ, before the foundations of the world ; for whose constancy all Christians are bound to praise God.

See here, gentle reader, the spirit and practice of Popery, in these days of darkness ; and earnestly pray God to preserve thee and the nation from the tyranny of bigots, now, henceforth, and for ever, Amen.

*A Letter which Mr. Hooper did write out of Prison to certain of his Friends.*

"The grace of God be with you, Amen. I did write unto you of late, and told you what extremity the parliament had concluded upon concerning religion, suppressing the truth, and setting forth the untruth, intending to cause all men by extremity to forswear themselves, and to take again, for the head of the church, him that is neither head nor member of it, but a very enemy, as the word of God and all ancient writers do record : and for lack of law and authority, they will use force and extremity, which have been the arguments to defend the pope and popery, since their authority first began in the world. But now is the time of trial, to see whether we fear more God or man. It was an easy thing to hold with Christ whilst the prince and world held with him : but now the world hateth him, it is the true trial who be his.

"Wherefore in the name, and in the virtue, strength, and power of his holy Spirit, prepare yourselves in any case to adversity and constancy. Let us not run away when it is most time to fight : remember, none shall be crowned, but such as fight manfully ; and he that endureth to the end, shall be saved. Ye must now turn all your cogitations from the peril you see, and mark the felicity that followeth the peril ; either victory in this world of your enemies, or else a surrender of this life to inherit the everlasting kingdom. Beware of beholding too much the felicity or misery of this world, for the consideration and too earnest love or fear of either of them draweth from God.

"Wherefore think with yourselves as touching the felicity of the world, it is good : but yet none otherwise than it standeth with the favour of God. It is to be kept ; but yet so far forth as by keeping of it we lose not God. It is good abiding and tarrying still among our friends here : but yet so, that we tarry not therewithal in God's displeasure, and hereafter dwell with the devils in fire everlasting. There is nothing under God but may be kept, so that God, being above all things we have, be not lost.

"Of adversity judge the same. Imprisonment is painful : but yet liberty unto evil conditions is more painful. The prisons stink ; but yet not so much as sweet houses, where the fear and true honour of God are lacking. I must be alone and solitary ; it is better so to be and have God with me, than to be in company with the wicked. Loss of goods is great ; but loss of God's grace and favour is greater. I am a poor simple creature, and cannot tell how to answer

before such a great number of noble, learned, and wise men; it is better to make answer before the pomp and pride of wicked men, than to stand naked in the sight of all heaven and earth before the just God at the latter day. I shall die then by the hands of the cruel man: he is blessed that loseth his life full of miseries, and findeth the life of eternal joys. It is pain and grief to depart from goods and friends: but yet not so much as to depart from grace and heaven itself. Wherefore there is neither felicity nor adversity of this world that can appear to be great, if it be weighed with the joys or pains in the world to come.

"I can do no more but pray for you; do the same for me, for God's sake. For my part, I thank the heavenly Father, I have made mine accounts, and appointed myself unto the will of the heavenly Father: as he will, so I will by his grace. For God's sake, as soon as ye can, send my poor wife and children some letter from you, and my letter also which I sent of late to D—. As it was told me she never had a letter from me since the coming of M. S. unto her, the more to blame the messengers, for I have written divers times. The Lord comfort them, and provide for them; for I am able to do nothing in worldly things. She is a godly and wise woman. If my meaning had been accomplished, she should have had necessary things; but what I meant, God can perform, to whom I commend both her and you all. I am a precious jewel now, and daintily kept, never so daintily: for neither mine own man, nor any of the servants of the house, may come to me, but my keeper alone, a simple rude man, God knoweth; but I am nothing careful thereof. Fare you well. The 21st of January, 1552.

"Your bounden,

"JOHN HOOPER."

Amongst many other memorable acts and notes worthy to be remembered in the history of Mr. Hooper, this also is not to be forgotten which happened between him and a bragging friar, a little after the beginning of his imprisonment. The story whereof here followeth:

A friar came from France to England with great vaunt, asking who was the greatest heretic in England? thinking belike to do some great act upon him. To whom answer was made, that Mr. Hooper had then the greatest name to be the chiefest ringleader, who was then in the Fleet. The friar coming to him, asked why he was committed to prison? He said, for debt. Nay, said he; it was for heresy. Which when the other had denied, What sayest thou, quoth he, to *Hoc est corpus meum*: "This is my body?" Mr. Hooper, being partly moved at the sudden question, desired that he might ask of him another question, which was this, What remaineth after the consecration in the sacrament, any bread or no? No bread at all, saith he. And when ye break it, what do you break, whether bread or the body? said Mr. Hooper. No bread, said the friar, but the body only. If ye do so, said Mr. Hooper, ye do great injury, not only to the body of Christ, but also ye break the scriptures, which say, "A bone of him shall not be broken." With that the friar, having nothing to answer, recoiled back, and with his circles and his crosses began to use exorcism against Mr. Hooper, as though he were possessed.

*Here follow certain of Mr. Hooper's Letters.*

As you have heard the whole story of the life and martyrdom of this good man declared, so now let us consequently adjoin some part of his letters, written in the time of his imprisonment, most fruitful and worthy to be read, especially in these dangerous days, by all true Christians, which

by true mortification seek to serve and follow the Lord through all tempests and storms of this malignant world, as by the reading and perusing of the said letters you shall better feel and understand.

*A Letter of Mr. Hooper to certain godly Professors and Lovers of the Truth, instructing them how to behave themselves in that woful Alteration and Change of Religion.*

"The grace, mercy, and peace, of God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, be with you, my dear brethren, and with all those that unfeignedly love and embrace his holy gospel, Amen.

"It is told me that the wicked idol, the mass, is established again by law, and passed in the parliament house. Learn the truth of it, I pray you, and what penalty is appointed in the act to such as speak against it; also whether there be any compulsion to constrain men to be at it. The statute thoroughly known, such as be abroad and at liberty may provide for themselves, and avoid the danger the better. Doubtless there hath not been seen before our time such a parliament as this is, that as many as were suspected to be the favourers of God's word, should be banished out of both houses. But we must give God thanks for that truth he hath opened in the time of his blessed servant king Edward VI. and pray unto him that we deny it not, nor dishonour it with idolatry; but that we may have strength and patience rather to die ten times than to deny him once. Blessed shall we be, if ever God make us worthy of that honour to shed our blood for his name's sake; and blessed then shall we think the parents which brought us into the world, that we should from this mortality be carried into immortality. If we follow the commandment of St. Paul, that saith, 'If ye then be risen again with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God,' we shall neither depart from the vain transitory goods of this world, nor from this wretched and mortal life, with so great pains as others do.

"Let us pray to our heavenly Father, that we may know and love his Blessed will, and the glorious joy prepared for us in time to come; and that we may know and hate all things contrary to his blessed will, and also the pain prepared for the wicked in the world to come. There is no better way to be used in this troublesome time for your consolation, than many times to have assemblies together of such men and women as be of your religion in Christ, and there to take and renew amongst yourselves the truth of your religion; to see what ye be by the word of God, and to remember what ye were before ye came to the knowledge thereof; to weigh and confer the dreams and false lies of the preachers that now preach, with the word of God that retaineth all truth: and by such talk and familiar resorting together, ye shall the better find out all their lies that now go about to deceive you, and also both know and love the truth that God hath opened to us. It is much requisite, that the members of Christ comfort one another, make prayers together, confer one with another; so shall ye be the stronger, and God's Spirit shall not be absent from you, but in the midst of you, to teach you, to comfort you, to make you wise in all godly things, patient in adversity, and strong in persecution.

"Ye see how the congregation of the wicked, by helping one another, make their wicked religion and themselves strong against God's truth and his people. If ye may have some learned man, that can out of the scriptures speak unto you of faith, and true honouring of God, also that can shew you the descent of Christ's church from the beginning of it



until this day, that ye may perceive by the life of our forefathers these two things: the one, that Christ's words, which said that all his must suffer persecution and trouble in the world, be true; the other, that none of all his, before our time, escaped trouble; then shall ye perceive that it is but a folly for one that professeth Christ truly, to look for the love of the world.

"Thus shall ye learn to bear trouble, and to exercise your religion, and feel indeed that Christ's words be true, 'In the world ye shall suffer persecution.' And when ye shall feel your religion indeed, say, ye be no better than your forefathers; but be glad, that ye may be counted soldiers for this war: and pray to God when ye come together, that he will use and order you and your doings in these three ends, which ye must take heed to: the first, that ye glorify God; the next, that ye edify the church and congregation; the third, that ye profit your own souls.

"In all your doings, beware ye be not deceived. For although this time be not yet so bloody and tyrannous as the times of our forefathers, that could not bear the name of Christ, without danger of life and goods; yet is our time more perilous both for body and soul. Therefore of us Christ said, 'Think ye, when the Son of man cometh, he shall find faith upon the earth?' He said not, Think ye he shall find any man or woman christened, and in name a Christian? but he spake of the faith that saveth the Christian man in Christ: and doubtless the scarcity of faith is now more (and will, I fear, increase) than it was in the time of the greatest tyrants that ever were; and no marvel why. Read the sixth chapter of St. John's Revelation, and ye shall perceive, amongst other things, that at the opening of the fourth seal came out a 'pale horse, and he that sat upon him was called Death, and Hell followed him.' This horse is the time wherein hypocrites and dissemblers entered into the church under the pretence of true religion, as monks, friars, nuns, massing-priests, with such others; that hath killed more souls with heresy and superstition, than all the tyrants that ever were, killed bodies by fire, sword, or banishment, as it appeareth by his name that sitteth upon the horse, who is called Death: for all souls that love Christ, and trust to these hypocrites, live to the devil in everlasting pain, as is declared by him that followeth the pale horse, which is Hell.

"These pretended and pale hypocrites have stirred the earthquakes, that is, to wit, the princes of the world, against Christ's church, and have also darkened the sun, and made the moon bloody, and have caused the stars to fall from heaven; that is to say, have darkened with mists, and daily do darken, (as ye hear by their sermons,) the clear sun of God's most pure word: the moon, which be God's true preachers, which fetch only light as the sun of God's word, are turned into blood, prisons, and chains, that their light cannot shine unto the world as they would; whereupon it cometh to pass, that the stars, that is to say, Christian people, fall from heaven; that is, to wit, from God's most true word to hypocrisy, most devilish superstition, and idolatry. Let some learned man shew you all the articles of your belief and monument of Christian faith, from the time of Christ hitherto, and ye shall perceive that there was never mention of such articles as these hypocrites teach. God bless you, and pray for me, as I do for you.

"Out of the Fleet,

"By your brother in Christ,

"JOHN HOOPER."

*An Exhortation to Patience, sent to his godly Wife ANNE HOOPER: whereby all the true members of Christ may take comfort and courage to suffer trouble and affliction for the profession of his holy gospel.*

"Our Saviour Jesus Christ, (dearly beloved, and my godly wife,) in St. Matthew's gospel said to his disciples, That it was necessary scandals should come: and that they could not be avoided, he perceived as well by the condition of those that should perish and be lost for ever in the world to come, as also by their affliction that should be saved. For he saw the greatest part of the people should contemn and neglect whatsoever true doctrine or godly ways should be shewed unto them, or else receive and use it as they thought good to serve their pleasures, without any profit to their souls at all, not caring whether they lived as they were commanded by God's word or not; but would think it sufficient to be counted to have the name of a Christian man, with such works and fruits of his profession and Christianity, as his fathers and elders, after their custom and manner, esteem to be good fruits and faithful works, and will not try them by the word of God.

"And as these men wilfully and voluntarily rejected the word of God; even so God most justly delivereth them into the blindness of mind and hardness of heart, that they cannot understand nor yet consent to any thing that God would have preached, and set forth to his glory, after his own will and word: wherefore they hate it mortally, and of all things most detest God's holy word. And as the devil hath entered into their hearts, that they themselves cannot nor will not come to Christ, to be instructed by his holy word; even so can they not abide any other man to be a Christian man, and to lead his life after the word of God, but hate him, persecute him, rob him, imprison him, yea, and kill him, if God suffer it. And so much are these wicked men blinded, that they pass off no law, whether it be God's or man's, but persecute such as never offended, yea, do evil to those that have prayed daily for them, and wish them God's grace.

"In their Pharaohical and blind fury they have no respect to nature: for the brother persecuteth the brother, the father the son, and most dear friends, in devilish slander and offence, are become most mortal enemies; and no marvel, for when they have chosen sundry masters, the one the devil, the other God, the one shall agree with the other as God, and the devil agree between themselves. For this cause, (that the more part of the world doth use to serve the devil under cloked hypocrisy of God's title,) Christ said, 'It is expedient and necessary that scandals should come;' and many means be devised to keep the little babes of Christ from the heavenly Father. But Christ saith, 'Wo be unto him by whom the offence cometh;' yet is there no remedy, man being of such corruption and hatred towards God, but that the evil shall be deceived, and persecute the good; and the good shall understand the truth, and suffer persecution for it, unto the world's end. 'For, as he that was born after the flesh persecuted in times past him that was born after the spirit, even so it is now.' Therefore, forasmuch as we live in this life amongst so many great perils and dangers, we must be well assured by God's word how to bear them, and how patiently to take them as they be sent to us from God. We must also assure ourselves that there is no other remedy for Christians in the time of trouble, than Christ himself hath appointed us. In St. Luke he giveth us this commandment, 'Ye shall possess your lives in patience.' In the which words he giveth us both commandment what

to do, and also great comfort and consolation in all troubles. He sheweth what is to be done, and what is to be hoped for in troubles: and, when troubles happen, he biddeth us be patient, and in no case violently nor seditiously to resist our persecutors: because God hath such care and charge of us, that he will keep, in the midst of all troubles, the very hairs of our head, so that one of them shall not fall away without the will and pleasure of our heavenly Father. Whether the hair therefore tarry on the head or fall from the head, it is the will of the Father. And seeing he hath such care for the hairs of our head, how much more doth he care for our life itself? Wherefore, let God's adversaries do what they list, whether they take life or take it not, they can do us no hurt: for their cruelty hath no further power than God permiteth them; and that which cometh unto us by the will of our heavenly Father, can be no harm, no loss, neither destruction, unto us, but rather gain, wealth, and felicity. For all troubles and adversity that chance to such as be of God, by the will of the heavenly Father, can be none other but gain and advantage.

"That the spirit of man may feel these consolations, the giver of them, the heavenly Father, must be prayed unto, for the merits of Christ's passion: for it is not the nature of man that he can be contented, until it be regenerated and possessed with God's Spirit, to bear patiently the troubles of the mind or of the body. When the mind and heart of a man seeth on every side sorrow and heaviness, and the worldly eye beholdeth nothing but such things as be troublous, and wholly bent to rob the poor of that he hath, and also to take from him his life; except the man weigh the brittle and uncertain treasures that be taken from him with the riches of the life to come, and this life of the body with the life in Christ's blood, and so for the love and certainty of the heavenly joys condemn all things present, doubtless he shall never be able to bear the loss of goods, life, or any other thing of this world.

"Therefore St. Paul giveth a godly and necessary lesson to all men in this short and transitory life, and therein sheweth how a man may best bear the iniquities and troubles of this world; 'If ye be risen again with Christ, (saith he,) seek the things which are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God the Father. Wherefore the Christian man's faith must be always upon the resurrection of Christ when he is in trouble; and in that glorious resurrection he shall not only see continual and perpetual joy and consolation, but also the victory and triumph over all persecution, trouble, sin, death, hell, the devil, and all other tyrants and persecutors of Christ and of Christ's people, the tears and weeping of the faithful dried up, their wounds healed, their bodies made immortal in joy, their souls for ever praising the Lord, in conjunction everlasting with the blessed company of God's elect in perpetual joy.

"We must therefore patiently suffer, and willingly attend upon God's doings, although they seem cleau contrary, after our judgment, to our wealth and salvation; as Abraham did, when he was bid to offer his son Isaac, in whom God promised the blessing and multiplying of his seed. Joseph at the last came to that which God promised him, although, in the mean time, after the judgment of the world, he was never like to be (as God said he should be) lord over his brethren. When Christ would have the blind man to see, he put clay upon his eyes; which, after the judgment of man, was a means rather to make him double blind, than to give him his sight: but he obeyed, and knew that God could work his desire, what means soever he used contrary to man's reason. And, as touching this world, he useth all his

after the same sort. If any smart, his people be the first; if any suffer shame, they begin; if any be subject to slander, it is those that he loveth; so that he sheweth no face or favour, nor love almost in this world outwardly to them, but layeth clay upon their sore eyes that he sorrowful: yet the patient man seeth, as St. Paul said, life hid under these miseries and adversities, and sight under foul clay; and in the mean time he hath the testimony of a good conscience, and believeth God's promises to be his consolation in the world to come, which is more worthy unto him than all the world is worth besides; and blessed is that man in whom God's Spirit beareth record that he is the son of God, whatsoever troubles he suffer in this troublesome world.

"And to judge things indifferently, my good wife, the troubles be not yet generally, as they were in our good fathers' time, soon after the death and resurrection of our Saviour Jesus Christ, whereof he spake in St. Matthew, (ch. xxiv.) Of the which place you and I have taken many times great consolation, and especially of the latter part of the chapter, wherein is contained the last day and end of all troubles, I doubt not, both for you and me, and for such as love the coming of our Saviour Christ to judgment. Remember therefore that place, and mark it again, and ye shall in this time see this great consolation, and also learn much patience. Was there ever such troubles as Christ threatened upon Jerusalem? Was there, since the beginning of the world, such affliction? Who was then best at ease? The apostles, that suffered in bodily persecution, and gathered of it ease and quietness in the promises of God. And no marvel: for Christ saith, 'Lift up your heads, for your redemption is at hand;' that is to say, Your eternal rest approacheth and draweth near. The world is stark blind, and more foolish than foolishness itself; and so be the people of the world. For when God saith, Trouble shall come, they will have ease; and when God saith, Be merry and rejoice in trouble, we lament and mourn, as though we were castaways. But this our flesh (which is never merry with virtue, nor sorry with vice, never laugheth with grace, nor ever weepeth with sin) holdeth fast with the world, and letteth God slip. But, my dearly beloved wife, you know how to perceive and to beware of the vanity and crafts of the devil well enough in Christ. And that ye may the better have patience in the Spirit of God, read again the 24th chapter of St. Matthew, and mark what difference is between the destruction of Jerusalem and the destruction of the whole world, and you shall see, that then here were left alive many offenders to repent; but at the latter day there shall be absolute judgment and sentence (never to be revoked) of eternal life and eternal death upon all men: and yet towards the end of the world we have nothing so much extremity as they had then, but even as we be able to bear. So doth the merciful Father lay upon us now imprisonment, (and I suppose, for my part, shortly death,) now spoil of goods, loss of friends, and the greatest loss of all, the knowledge of God's word. God's will be done. I wish in Christ Jesus, our only Mediator and Saviour, your constancy and consolation, that you may live for ever and ever, whereof in Christ I doubt not: to whom, for his most blessed and painful passion, I commit you. Amen.—October 13, 1553."

*"To all my dear Brethren, my Relievers and Helpers in the City of London.*

"The grace of God be with you, Amen. I have received from you, dearly beloved in our Saviour Jesus Christ, by the hands of my servant, William Downton, your liberality; for the which I most heartily thank you, and I praise God highly

in you for you, who hath moved your hearts to shew this kindness towards me, praying him to preserve you from all famine, scarcity, and lack of the truth of his word, which is the lively food of your souls, as ye preserve my body from hunger, and other necessities which should happen unto me, were it not cared for by the benevolence and charity of godly people. Such as have taken all worldly goods and lands from me, and spoiled me of all that I had, have imprisoned my body, and appointed not one halfpenny to feed or relieve me withal: but I do forgive them, and pray for them daily in my poor prayer unto God, and from my heart I wish their salvation, and quietly and patiently bear their injuries, wishing no further extremity to be used towards us. Yet if the contrary seem best unto our heavenly Father, I have made my reckoning, and fully resolved myself to suffer the uttermost that they are able to do against me, yea, death itself, by the aid of Christ Jesus, who died the most vile death of the cross for us wretches and miserable sinners. But of this I am assured, that the wicked world, with all its force and power, shall not touch one of the hairs of our heads without leave and license of our heavenly Father, whose will be done in all things. If he will life, life be it; if he will death, death be it. Only we pray, that our wills may be subject unto his will; and then, although both we and all the world see none other thing but death, yet if he think life best, we shall not die, no, although the sword be drawn out over our heads: as Abraham thought to kill his son Isaac, yet when God perceived that Abraham had surrendered his will to God's will, and was content to kill his son, God then saved his son.

"Dearly beloved, if we be contented to obey God's will, and for his commandment's sake to surrender our goods and our lives to be at his pleasure, it maketh no matter whether we keep goods and life, or lose them: nothing can hurt us, that is taken from us for God's cause; nor can any thing at length do us good, that is preserved contrary unto God's commandment. Let us wholly suffer God to use us and our's after his holy wisdom, and beware we neither use nor govern ourselves contrary to his will by our own wisdom: for if we do, our wisdom will at length prove foolishness. It is kept to no good purpose, that we keep contrary unto his commandments. It can by no means be taken from us, that he would should tarry with us. He is no good Christian that ruleth himself and his as worldly means serveth; for he that so doeth shall have as many changes as chanceth in the world. To-day with the world he shall like and praise the truth of God; to-morrow as the world will, so will he like and praise the falsehood of man: to-day with Christ, and to-morrow with Antichrist. Wherefore, dear brethren, as touching your behaviour towards God, use both your inward spirits and your outward bodies, your inward and your outward man, I say, not after the manners of men, but after the infallible word of God.

"Restrain from evil in both; and glorify your heavenly Father in both. For if ye think ye can in heart serve him, and yet outwardly serve with the world the thing that is not God, ye deceive yourselves; for both the body and the soul must together concur in the honour of God, as St. Paul plainly teacheth, 1 Cor. vi. For if an honest wife be bound to give both heart and body to faith and service in marriage, and if an honest wife's faith in the heart cannot stand with an whorish or defiled body outwardly; much less can the true faith of a Christian, in the service of Christianity, stand with the bodily service of external idolatry; for the mystery of marriage is not as honourable between man and wife, as it is between Christ and every Christian man, as St. Paul saith.

"Therefore, dear brethren, pray to the heavenly Father, that as he spared not the soul nor the body of his dearly beloved Son, but applied both of them with extreme pain, to work our salvation both of body and soul; so he will give us all grace to apply our bodies and souls to be servants unto him. For doubtless he requireth as well the one as the other, and cannot be discontented with the one, and well pleased with the other. Either he hateth both, or loveth both; he divideth not his love to one, and his hatred to the other. Let not us therefore, good brethren, divide ourselves, and say our souls serve him, whatsoever our bodies do to the contrary for civil order and policy.

"But, alas! I know, by myself, what troubleth you; that is, the great danger of the world, that will revenge, ye think, your service to God with sword and fire, with loss of goods and lands. But, dear brethren, weigh the other side, that your enemies and God's enemies shall not do so much as they would, but as much as God shall suffer them, who can trap them in their own counsels, and destroy them in the midst of their furies. Remember ye be the workmen of the Lord, and called into his vineyard, there to labour till evening-tide, that you may receive your penny, which is more worth than all the kingdoms of the earth. But he that calleth us into his vineyard, hath not told us how sore and how fervently the sun shall trouble us in our labour: but hath bid us labour, and commit the bitterness thereof unto him; who can and will so moderate all afflictions, that no man shall have more laid upon him than in Christ he shall be able to bear. Unto whose merciful tuition and defence I commend both your souls and bodies. September 2, anno 1554.

"Your's, with my poor prayer,

"JOHN HOOPER."

*To Mrs. Wilkinson, a Woman hearty in God's Cause, and comfortable to his afflicted Members.*

"The grace of God, and the comfort of his holy Spirit, be with you, Amen.

"I am very glad to hear of your health, and do thank you for your loving tokens. But I am a great deal more glad to hear how christianly you avoid idolatry, and prepare yourself to suffer the extremity of the world, rather than to endanger yourself to God. You do as you ought to do in this behalf, and in suffering of transitory pains you shall avoid permanent torments in the world to come. Use your life, and keep it with as much quietness as you can, so that you offend not God. The ease that cometh of his displeasure, turneth at length to unspeakable pains; and the gains of the world, with the loss of his favour, is beggary and wretchedness. Reason is to be amended in this cause of religion: for it will choose and follow an error with the multitude, if it may be allowed, rather than turn to faith, and follow the truth with the people of God. Moses found the same fault in himself, and did amend it, choosing rather to be afflicted with the people of God, than to use the liberty of the king's daughter, that accounted him as her son. Pray for contentation and peace of the Spirit, and rejoice in such troubles as shall happen to you for the truth's sake; for in that part, Christ saith you be happy. Pray also for me, I pray you, that I may do in all things the will of our heavenly Father: to whose tuition and defence I commend you."

Unto these letters of Mr. Hooper, we think proper to annex an epistle written to him by a famous learned man, Henry Bullinger, chief superintendant in the city of Zurich. Of whose singular love and affection toward Mr. Hooper, ye heard before in the beginning of Mr. Hooper's life.

*"To the most reverend father, Mr. J. Hooper, bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, and now prisoner for the gospel of Jesus Christ, my fellow-elder, and most dear brother in England.*

"The heavenly Father grant unto you, and to all those which are in bands and captivity for his name's sake, grace and peace through Jesus Christ our Lord, with wisdom, patience, and fortitude of the Holy Ghost.

"I have received from you two letters, my most dear brother, the former in the month of September of the year past, the latter in the month of May of this present year, both written out of prison. But I doubting lest I should make answer to you in vain, whilst I feared that my letters should never come into your hands, or else increase and double your sorrow, did refrain from the duty of writing. In the which thing I doubt not but you will have me excused, especially seeing you did not vouchsafe, no, not once in a whole year, to answer to my whole treatises, rather than letters, whereas I continued still notwithstanding in writing unto you; as also at this present, after I heard you were cast in prison, I did not refrain from continual prayer, beseeching our heavenly Father, through our only Mediator Jesus Christ, to grant unto you, and to your fellow prisoners, faith and constancy unto the end. Now is that thing happened unto you, my brother, the which we did oftentimes prophesy unto ourselves, at your being with us, should come to pass, especially when we did talk of the power of Antichrist, and of his felicity and victories. For you know the saying of Daniel, 'His power shall be mighty, but not in his strength; and he shall wonderfully destroy and make havock of all things, and shall prosper and practise, and he shall destroy the mighty and the holy people after his own will.' You know what the Lord warned us of beforehand by Matthew, in the 10th chapter; by John, in the 15th chapter and the 16th; and also what that chosen vessel St. Paul hath written in the second of Timothy, and the 3d chapter. Wherefore I do nothing doubt, by God's grace, of your faith and patience, whilst you know that those things which you suffer are not looked for, or come by chance, but that you suffer them in the best, truest, and most holy quarrel: for what can be more true and holy than our doctrine, which the Papists, those worshippers of Antichrist, do persecute? All things touching salvation we attribute unto Christ alone, and to his holy institutions, as we have been taught of him and of his disciples; but they would have even the same things to be communicated as well to their Antichrist, and to his institutions. Such we ought no less to withstand than we read that Elias withstood the Baalites. For if Jesus be Christ, then let them know that he is the fulness of his church, and that perfectly: but if Antichrist be king and priest, then let them exhibit unto him that honour. How long do they halt on both sides? Can they give unto us any one that is better than Christ? or, who shall be equal with Christ, that may be compared with him, except it be he whom the apostle calleth the adversary? But if Christ be sufficient for his church, what needeth this patching and piercing? But I know well enough I need not use these disputations with you, which are sincerely taught, and have taken root in Christ, being persuaded that you have all things in him, and that we in him are made perfect.

"Go forwards, therefore, constantly to confess Christ, and to defy Antichrist, being mindful of this most holy and most true saying of our Lord Jesus Christ, 'He that overcometh shall possess all things, and I will be his God, and he shall be my son; but the fearful, and the unbelieving,

and the murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death.' The first death is soon overcome, although a man must burn for the Lord's sake: for they say well that do affirm this our fire to be scarcely a shadow of that which is prepared for unbelievers, and them that fall from the truth. Moreover, the Lord granteth unto us, that we may easily overcome by his power the first death, the which he himself did taste and overcome: promising withal such joys as never shall have end, unspeakable, and passing all understanding, the which we shall possess so soon as ever we do depart hence. For so again saith the angel of the Lord, 'If any man worship the beast, and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or on his hand, the same shall drink of the wrath of God; yea, of the wine which is poured into the cup of his wrath; and he shall be tormented in fire and brimstone, before the holy angels and before the Lamb; and the smoke of their torments shall ascend evermore; and they shall have no rest day nor night which worship the beast and his image, and whosoever receiveth the print of his name. Here is the patience of saints; here are they that keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus. To this he added by and by, 'I heard a voice saying to me, Write, blessed be the dead that die in the Lord, from henceforth, (or speedily they be blessed:) Even so, saith the Spirit; for they rest from their labours, but their works follow them;' Rev. xiv. for our labour shall not be frustrate or in vain.

"Therefore seeing you have such a large promise, be strong in the Lord, fight a good fight, be faithful to the Lord unto the end: consider that Christ the Son of God is your Captain, and fighteth for you, and that all the prophets, apostles, and martyrs, are your fellow soldiers. They that persecute and trouble us, are men sinful and mortal, whose favour a wise man would not buy with the value of a farthing: and, besides that, our life is frail, short, brittle, and transitory. Happy are we, if we depart in the Lord; who grant unto you, and to all your fellow prisoners, faith and constancy. Commend me to the most reverend fathers and holy confessors of Christ, Dr. Cranmer, bishop of Canterbury, Dr. Ridley, bishop of London, and the good old father Dr. Latimer. Them, and all the rest of the prisoners with you for the Lord's cause, salute in my name, and in the name of all my fellow ministers, the which do speak unto you the grace of God, and constancy in the truth.

"If there be any thing wherein I may do any pleasure to your wife and children, they shall have me wholly at command, whereof I will write also to your wife, for I understand she abideth at Frankfort. Be strong and merry in Christ, waiting for his deliverance, when and in what sort it shall seem good unto him. The Lord Jesus shew pity upon the realm of England, and illuminate the same with his holy Spirit, to the glory of his name, and the salvation of souls. The Lord Jesus preserve and deliver you from all evil, with all them that call upon his name. Farewell, and farewell eternally. The 10th of October, anno 1554, from Zurich.

"You know the hand. H. B."

*The History of Dr. ROWLAND TAYLOR, who suffered for the Truth of God's Word, under the Tyranny of the Roman Bishop, the 9th of February, 1555.*

The town of Hadley was one of the first that received the word of God in all England, at the preaching of Mr. Thos. Bilney; by whose industry the gospel of Christ had such gracious success, and took such root there, that a great

number in that parish became exceedingly well learned in the holy scriptures, as well women as men, so that a man might have found among them many who had often read the whole Bible through, and that could have said a great deal of St. Paul's Epistles by heart, and very well and readily have given a godly learned opinion in any matter of controversy. Their children and servants were also brought up and trained so diligently in the right knowledge of God's word, that the whole town seemed rather a university of the learned, than a town of cloth-making or labouring people. And what most is to be commended, they were for the most part faithful followers of God's word in their living.

In this town was *Dr. Rowland Taylor*, doctor in both civil and canon laws, and a right perfect divine and parson; who, at his first entering into his benefice, did not (as the common sort of beneficed men do) let out his benefice to a farmer, that shall gather up the profits, and set in an ignorant and unlearned priest to serve the cure, and so they having the fleece, little or nothing care for feeding the flock; but contrarily, he forsook the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cramer, with whom he before was in household, and made his personal abode and dwelling in Hadley, among the people committed to his charge. Where he, as a good shepherd abiding and dwelling among his sheep, gave himself wholly to the study of the holy scriptures, most faithfully endeavouring himself to fulfil that charge which the Lord gave unto Peter, saying, "Peter, lovest thou me? Feed my lambs, feed my sheep, feed my sheep." This love of Christ so wrought in him, that no Sunday nor holiday passed, nor other time when he might get the people together, but he preached to them the word of God, the doctrine of their salvation.

Not only was his word a preaching unto them, but all his life and conversation was an example of unfeigned Christian life and true holiness. He was void of all pride; humble, and meek as any child; so that none were so poor but they might boldly, as unto their father, resort unto him; neither was his lowliness childish or fearful, but as occasion, time, and place required, he would be stout in rebuking the sinful, so that none was so rich but he would plainly tell him his fault, with such earnest and grave rebukes as became a good curate and pastor.

To the poor that were blind, lame, sick, bed-ridden, or that had many children, he was a very father, a careful patron, and a diligent provider, inasmuch that he caused the parishioners to make a general provision for them; and he himself (beside the continual relief that they always found at his house) gave an honest portion yearly to the common alms-box. His wife also was an honest, discreet, and sober matron, and his children well nurtured, brought up in the fear of God and good learning.

To conclude: he was a right and lively image or pattern of all those virtuous qualities described by St. Paul in a true bishop; a salt of the earth, savourily biting the corrupt manners of evil men; a light in God's house, set upon a candlestick for all good men to imitate and follow.

Thus continued this good shepherd among his flock, governing and leading them through the wilderness of this wicked world, all the days of the most innocent and holy king of blessed memory, Edward VI. But after it pleased God to take king Edward from this vale of misery unto his most blessed rest, the Papists (who ever seemed and dissembled both with king Henry VIII. and king Edward his son) now seeing the time convenient for their purpose, uttered their hypocrisy, openly refusing all reformation made by the said kings: and, contrary to what they had all these

king's days preached, taught, written, and sworn, they violently overthrew the true doctrine of the gospel, and persecuted with fire and sword all those that would not agree to receive again the Roman bishop as supreme head of the *universal* church, and allow all the errors, superstitions, and idolatries, that before by God's word were disproved and justly condemned, as though now they were good doctrine, virtuous, and true religion.

In the beginning of this rage of Antichrist, a certain pretty gentleman after a sort of a lawyer, called Foster, being a steward and keeper of courts, a man of no great skill, but a bitter persecutor in those days, with one John Clerk, of Hadley, (which Foster had ever been a secret favourer of all Romish idolatry,) conspired with the said Clerk to bring in the pope and his image worship again into Hadley church. For as yet Dr. Taylor, as a good shepherd, had retained and kept in his church the godly church service and reformation made by king Edward, and most faithfully and earnestly preached against the popish corruptions, which had infected the whole country.

Therefore the aforesaid Foster and Clerk hired one John Avert, parson of Aldam, (a very mammonist, a blind leader of the blind, a popish idolater, and an open adulterer and whoremonger,) a very fit minister for their purpose, to come to Hadley, and there to give the onset to begin again the popish mass.

To this purpose they builded up with all haste possible the altar, intending to bring in their mass again, about the Palm Monday. But this their device took none effect: for in the night the altar was beaten down. Wherefore they built it up again the second time, and laid diligent watch, lest any should again break it down.

On the day following came Foster and John Clerk, bringing with them their popish sacrificer, who brought with him all his implements and garments to play his popish pageant; whom they and their men guarded with swords and bucklers, lest any man should disturb him in his missal sacrifice.

When Dr. Taylor, who according to his custom sat at his book studying the word of God, heard the bells ring, he arose and went into the church, supposing something had been there to be done, according to his pastoral office; and coming to the church, he found the church doors shut and fast barred, saving the chancel door, which was only latched. Where he entered in, and coming into the chancel, saw a popish sacrificer in his robes, with a broad new shaven crown, ready to begin his popish sacrifice, beset round about with drawn swords and bucklers, lest any man should approach to disturb him.

Then said Dr. Taylor, Thou devil, who made thee so bold to enter into this church of Christ, to profane and defile it with this abominable idolatry?

With that started up Foster, and with an ireful and furious countenance said to Dr. Taylor, Thou traitor, what doest thou here, to let and disturb the queen's proceedings?

Dr. Taylor answered, I am no traitor, but I am the shepherd that God my Lord Christ hath appointed to feed this his flock; wherefore I have good authority to be here: and I command thee, thou popish wolf, in the name of God, to avoid hence, and not to presume here with such popish idolatry to poison Christ's flock.

Then said Foster, Wilt thou traitorously, heretic, make a commotion, and resist violently the queen's proceedings? Dr. Taylor answered, I make no commotion, but it is you Papists that make commotions and tumults. I resist only with God's word against your popish idolatries, which are



against God's word, the queen's honour, and tend to the utter subversion of this realm of England: and further, thou dost against the law, which commandeth that no mass be said but at a consecrated altar.

When the parson of Aldam heard that, he began to shrink back, and would have left his saying mass; then started up John Clerk, and said, Mr. Avertb, be not afraid, you have a *superallure*; go forth with your business, man.

Then Foster, with his armed men, took Dr. Taylor, and led him with a strong hand out of the church, and the popish prelate proceeded in his Romish idolatry. Dr. Taylor's wife, who had followed her husband into the church, when she saw her husband thus violently thrust out of his church, she knelt down, and held up her hands, and with a loud voice said, I beseech God, the righteous Judge, to avenge this injury that this popish idolater to this day doth to the blood of Christ. Then they thrust her out of the church also, and shut the doors; for they feared that the people would have rent their sacrificer in pieces. Notwithstanding, one or two threw in great stones at the windows, and missed very little the popish masser.

Thus you see, how, without consent of the people, the popish mass was again set up, with battle array, with sword and buckler, with violence and tyranny; which practice the Papists have ever yet used: as for reason, law, or scripture, they have none on their part. Therefore they are the same that say, 'The law of unrighteousness is our strength: come, let us oppress the righteous without any fear,' &c.

Within a day or two after, with all haste possible, this Foster and Clerk made a complaint of Dr. Taylor, by a letter written to S. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and lord chancellor.

When the bishop heard this, he sent a letter missive to Dr. Taylor, commanding him within certain days to come and to appear before him, upon his allegiance, to answer such complaints as were made against him.

When Dr. Taylor's friends heard of this, they were exceedingly sorry and grieved in mind; which when foreseeing to what end the same matter would come, seeing also all truth and justice were trodden under foot, and falsehood with cruel tyranny were set aloft, and ruled all the whole rout; his friends, I say, came to him, and earnestly counselled him to depart and fly, alleging and declaring to him, that he could neither be indifferently heard to speak his conscience and mind, nor yet look for justice or favour at the said chancellor's hands, who, as it was well known, was most fierce and cruel; but must needs, if he went up to him, wait for imprisonment and cruel death at his hands.

Then said Dr. Taylor to his friends, Dear friends, I most heartily thank you, for that you have so tender a care over me: and although I know that there is neither justice nor truth to be looked for at my adversary's hands, but rather imprisonment and cruel death; yet know I my cause to be so good and righteous, and the truth so strong upon my side, that I will by God's grace go and appear before them, and to their beards resist their false doing.

Then said his friends, Master doctor, we think it not best so to do: you have sufficiently done your duty, and testified the truth both by your godly sermons and also in resisting the parson of Aldam, with other that came hither to bring again the popish mass. And forasmuch as our Saviour Christ willeth and biddeth us, that when they persecute us in one city, we should fly into another; we think in flying at this time ye should do best, keeping yourself against another time, when the church shall have great need of such diligent teachers and godly pastors. O, quoth Dr. Taylor, what

will ye have me to do? I am old, and have already lived too long, to see these terrible and most wicked days. Fly you, and do as your conscience leadeth you; I am fully determined, with God's grace, to go to the bishop, and to his beard to tell him that he doth naught. God shall well hereafter raise up teachers of his people, which shall with much more diligence and fruit teach them than I have done; for God will not forsake his church, though now for a time he trieth and correcteth us, and not without a just cause.

As for me, I believe before God I shall never be able to do God so good a service as I may do now; nor shall I ever have so glorious a calling as I now have, nor so great mercy of God proffered me, as is now at this present. For what Christian man would not gladly die against the pope and his adherents? I know that the Papacy is the kingdom of Antichrist, altogether full of lies, altogether full of falsehood, so that all their doctrine, even from Christ's cross be my speed, and St. Nicholas, unto the end of the Apocalypse, is nothing but idolatry, superstition, errors, hypocrisy, and lies. Wherefore I beseech you, and all other my friends, to pray for me, and I doubt not but God will give me strength and his holy Spirit, that all mine adversaries shall have shame of their doings.

When his friends saw him so constant, and fully determined to go, they with weeping eyes commended him unto God; and he within a day or two prepared himself to his journey, leaving his cure with a godly old priest, named sir Richard Yeoman, who afterwards for God's truth was burnt at Norwich.

There was also in Hadley, one Alcocke, a very godly man, well learned in the holy scriptures, who, after sir R. Yeoman was driven away, used daily to read a chapter, and to say the English Litany, in Hadley church. But him they fetched up to London, and cast him into prison in Newgate, where, after a year's imprisonment, he died.

But let us return to Dr. Taylor again, who being accompanied by a servant of his own, named John Hull, took his journey towards London. By the way, this John Hull laboured to counsel and persuade him very earnestly to fly, and not to come to the bishop, and proffered himself to go with him to serve him, and in all perils to venture his life for him and with him. But in no wise would Dr. Taylor consent or agree thereunto, but said, O John, shall I give place to this thy counsel and worldly persuasion, and leave my flock in this danger! Remember the good shepherd, Christ, which not only fed his flock, but also died for his flock: him must I follow, and with God's grace will do.

Therefore, good John, pray for me; and if thou seest me weak at any time, comfort me, and discourage me not in this my godly enterprise and purpose.

Thus they came up to London, and shortly after Dr. Taylor presented himself to the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, then lord chancellor of England. For this hath been one great abuse in England for many years, that such offices as have been of most importance and weight, have commonly been committed to bishops and other spiritual men, whereby three devilish mischiefs and inconveniences have happened in this realm, to the great dishonour of God, and utter neglecting of the flock of Christ.

First, They have had small leisure to attend to their pastoral cures, which thereby have been utterly neglected and undone.

Secondly, It hath also puffed up many bishops and other spiritual persons into such haughtiness and pride, that they have thought no nobleman in the realm worthy to be their equal and fellow.

Thirdly, Where they by this means knew the very secrets of princes, they being in such high offices, have caused the same to be known in Rome, before the kings could accomplish and bring their intents to pass in England. By this means hath the Papacy been so maintained, and things ordered after their wills and pleasures, that much mischief hath happened in this realm and others, sometimes to the destruction of princes, and sometimes to the utter undoing of many commonwealths.

Now when Gardiner saw Dr. Taylor, he, according to his common custom, reviled him, calling him knave, traitor, heretic, with many other villanous reproaches; all which Dr. Taylor heard patiently, and at the last said unto him:

My lord, (quoth he,) I am neither traitor nor heretic, but a true subject, and a faithful Christian man, and am come, according to your commandment, to know what is the cause that your lordship hath sent for me.

Then said the bishop, Art thou come, thou villain! How dardest thou look me in the face for shame! Knowest thou not who I am?

Yea, (quoth Dr. Taylor,) I know who you are; ye are Dr. Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and lord chancellor; and yet but a mortal man, I trow. But if I should be afraid of your lordly looks, why fear you not God, the Lord of us all? How dare you for shame look any Christian man in the face, seeing ye have forsaken the truth, denied our Saviour Christ and his word, and done contrary to your own oath and writing? With what countenance will ye appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, and answer to your oath made first unto king Henry VIII. of famous memory, and afterwards unto blessed king Edward VI. his son?

The bishop answered, Tush, tush, that was Herod's oath, unlawful; and therefore worthy to be broken: I have done well in breaking it; and I thank God I am come home again to our mother the Catholic church of Rome; and so I would thou shouldst do.

Dr. Taylor answered, Should I forsake the church of Christ, which is founded upon the true foundation of the apostles and prophets, to prove those lies, errors, superstition, and idolatries, that the popes and their company at this day so blasphemously do approve? Nay, God forbid. Let the pope and his return to our Saviour Christ and his word, and thrust out of the church such abominable idolatries as he maintaineth, and then will Christian men turn unto him. You wrote truly against him, and were sworn against him.

I tell thee, (quoth the bishop of Winchester,) it was Herod's oath, unlawful; and therefore ought to be broken, and not kept: and our holy father the pope hath discharged me of it.

Then said Dr. Taylor, But you shall not so be discharged before Christ, who doubtless will require it at your hands, as a lawful oath made to our liege and sovereign lord the king, from whose obedience no man can assoil you, neither the pope nor any of his.

I see, (quoth the bishop,) thou art an arrogant knave, and a very fool.

My lord, (quoth Dr. Taylor,) leave your unseemly railing at me, which is not seemly for such an one in authority, as you are: for I am a Christian man, and you know, that he that saith to his brother, "Raca, is in danger of the council; and he that saith, thou fool, is in danger of hell-fire."

The bishop answered, Ye are false, and the whole of you are liars.

Nay, (quoth Dr. Taylor,) we are true men, and know that it is written, "The mouth that lieth slayeth the soul;" and

again, "Lord God, thou shalt destroy all that speak lies." And therefore we abide by the truth of God's word, which ye, contrary to your own consciences, deny and forsake.

Thou art married, (quoth the bishop.) Yea, (quoth Dr. Taylor,) that I thank God I am, and have had nine children, and all in lawful matrimony; and blessed be God that ordained matrimony, and commanded that every man, that hath not the gift of continency, should marry a wife of his own, and not live in adultery or whoredom.

Then said the bishop, Thou hast resisted the queen's proceedings, and wouldest not suffer the parson of Aldam, a very virtuous and devout priest, to say mass in Hadley.

Dr. Taylor answered, My lord, I am parson of Hadley; and it is against all right, conscience, and laws, that any man should come into my charge, and presume to infect the flock committed unto me, with the venom of the popish idolatrous mass.

With that the bishop waxed very angry, and said, Thou art a blasphemous heretic indeed, that blasphemest the blessed sacrament, and speakest against the holy mass, which is made a sacrifice for the quick and the dead.

Dr. Taylor answered, Nay, I blaspheme not the blessed sacrament which Christ instituted, but I reverence it as a true Christian man ought to do, and confess that Christ ordained the holy communion in the remembrance of his death and passion, which when we keep according to his ordinance, we through faith eat the body of Christ and drink his blood, giving thanks for our redemption; and thus is our sacrifice for the quick and the dead, to give thanks for his merciful goodness shewed to us, in that he gave his Son Christ unto the death for us.

Thou sayest well, (quoth the bishop;) it is all that thou hast said, and more too: for it is a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead.

Then answered Dr. Taylor, Christ gave himself to die for our redemption upon the cross, whose body there offered was the propitiatory sacrifice, full, perfect, and sufficient unto salvation for all them that believe in him. And this sacrifice did our Saviour Christ offer in his own person himself once for all, neither can any priest any more offer him, nor we need any more propitiatory sacrifice; and therefore I say with Chrysostom, and all the doctors, Our sacrifice is only memorial, in the remembrance of Christ's death and passion, a sacrifice of thanksgiving; and therefore by the fathers called *eucharistia*: and other sacrifice hath the church of God none.

It is true, (quoth the bishop,) the sacrament is called *eucharistia*, a thanksgiving, because we there give thanks for our redemption, and it is also a sacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead, which thou shalt confess ere thou and I have done.—Then called the bishop his men, and said, Have this fellow hence, and carry him to the King's Bench, and charge the keeper he be straitly kept.

Then kneeled Dr. Taylor down, and held up both his hands, and said, "Good Lord, I thank thee: and from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable errors, idolatries, and abominations, good Lord deliver us; and God be praised for good king Edward."

So they carried him to prison to the King's Bench, where he lay prisoner almost two years.

This is the sum of that first talk, as I saw it mentioned in a letter that Dr. Taylor wrote to a friend of his, thanking God for his grace, that he had confessed his truth, and was found worthy for truth to suffer prison and bands, beseeching his friends to pray for him, that he might persevere constant unto the end.

Being in prison, Dr. Taylor spent all his time in prayer, reading the holy scriptures, and writing and preaching, and exhorting the prisoners, and such as resorted to him, to repentance and amendment of life.

Within a few days after, were divers other learned and godly men, in sundry counties of England, committed to prison for religion, so that almost all the prisons in England were become right Christian schools and churches; so that there was no greater comfort for Christian hearts, than to come to the prisons to behold their virtuous conversation, and to hear their prayers, preachings, most godly exhortations, and consolations.

Now were placed in churches blind and ignorant mass-mongers, with their Latin babblings and apish ceremonies; who, like cruel wolves, spared not to murder all such, as any thing at all but once whispered against their popery. As for the godly preachers which were in king Edward's time, they were either fled the realm, or else (as the prophets did in king Ahab's days) they were privily kept in corners. As many as the Papists could lay hold on, they were sent into prison, there as lambs waiting when the butchers would call them to the slaughter.

When Dr. Taylor was come into the prison called the King's Bench, he found therein the virtuous and vigilant preacher of God's word, Mr. Bradford; which man, for his innocence and godly living, his devout and virtuous preaching, was worthily counted a miracle of our time, as even his adversaries must needs confess. Finding this man in prison, he began to exhort him to faith, strength, and patience, and to persevere constant unto the end. Mr. Bradford hearing this, thanked God that he had provided him such a comfortable prison-fellow: and so they both together lauded God, and continued in prayer, reading, and exhorting one the other; insomuch, that Dr. Taylor told his friends that came to visit him, that God had most graciously provided for him, to send him to that prison, where he found such an angel of God, to be in his company to comfort him.

*Dr. Taylor brought forth to be deprived.*

After that Dr. Taylor had lain in prison awhile, he was cited to appear in the arches at Bow church, to answer unto such matter as there should be objected against him. At the day appointed he was led thither, his keeper waiting upon him. Where when he came, he stoutly and strongly defended his marriage, affirming by the scriptures of God, by the doctors of the primitive church, by both laws civil and canon, that it is lawful for priests to marry, and that such as have not the gift of continency are bound in pain of damnation to marry. This did he so plainly prove, that the judge could give no sentence of divorce against him, but gave sentence that he should be deprived of his benefice, because he was married.

You do me wrong then, (quoth Dr. Taylor;) and alleged many laws and constitutions for himself; but all prevailed not. For he was again carried into prison, and his livings taken away, and given to others.

*Dr. Taylor brought again before Winchester and other Bishops.*

After a year and three-quarters, or thereabout, in the which time the Papists got certain old tyrannous laws (which were put down by king Henry VIII. and by king Edward) to be again revived by parliament; so that now they might, *ex officio*, cite whom they would upon their own suspicion, and charge him with what articles they listed, and, except they in all things agreed to their purpose, burn them. When

these laws were once established, they sent for Dr. Taylor, with certain other prisoners, which were again cited before the chancellor and other commissioners about the 22d of January. The purport and effect of which talk between them, because it is sufficiently described by himself in his own letter written to a friend of his, I have annexed the said letter hereunder, as followeth:

*A Letter of Dr. Taylor, containing and reporting the Talk had between him and the Lord Chancellor and other Commissioners, the 22d of January.*

Whereas you would have me to write the talk between the king and queen's most honourable council and me on Tuesday the 22d of January, so far as I remember: First, my lord chancellor said, You among others are at this present time sent for, to enjoy the king's and queen's majesties favour and mercy, if you will now rise again with us from the fall which we generally have received in this realm, from the which, God be praised, we are now clearly delivered, miraculously. If you will not rise with us now, and receive mercy now offered, you shall have judgment according to your demerit.—To this I answered, that so to rise should be the greatest fall that ever I could receive: for I should so fall from my dear Saviour Christ to Antichrist. For I do believe that the religion set forth in king Edward's days, was according to the vein of the holy scripture, which containeth fully all the rules of our Christian religion, from the which I do not intend to decline so long as I live, by God's grace.

Then Mr. Secretary Bourne said, Which of the religions mean ye of in king Edward's days? for ye know there were divers books of religion set forth in his days. There was a religion set forth in a catechism by my lord of Canterbury: do you mean that you will stick to that?

I answered, My lord of Canterbury made a catechism to be translated into English, which book was not of his own making: yet he set it forth in his own name; and truly that book for the time did much good. But there was after that set forth by the most innocent king Edward (for whom God be praised everlastingly) the whole church service, with great deliberation, and the advice of the best learned men in the realm; and authorized by the whole parliament, and received and published gladly by the whole realm; which book was never reformed but once, and yet by that one reformation it was so fully perfected, according to the rules of our Christian religion, in every behalf, that no Christian conscience could be offended at any thing therein contained: I mean of that book reformed.

Then my lord chancellor said, Didst thou never read the book that I set forth of the sacrament?—I answered, that I had read it.

Then he said, How likest thou that book? With that, one of the council, whose name I know not, said, My lord, that is a good question: for I am sure that book stopped all their mouths.—Then said I, My lord, I think many things be far wile from the truth of God's word in that book.

Then my lord said, Thou art a very varlet. To that I answered, That is as ill as *raca*, or *fool*.

Then my lord said, Thou art an ignorant beetle-brow. To that I answered, I have read over and over again the holy scriptures, and St. Augustine's works through, St. Cyprian, Eusebius, Origen, Gregory Nazianzene, with divers other books, once through; therefore, I thank God I am not utterly ignorant. Besides these, my lord, I professed the civil laws, as your lordship did, and I have read the canon law also.

Then my lord said, With a corrupt judgment thou readest

all things ; touching my profession, it is divinity, in which I have written divers books. Then said I, My lord, ye did write one book, *De vera Obedientia* ; I would you had been constant in that : for indeed you never did declare a good conscience, that I heard of, but in that one book.

Then my lord said, Tut, tut, tut ! I wrote against Bucer in priests' marriages ; but such books please not such wretches as thou art, which hast been married many years.

To that I answered, I am married indeed, and I have had nine children in holy matrimony, I thank God ; and this I am sure of, that your proceedings now at this present in this realm against priests' marriages, is the maintenance of the doctrine of devils, against natural law, civil law, canon law, general councils, canons of the apostles, ancient doctors, and God's laws.

Then spake my lord of Durham, saying, You have professed the civil law, as you say : then you know that Justinian writeth, that priests should at their taking of orders swear, that they were never married ; and he bringeth in to prove that, *Canones Apostolorum*.

To that I answered, That I did not remember any such law of Justinian. But I am sure that Justinian writeth in *Titulo de indicta Viduitate*, in God, That if one would bequeath to his wife in his testament a legacy, under a condition that she should never marry again, and take an oath of her for accomplishing the same, yet she may marry again if he die, notwithstanding the aforesaid conditions and oath taken and made against marriage ; and an oath is another manner of obligation made to God, than is a papistical vow made to man. Moreover, in the Pandects it is contained, that if a man doth manumit his handmaid, under a condition that she shall never marry ; yet she may marry, and her patron shall lose *jus patronatus*, for his adding of the unnatural and unlawful condition against matrimony.

Then my lord chancellor said, Thou sayest that priests may be married by God's law ; how provest thou that ?

I answered, By the plain words and sentences of St. Paul, both to Timothy and to Titus, where he speaks most evidently of the marriage of priests, deacons, and bishops ; and Chrysostom writing upon the Epistle to Timothy, saith, It is an heresy to say that a bishop may not be married.

Then said my lord chancellor, Thou liest of Chrysostom ; but thou dost, as all thy companions do, belie ever without shame both the scriptures and the doctors. Didst thou not also say, that by the canon law priests may be married ? which is most untrue, and the contrary is most true.

I answered, We read in the decrees, that the four general councils, (of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon,) have the same authority that the four Evangelists have. And we read in the same decrees, (which is one of the chief books of the canon law,) that the council of Nice, by the means of one Paphnutius, did allow priests' and bishops' marriages : therefore, by the best part of the canon law, priests may be married.

Then my lord chancellor said, Thou falsifiest the general council : for there is express mention in the said decree, that priests should be divorced from their wives which be married. Then said I, If those words be there, as you say, then am I content to lose this great head of mine. Let the book be fetched.

Then spake my lord of Durham, Though they be not there, yet they may be in *Ecclesiastica Historia*, which Eusebius wrote, out of which book the decree was taken.

To that said I, It is not like that the Pope would leave out any such sentence, having such authority, and making so much for his purpose.

Then my lord chancellor said, Gratian was but a patcher, and thou art glad to snatch up such a patch as maketh for thy purpose.

I answered, My lord, I cannot but marvel that you do call one of the chief Papists that ever was, but a patcher.

Then my lord chancellor said, Nay, I call thee a snatcher and patcher. To make an end, Wilt thou not return again with us to the Catholic church ? And with that he arose.

And I said, By God's grace I will never depart from Christ's church. Then I required that I might have some of my friends to come to me in prison : and my lord chancellor said, Thou shalt have judgment within this week. And so was I delivered again unto my keeper. My lord of Durham would that I should believe as my father and my mother did. I alleged St. Augustine, that we ought to prefer God's word before all men.

*Dr. Taylor the fourth time, with Mr. Bradford and Mr. Sanders, brought before Winchester and other Bishops.*

Dr. Taylor, Mr. Bradford, and Mr. Sanders, were again called to appear before the bishop of Winchester, the bishops of Norwich, of London, of Salisbury, and of Durham, and there charged again with heresy and schism ; and therefore a determinate answer was required, whether they would submit themselves to the Roman bishop, and abjure their errors ? or else they would, according to their laws, proceed to their condemnation.

When Dr. Taylor and his fellows, Mr. Bradford and Mr. Sanders, heard this, they answered stoutly and boldly, That they would not depart from the truth which they had preached in king Edward's days, neither would they submit themselves to the Romish Antichrist ; but they thanked God for so great mercy, that he would call them to be worthy to suffer for his word and truth.

When the bishops saw them so boldly, constantly, and unmoveably fixed in the truth, they read the sentence of death upon them ; which when they had heard, they most joyfully gave God thanks, and stoutly said unto the bishops, " We doubt not but God, the righteous judge, will require our blood at your hands, and the proudest of you all shall repent this receiving again of Antichrist, and your tyranny that ye now shew against the flock of Christ.

So was Dr. Taylor now condemned, committed to the Clink, and the keepers charged straitly to keep him : For ye have now another manner of charge (quoth the lord chancellor) than ye had before ; therefore look that ye take heed to it.

When the keeper brought him towards the prison, the people flocked about to gaze upon him ; unto whom he said, " God be praised, good people, I am come away from them undefiled, and will confirm the truth with my blood." So he was put in the Clink till it was towards night, and then was removed to the Compter by the Poultry.

When Dr. Taylor had lain in the said Compter in the Poultry a seven-night, or thereabouts, prisoner, the 4th day of February, anno 1555, Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, with others, came to the said Compter to degrade him, bringing with them such ornaments as do appertain to their massing mummery. Now being come, he called for the said Dr. Taylor to be brought unto him, the bishop being then in the chamber where the keeper of the Compter and his wife lay. So Dr. Taylor was brought down from the chamber above that, to the said Bonner ; and at his coming the bishop said, Mr. Doctor, I would you would remember yourself, and turn to your mother holy church ; so may you do well enough, and I will sue for your pardon. Whereunto



Mr. Taylor answered, "I would you and your fellows would turn to Christ: as for me, I will not turn to Antichrist." Well, quoth the bishop, I am come to degrade you: wherefore put on these vestures. No, (quoth Dr. Taylor,) I will not. Wilt thou not? said the bishop; I shall make thee ere I go. Quoth Dr. Taylor, You shall not, by the grace of God. Then he charged him upon his obedience to do it, but he would not do it for him.

So he willed another to put them upon his back; and when he was thoroughly furnished therewith, he set his hands to his side, walking up and down, and said, How say you, my lord, am not I a goodly fool? How say you, my masters, if I were in Cheapside, should not I have boys enow to laugh at these apish toys, and toying trumpery? So the bishop scraped his fingers, thumbs, and the crown of his head, and did the rest of such like devilish observances.

At the last, when he should have given Dr. Taylor a stroke on the breast with his crosier-staff, the bishop's chaplain said, My lord, strike him not, for he will sure strike again. Yea, by St. Peter, will I, (quoth Dr. Taylor;) the cause is Christ's, and I were no good Christian if I would not fight in my Master's quarrel. So the bishop laid his curse upon him, but struck him not. Then Dr. Taylor said, Though you do curse me, yet God doth bless me. I have the witness of my conscience, that ye have done me wrong and violence; and yet I pray God, if it be his will, forgive you: but from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and his detestable enormities, good Lord deliver us. And in going up to his chamber, he still said, God deliver me from you! God deliver me from you! And when he came up, he told Mr. Bradford (for they both lay in one chamber) that he had made the bishop of London afraid: For, saith he, laughingly, his chaplain gave him counsel not to strike me with his crosier-staff, for that I would strike again; and truly, (said he, rubbing his hands,) I made him believe I would do so indeed.

The night after that he was degraded, his wife and his son Thomas resorted unto him, and were by the gentleness of the keepers permitted to sup with him. For this difference was ever found between the keepers of the bishops' prisons and the keepers of the king's prisons, that the bishops' keepers were ever cruel, blasphemous, and tyrannous, like their masters; but the keepers of the king's prisons shewed, for the most part, as much favour as they possibly might.

So came Dr. Taylor's wife, his son, and John Hull, his servant, to sup with him; and at their coming in, before supper, they kneeled down and prayed, saying the Litany.

After supper, walking up and down, he gave God thanks for his grace, that had so called him, and given him strength to abide by his holy word; and turning to his son Thomas, "My dear son, (said he,) Almighty God bless thee, and give thee his holy Spirit, to be a true servant of Christ, to learn his word, and constantly to stand by his truth all thy life long. And, my son, see that thou fear God always. Flee from all sin and wicked living; be virtuous, serve God with daily prayer, and apply to thy book. In any wise see that thou be obedient to thy mother, love her and serve her; be ruled by her now in thy youth, and follow her good counsel in all things. Beware of lewd company, of young men that fear not God, but follow their lewd lusts and vain appetites. Fly from whoredom, and hate all filthy living, remembering that I thy father do die in the defence of holy marriage. Another day, when God shall bless thee, love and cherish the poor people, and count that thy chief riches is to be rich in alms; and when thy mother is waxed old, forsake her not; but provide for her to thy power, and see that she lack no-

thing. For so will God bless thee, and give thee long life on earth, and prosperity; which I pray God to grant thee."

Then turning to his wife, "My dear wife, (quoth he,) continue steadfast in the fear and love of God; keep yourself undefiled from their popish idolatries and superstitions. I have been unto you a faithful yoke-fellow, and so have you been unto me; for the which I pray God to reward you, and doubt not, dear wife, but God will reward it.

"Now the time is come that I shall be taken from you, and you discharged of the wedlock-bond towards me: therefore I will give you my counsel what I think most expedient for you: You are yet a child-bearing woman, and therefore it will be most convenient for you to marry. For doubtless you shall never be at a convenient stay for yourself and our poor children, nor out of trouble, till you be married. Therefore, as soon as God will provide it, marry with some honest faithful man that feareth God. Doubt you not, God will provide an honest husband for you, and he will be a merciful father to you and to my children; whom I pray you to bring up in the fear of God, and in learning, to the uttermost of your power, and keep them from this Romish idolatry."

When he had thus said, they with weeping tears prayed together, and kissed one the other: and he gave to his wife a book of the church-service, set out by king Edward, which he in the time of his imprisonment daily used. And unto his son, Thomas, he gave a Latin book, containing the notable sayings of the old martyrs, gathered out of *Ecclesiastica Historia*; and in the end of that book he wrote his testament and last *vale*, as hereafter followeth.

#### *The last Will and Testament of Dr. Taylor.*

"I say to my wife, and to my children, The Lord gave you unto me, and the Lord hath taken me from you, and you from me: blessed be the name of the Lord. I believe that they are blessed which die in the Lord. God careth for sparrows, and for the hairs of our heads: I have ever found him more faithful and favourable than is any father or husband. Trust ye, therefore, in him, by the means of our dear Saviour Christ's merit: believe, love, fear, and obey him. Pray to him, for he hath promised to help. Count me not dead, for I shall certainly live, and never die. I go before, and you shall follow after, to our long home. I go to the rest of my children, Susan, George, Ellen, Robert, and Zachary: I have bequeathed you to the only Omnipotent.

"I say to my dear friends of Hadley, and to all others which have heard me preach, that I depart hence with a quiet conscience, as touching my doctrine, for the which I pray you thank God with me. For I have after my little talent declared to others those lessons that I gathered out of God's book, the blessed Bible. Therefore if I or an angel from heaven should preach to you any other gospel than that ye have received, God's great curse upon that preacher.

"Beware, for God's sake, that ye deny not God, neither decline from the word of faith, lest God decline from you, and so ye do everlastingly perish. For God's sake, beware of Popery, for though it appear to have in it unity, yet the same is vanity and antichristianity, and not in Christ's faith and verity.

"The Lord grant all men his good and holy Spirit, increase of his wisdom, contemning the wicked world, hearty desire to be with God and the heavenly company, through Jesus Christ our only mediator, advocate, righteousness, life, sanctification, and hope, Amen. Pray, pray, pray.

"ROWLAND TAYLOR.



"Departing hence in sure hope, without any doubt of eternal salvation, I thank God my heavenly Father, through Jesus Christ my certain Saviour, Amen.

"February, 5, 1555."

"The Lord is my light and my salvation: whom then shall I fear?" *Psa. xxvii.*

"God is he that justifieth: who is he that can condemn?" *Rom. viii.*

"In thee, O Lord, have I trusted: let me never be confounded." *Psa. xxx.*

On the morrow, after that Dr. Taylor had supped with his wife in the Compter, as is before expressed, which was the fifth day of February, the sheriff of London with his officers came to the Compter by two of the clock in the morning, and so brought forth Dr. Taylor, and without any light led him to the Woolsack, an inn without Aldgate. Dr. Taylor's wife suspecting that her husband should that night be carried away, watched all night in St. Butolph's church-porch beside Aldgate, having with her two children; the one named Elizabeth, of thirteen years of age, (whom, being left without father or mother, Dr. Taylor had brought up of alms from three years old,) the other named Mary, his own daughter.

Now when the sheriff and his company came against St. Butolph's church, Elizabeth cried, saying, O my dear father! Mother, mother, here is my father led away! Then cried his wife, Rowland, Rowland, where art thou? for it was a very dark morning, that the one could not see the other. Dr. Taylor answered, Dear wife, I am here; and stayed. The sheriff's men would have led him forth; but the sheriff said, Stay a little, masters, I pray you, and let him speak to his wife: so they stayed.

Then came she to him, and he took his daughter Mary in his arms; and he, his wife, and Elizabeth, kneeled down, and said the Lord's prayer; at which sight the sheriff wept apace, and so did divers others of the company. After they had prayed, he rose up, and kissed his wife, and shook her by the hand, and said, Farewell, my dear wife; be of good comfort, for I am quiet in my conscience. God shall stir up a father for my children. And then he kissed his daughter Mary, and said, God bless thee, and make thee his servant; and, kissing Elizabeth, he said, God bless thee. I pray you all stand strong and steadfast unto Christ and his word, and keep you from idolatry. Then said his wife, God be with thee, dear Rowland; I will, with God's grace, meet thee at Hadley.

And so was he led forth to the Woolsack, and his wife followed him. As soon as they came there he was put into a chamber, wherein he was kept with four yeomen of the guard and the sheriff's men. Dr. Taylor, as soon as he was come into the chamber, fell down on his knees, and gave himself wholly to prayer. The sheriff then seeing Dr. Taylor's wife there, would in no case grant her to speak any more with her husband, but gently desired her to go to his house, and take it as her own, and promised her she should lack nothing; and sent two officers to conduct her thither. Notwithstanding, she desired to go to her mother's, whither the officers led her, and charged her mother to keep her there till they came again.

Thus remained Dr. Taylor in the Woolsack, kept by the sheriff and his company, till eleven of the clock. At which time the sheriff of Essex was ready to receive him; and so they set him on horseback within the inn, the gates being shut.

At the coming out of the gates, John Hull, before spoken of, stood at the rails with Thomas, Dr. Taylor's son. When Dr. Taylor saw them, he called them, saying, Come hither, my son Thomas. And John Hull lifted the child up, and set him on the horse before his father; and Dr. Taylor put off his hat, and said to the people that stood there looking on him, Good people, this is mine own son, begotten of my body in lawful matrimony; and God be blessed for lawful matrimony. Then lifted he up his eyes towards heaven, and prayed for his son, laid his hat upon the child's head, and blessed him; and so delivered the child to John Hull, whom he took by the hand, and said, Farewell, John Hull, the faithfullest servant that ever man had. And so they rode forth, the sheriff of Essex, with four yeomen of the guard, and the sheriff's men leading him.

When they were come almost to Burntwood, one Arthur Faysie, a man of Hadley, (who before-time had been Dr. Taylor's servant,) met with them, and he, supposing him to have been at liberty, said, Master doctor, I am glad to see you again at liberty; and came to him and shook him by the hand. Soft, sir, (quoth the sheriff;) he is a prisoner: what hast thou to do with him? I cry your mercy, (said Arthur;) I knew not so much, and I thought it no offence to talk to a true man. The sheriff was very angry with this, and threatened to carry Arthur with him to prison; notwithstanding, he bade him get quickly away, and so they rode forth to Burntwood; where they caused to be made for Dr. Taylor a close hood, with two holes for his eyes to look out at, and a slit for his mouth to breathe at. This they did that no man should know him, nor he speak to any man.

Which practice they used also with others: their own consciences told them, that they led innocent lambs to the slaughter: wherefore they feared, lest if the people should have heard them speak, or have seen them, they might have been much more strengthened by their godly exhortations to stand steadfast in God's word, and to fly the superstitions and idolatries of Papacy.

All the way Dr. Taylor was joyful and merry as one that accounted himself going to a most pleasant banquet or bridal. He spake many notable things to the sheriff and yeomen of the guard that conducted him, and often moved them to weep through his much earnest calling upon them to repent, and to amend their evil and wicked living. Oftentimes also he caused them to wonder and rejoice to see him so constant and steadfast, void of all fear, joyful in heart, and glad to die. Of these yeomen of the guard, three used Dr. Taylor friendly, but the fourth, whose name was Holmes, used him very homely, unkind, and churlishly. At Chelmsford met them the sheriff of Suffolk, there to receive him, and to carry him forth into Suffolk: and being at supper, the sheriff of Essex very earnestly laboured him to return to the popish religion, thinking with fair words to persuade him, and said, Good master doctor, we are right sorry for you, considering what the loss is of such a one as ye might be, if ye would: God hath given you great learning and wisdom, wherefore ye have been in great favour and reputation in times past with the council and highest of this realm. Besides this, ye are a man of goodly personage, in your best strength, and by nature like to live many years, and, without doubt, ye should in time to come be in as good reputation as ever ye were, or rather better. For ye are well beloved of all men, as well for your virtues as for your learning; and we think it were great pity you should cast away yourself willingly, and so come to such a painful and shameful death. Ye should do much better to revoke your opinions, and return to the Catholic universal church of Rome, acknowledge

the pope's holiness to be the supreme head of the church, and to reconcile yourself to him. You may do well yet, if you will; doubt ye not but ye shall find favour at the queen's hands; I and all these your friends will be suitors for your pardon, which no doubt ye shall obtain. This counsel I give you, good master doctor, of good heart and good will towards you; and thereupon drink to you. In like manner said all the yeomen of the guard: upon that condition, master doctor, we will all drink to you.

When they had all drunk to him, and the cup was come to him, he stayed a little as one studying what answer he might give. At the last thus he answered and said, Mr. Sheriff, and my masters all, I heartily thank you for your good will; I have hearkened to your words, and marked well your counsels; and, to be plain with you, I do perceive that I have been deceived myself, and am like to deceive a great many of Hadley of their expectation. With that word they all rejoiced. Yea, good master doctor, (quoth the sheriff,) God's blessing on your heart; hold you there still. It is the comfortablest word that we heard you speak yet. What, should ye cast away yourself in vain! Play a wise man's part, and I dare warrant it ye shall find favour. Thus they rejoiced very much at the word, and were very merry.

At the last, Good master doctor, (quoth the sheriff,) what meant ye by this, that ye say ye think ye have been deceived yourself, and think ye shall deceive many one in Hadley?—Would ye know my meaning plainly? (quoth he.)—Yea, (quoth the sheriff;) good master doctor, tell us plainly.—Then said Dr. Taylor, I will tell you how I have been deceived, and as I think I shall deceive a great many: I am, as you see, a man that hath a very great carcase, which I thought should have been buried in Hadley church-yard, if I had died in my bed, as I well hoped I should have done: but herein I see I was deceived; and there are a great number of worms in Hadley church-yard, which should have had jolly feeding upon this carrion, which they have looked for many a day. But now I know we be deceived, both I and they: for this carcase must be burnt to ashes, and so shall they lose their bait and feeding that they looked for.

When the sheriff and his company heard him say so, they were amazed, and looked on one another, marvelling at the man's constant mind, that thus without all fear made but a jest at the cruel torment and death now at hand prepared for him. Thus was their expectation clean disappointed.

Dr. Taylor was at Chelmsford delivered to the sheriff of Suffolk, and by him conducted to Hadley, where he suffered. When they were come to Lanham, the sheriff stayed there two days; and thither came to him a great number of gentlemen and justices upon great horses, which all were appointed to aid the sheriff. These gentlemen laboured Dr. Taylor very sore to reduce him to the Romish religion, promising him his pardon: which, said they, we have here for you. They promised him great promotions, yea, a bishopric, if he would take it. But all their labour and flattering words were in vain; for he had not built his house upon the sand, in peril of falling at every puff of wind, but upon a sure and unmoveable rock, Christ. Wherefore he abode constant and unmoveable unto the end.

After two days, the sheriff and his company led Dr. Taylor towards Hadley; and coming within two miles of Hadley, he desired to alight off his horse. Which done, he leaped and took a frisk or two, as men commonly do in dancing. Why, master doctor, (quoth the sheriff,) how do you now? He answered, Well, God be praised, good master sheriff; never better, for now I know I am almost at home; I lack not past two stiles to go over, and I am even at my Father's

house. But, master sheriff, (said he,) shall we not go through Hadley? Yes, (said the sheriff,) you shall go through Hadley. Then said he, O good Lord, I thank thee, I shall yet once ere I die see my flock, whom thou, Lord, knowest I have most heartily loved, and truly taught. Good Lord, bless them, and keep them steadfast in thy word and truth.

When they were now come to Hadley, and came riding over the bridge, at the bridge foot waited a poor man with five small children; who, when he saw Dr. Taylor, he and his children fell down upon their knees, and held up their hands, and cried with a loud voice, and said, O dear father, and good shepherd, Dr. Taylor, God help and succour thee, as thou hast many a time succoured me and my poor children! Such witness had the servant of God of his virtuous and charitable alms given in his life-time; for God would now the poor should testify of his good deeds, to his singular comfort, to the example of others, and confusion of his persecutors and tyrannous adversaries. For the sheriff, and others that led him to death, were wonderfully astonished at this; and the sheriff sore rebuked the poor man for so crying.

The streets of Hadley were beset on both sides the way with men and women, who waited to see him; whom when they beheld so led to death, with weeping eyes and lamentable voices they cried, saying one to another, Ah, good Lord! there goeth our good shepherd from us, that so faithfully hath taught us, so fatherly hath cared for us, and so godly hath governed us. O merciful God! what shall we poor scattered lambs do! What shall come of this most wicked world! Good Lord, strengthen him, and comfort him; with such other most lamentable and piteous voices.—Wherefore the people were sore rebuked by the sheriff, and catch-poles his men, that led him; and Dr. Taylor evermore said to the people, I have preached to you God's word and truth, and am come this day to seal it with my blood.

Coming against the alms-houses, which he well knew, he cast to the poor people money, which remained of what good people had given him in time of his imprisonment. As for his living, they took it from him at his first going to prison, so that he was sustained all the time of his imprisonment by the charitable alms of good people that visited him. Therefore the money that now remained, he put in a glove ready for the same purpose, and, as is said, gave it to the poor alms-men standing at their doors to see him.

And coming to the last of the alms-houses, and not seeing the poor that there dwelt ready at their doors, as the other were, he asked, Is the blind man and blind woman that dwelt here alive? It was answered, Yea, they are there within. Then threw he glove and all in at the window, and so rode forth.

Thus this good father and provider for the poor now took leave of those for whom all his life he had a singular care and study. For this was his custom once a fortnight at least, to call upon sir Anthony Doyle, and others the rich cloth-makers, to go with him to the alms-houses, and there to see how the poor lived, what they lacked in meat, drink, clothing, bedding, or any other necessities. The like did he also to the other poor men that had many children, or were sick. Then would he exhort and comfort them, and, where he found cause, rebuke the unruly; and what they lacked, that gave he after his power; and what he was not able, he caused the rich and wealthy men to minister unto them. Thus shewed he himself in all things an example to his flock, worthy to be followed; and taught by his deed what a great treasure alms is to all such as cheerfully for Christ's sake do it.

At the last, coming to Aldham common, the place assigned where he should suffer, and seeing a great multitude of people gathered thither, he asked, What place is this, and what meaneth it that so many people are gathered hither? It was answered, It is Aldham common, the place where you must suffer: and the people are come to look upon you. Then said he, Thanked be God, I am even at home: and so alighted from his horse, and with both his hands tore the hood from his head.

Now was his head knotted evil-favouredly, and clipped much like as a man would clip a fool's head; which cost the good bishop Bonner bestowed upon him when he degraded him. But when the people saw his reverend and ancient face, with a long white beard, they burst out with weeping tears, and cried, saying, God save thee, good Dr. Taylor! Jesus Christ strengthen thee, and help thee! the Holy Ghost comfort thee! with such other like godly wishes. Then would he have spoken to the people, but the yeomen of the guard were so busy about him, that as soon as he opened his mouth one or other thrust a tipstaff into his mouth, and would in no wise permit him to speak.

Then desired he license of the sheriff to speak; but the sheriff denied it to him, and bade him remember his promise to the council. Well, (quoth Dr. Taylor,) promises must be kept. What this promise was, it is unknown; but the common fame was, that after he and others were condemned, the council sent for them, and threatened them they would cut their tongues out of their heads, except they would promise that at their deaths they would keep silence, and not speak to the people. Wherefore they, desirous to have the use of their tongues, to call upon God as long as they might live, promised silence. For the Papists feared much, lest this mutation of religion from truth to lies, from Christ's ordinances to the popish traditions, should not so quietly have been received as it was, especially this burning of the preachers.

But thanks be to God, who gave to his witnesses faith and patience, with stout and manly hearts to despise all torments; neither was there so much as any one man that once shewed any sign of disobedience towards the magistrates. They shed their blood gladly in the defence of the truth, so leaving example unto all men of true and perfect obedience; which is to obey God more than men, and, if need require it, to shed their own blood rather than to depart from God's truth.

Dr. Taylor perceiving that he could not be suffered to speak, sat down, and seeing one named Soyce, he called him, and said, Soyce, I pray thee come and pull off my boots, and take them for thy labour; thou hast long looked for them, now take them. Then rose he up, and put off his clothes unto his shirt, and gave them away. Which when he had done, he said with a loud voice, Good people, I have taught you nothing but God's holy word, and those lessons that I have taken out of God's blessed book, the holy Bible; and I am come hither this day to seal it with my blood. With that word, Holmes, yeoman of the guard aforesaid, (who had used Dr. Taylor very cruelly all the way,) gave him a great stroke upon the head with a waster, and said, Is that the keeping of thy promise, thou heretic? Then he, seeing they would not permit him to speak, kneeled down and prayed, and a poor woman that was among the people stepped in and prayed with him; but her they thrust away, and threatened to tread her down with horses; notwithstanding, she would not remove, but abode and prayed with him. When he had prayed, he went to the stake, and kissed it, and set himself into a pitch

barrel, which they had set for him to stand in; and so stood with his back upright against the stake, with his hands folded together, and his eyes toward heaven; and so he continually prayed.

Then they bound him with chains, and the sheriff called one Richard Donningham, a butcher, and commanded him to set up faggots; but he refused to do it, and said, I am lame, sir, and not able to lift a faggot. The sheriffs threatened to send him to prison; notwithstanding, he would not do it.

Then appointed he one Mulleine, of Carsey, a man for his virtues fit not be a hangman, and Soyce, a drunkard, and Warwick, who in the commotion time in king Edward's days lost one of his ears for his seditious talk; amongst whom also was one Robert King, a deviser of interludes, who albeit was there present, and had doing there with the gunpowder: what he meant and did therein, (he himself saith he did it for the best, and for quick despatch,) the Lord knoweth, who shall judge all.

These four were appointed to set up the faggots, and to make the fire; which they most diligently did; and this Warwick cruelly cast a faggot at him, which hit him upon his head, and brake his face, that the blood ran down his visage. Then said Dr. Taylor, O friend, I have harm enough: what needed that?

Furthermore, sir John Shelton there standing by, as Dr. Taylor was speaking and saying the psalm *Miserere*, in English, struck him on the lips: Ye knave, said he, speak Latin; I will make thee. At the last they set to fire; and Dr. Taylor holding up both his hands, called upon God, and said, Merciful Father of heaven, for Jesus Christ my Saviour's sake, receive my soul into thy hands. So stood he still without either crying or moving, with his hands folded together, till Soyce with a halbert struck him on the head that the brains fell out, and the dead corpse fell down into the fire.

Thus rendered the man of God his blessed soul into the hands of his merciful Father, and to his most dear and certain Saviour Jesus Christ, whom he most entirely loved, faithfully and earnestly preached, obediently followed in living, and constantly glorified in death.

They that were present, and familiarly conversant with this Dr. Taylor, reported of him, that they never did see in him any fear of death, but especially and above all the rest which besides him suffered at the same time, always shewed himself merry and cheerful in time of his imprisonment, as well before his condemnation as after; he kept one countenance and like behaviour. Whereunto he was the rather confirmed by the company and presence of Mr. John Bradford, who then was in prison and chamber with him.

The same morning when he was called up by the sheriff to go to his burning, about three of the clock in the morning, being suddenly awaked out of his sound sleep, he sat up in his bed, and putting on his shirt, said these words, speaking somewhat thick after his accustomed manner, Ah, whoreson thieves! ah, whoreson thieves! rob God of his honour, rob God of his honour! Afterwards being risen, and tying his points, he cast his arms about a balk which was in the chamber between Mr. Bradford's bed and his; and there hanging by the hands, said to Mr. Bradford, O Mr. Bradford, what a notable sway should I give, if I were hanged! (meaning for that he was a corpulent and big man:) These things I thought good here to note, to set forth and declare to those that shall read this history, what a notable and singular gift of spirit and courage God had given to this godly and blessed martyr.

After that Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, had got the laws and the secular arm on his side, as ye have heard, with full power and authority to reign and rule as he listed, and had brought these godly bishops and reverend preachers aforesaid under foot, namely, the archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Ridley, bishop of London, Mr. Latimer, Mr. Hooper, bishop of Worcester, and Gloucester, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Sanders, Dr. Taylor, and Mr. Bradford; all which he had now presently condemned, and some also burned: he supposed now all had been cock-sure, and that Christ had been conquered for ever, so that the people being terrified with example of these great learned men condemned, never would nor durst once stir against their violent religion. Not much unlike in this behalf to the Turks, who when they cannot maintain their sect by good learning and truth of God's word, think by violence of sword to force whom they can to their belief; and that done, afterwards make laws, no man under pain of heresy to dispute, or once to call in question any of their proceedings. Even so Stephen Gardiner and his fellows when they see they cannot prevail by trial of God's word, (neither are disposed simply to seek for truth where it is to be found,) they take exceptions against it, affirming it to be intricate, obscure, and insufficient to be its own judge, and therefore that of necessity it must be judged by the pope's church; and so having kings and queens on their side, they seek not to persuade by the word of God, nor to win by charity; but instead of the law of God they use, as the proverb saith, *τὸ νόμον χειρῶν*, compelling men by death, fire, and sword, as the Turks do, to believe what in very deed they think not. And indeed after flesh and blood this seemeth to be a sure way. Neither, peradventure, are they ignorant how well this way thriveth with the Turks; and therefore they think to practise the same. And thus condemned they these godly learned preachers and bishops aforesaid.

But they were deceived: for within eight or nine days after Stephen Gardiner had given sentence against Mr. Hooper, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Sanders, Dr. Taylor, and Mr. Bradford, (being the 8th of February,) six other good men were brought likewise before the bishops for the same cause of religion, to be examined, whose names were William Pigot, hatcher, Stephen Knight, barber, Thomas Tomkins, weaver, Thomas Haukes, gentleman, John Lawrence, priest, William Hunter, apprentice.

Stephen Gardiner seeing thus his device disappointed, and that cruelty in this case would not serve to his expectation, gave over the matter as utterly discouraged, and from that day meddled no more in such kind of condemnations, but referred the whole doing thereof to Bonner, bishop of London; who supplied his part completely.

Thus bishop Bonner taking the matter in hand, called before him in his consistory at Paul's, (the lord mayor and certain aldermen sitting with him,) the six persons aforesaid, upon the 8th of February, in the year aforesaid, and on the next day, being the 9th of February, read the sentence of condemnation upon them, as appeareth in Bonner's own registers; such quick speed these men could make in despatching their business. Notwithstanding, because the death of these condemned martyrs did not follow immediately, before the next month of March, I will defer the account till I come to the time and day of their suffering.

In the mean time, what was the cause that their execution was so long deferred after their condemnation, I have not precisely to say, unless peradventure the sermon of Alphonsus the Spanish friar, and the king's confessor, did some good. For so I find, that when those six persons were cast

upon Saturday the 9th of February, upon Sunday following, which was the 10th, the said Alphonsus, a gray friar, preached before the king: in which sermon he did earnestly inveigh against the bishops for burning of men, saying plainly that they learned it not in scripture, to burn any for his conscience; but the contrary, that they should live and be converted, with many other things more to the same purport. But touching the lingering of these men's death, as I have not certainly to affirm, so let it pass.

Upon the 14th of February, Mr. Robert Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, was sent towards St. David's, there to be condemned and executed. Touching whose martyrdom, forasmuch as it fell not before the month of March, we will defer the history thereof till we come to the day and time of his suffering.

Furthermore, this aforesaid 14th day of February, the lord chancellor and other his fellow bishops, caused the image of Thomas Becket, that old Romish traitor, to be set up over the Mercer's chapel-door in Cheapside, in London, in the form and shape of a bishop, with mitre and crosier. But within two days after his erection his two blessing fingers were broken away, and on the next day, being the 17th of February, his head was stricken off. Whereupon arose great trouble, and many were suspected; among whom one Mr. John Barnes, mercer, dwelling over against the same chapel, was vehemently, by the lord chancellor, charged withal as the doer thereof, and the rather for that he was a professor of the truth. Wherefore he and three of his servants were committed to prison; and at his delivery, (although it could not be proved upon him,) he was bound in a great sum of money as well to build it up again as often as it should be broken down, as also to watch and keep the same. And therefore at this his compelled charges the image was again set up the 2d day of March then next ensuing. But the 11th day of the same month, in the night, the head of that dangerous beast, over whom there was such a charge given, was again the second time broken off: which thing was so heinously taken, that the next day (being the 15th day) there was proclamation made in London, that whosoever would tell who did strike off his head, if he were of counsel, and not the principal doer, he should have not only his pardon, but also one hundred crowns of gold, with hearty thanks. But it was not known who did it.

The 18th of February, queen Mary at length, after long delay, made full answer to the king of Denmark's letter, who had written before two letters to the said queen, in the behalf of Mr. Coverdale, for his deliverance, who at that time went under sureties, and was in great danger, had he not been rescued by the great suit and letters of the said king of Denmark.

The matter and copy of which his suit and letters, as they came to our hands, we have set forth and expressed, whereby the singular love of this good king towards the truth of God's word, and the professors thereof, might the better appear to the world.—Fox, vol. 3, p. 140.

First, this virtuous and godly king Christianus, hearing of the captivity of Miles Coverdale, of whom he had had some knowledge before (being there in Denmark in king Henry the Eighth's time) and lamenting his dangerous case, and partly through the intercession of Mr. Machabeus, superintendent in Denmark, who was partly of kin to Mr. Coverdale's wife, made intercession by letters to queen Mary, desiring and requesting the said Miles Coverdale to be sent unto him. The date of which letters was about the kalends of May, anno 1554.

The same month, the 19th day, was a certain intimation

set forth and printed in the name of Bonner, wherein was contained a general monition and strait charge given to every man and woman within his diocese, to prepare themselves against Lent, then near approaching, to receive the glad tidings of peace and reconciliation sent from the pope, Julius III. by Pole, his cardinal and legate *de latere*, and so receive also the joyful benefit of absolution, being sent first from the cardinal to Bonner, and from him to every of his archdeacons, to be ministered to every private person within his diocese that would come the said holy time of Lent to his pastor or curate to be confessed, and to receive of him wholesome counsel, penance, and absolution. Signifying, moreover, that as he was authorized by the aforesaid cardinal, so he for the same purpose had endued with the like authority all and singular pastors and curates within his diocese, to reconcile and liberate from their former heresy and schism, and from the censures of the church, such as would resort unto them. And lest any scruple or doubt, rising peradventure in their conscience, should be any stay or let in this behalf, he hath assigned and deputed therefore through his diocese certain learned men, to whom they might resort, or else might open their griefs to any of his archdeacons, or else come to his own person, and so should be resolved.

And therefore all manner of doubts and obstacles set aside, he straitly willed and commanded every man and woman to come to confession, and to enjoy this benefit of reconciliation and absolution against the first Sunday next after Easter ensuing, and not to fail. For the which purpose he had specially commanded the pastors and curates of every parish to certify up in writing the names of every man and woman so reconciled.

#### *The lamentable History of Mr. JAMES HALES, Judge.*

In the history of Mr. Hooper mention was made of *Judge Hales*. But here we will report somewhat of the communication between the bishop of Winchester and him; declaring withal how false and untrue the excuse of our adversaries is, which so precisely by the law defend themselves, and say, that in all their doings they did nothing but by the law, to bear them out. Which if it be so, how did they then to Anne Askew? What law had they, when they had condemned her first for a dead woman, then afterwards to rack her? By what law did they call up Mr. Hooper, and imprison him for the queen's debt, when the queen in very deed did owe him fourscore pounds, and kept him a year and a half in prison, and gave him never a penny? By what law did bishop Bonner condemn and burn Richard Mekins, a lad of fifteen years, when the first jury had acquitted him, and he at the stake revoked all heresies, and praised the said Bonner to be a good man? and also having him in prison, would not suffer his father and mother to come to him to comfort their own child? What law had they to put Mr. Rogers in prison, when he did neither preach nor read lecture after the time of the queen's inhibition, and when they had kept him in his own house half a year, being not deprived of any living, yet would not let him have an halfpenny of his own livings to relieve him, his wife, and eleven children? By what law was Thomas Tomkins' hand burnt, and afterwards his body consumed to ashes? What good law or honesty was there to burn the three poor women at Guernsey, with the infant child falling out of the mother's womb, when they all before their death recanted their words and opinions, and were never abjured before? So here likewise in this case,

what order or right of law did Stephen Gardiner follow in troubling and imprisoning judge Hales, when he had done nothing either against God's law or man's law, in proceeding by order of law against certain presumptuous persons, which both before the law, and against the law then in force, took upon them to say their mass, as ye shall hear in these his answers and communication had with Stephen Gardiner here under ensuing.

#### *The Conversation between the Lord Chancellor and Judge Hales, in Westminster Hall, the 6th of October, 1553.*

*Chan.* Mr. Hales, ye shall understand, that like as the queen's highness hath heretofore conceived good opinion of you, especially for that ye stood both faithfully and lawfully in her cause of just succession, refusing to set your hand to the book among others that were against her grace in that behalf; so now, through your own late deserts against certain her highness's doings, ye stand no well in her grace's favour; and therefore before ye take any oath, it shall be necessary for you to make your purgation.

*Hales.* I pray you, my lord, what is the cause?

*Chan.* Information is given that ye have indicted certain priests in Kent for saying mass.

*Hales.* My lord, it is not so, I indicted none; but indeed certain indictments of like matter were brought before me at the last assizes there holden, and I gave order therein as the law required. For I have professed the law, against which in cases of justice I will never, God willing, proceed, nor in any wise dissemble, but with the same shew forth my conscience; and if it were to do again, I would do no less than I did.

*Chan.* Yea, Mr. Hales, your conscience is known well enough, I know you lack no conscience.

*Hales.* My lord, you may do well to search your own conscience; for mine is better known to myself than to you. And to be plain, I did as well use justice in your said mass-case by my conscience as by law, wherein I am fully bent to stand in trial to the uttermost that can be objected. And if I have therein done any injury or wrong, let me be judged by the law; for I will seek no better defence, considering chiefly that it is my profession.

*Chan.* Why; Mr. Hales, although you had the rigour of the law on your side, yet ye might have had regard to the queen's highness's present doings in that case; and further, although ye seem to be more than precise in the law, yet I think ye would be very loth to yield to the extremity of such advantages as might be gathered against your proceedings in the law, as ye have sometimes taken upon you in place of justice, and if it were well tried, I believe ye should not be well able to stand honestly thereto.

*Hales.* My lord, I am not so perfect, but I may err for lack of knowledge; but both in conscience, and such knowledge of the law as God hath given me, I will do nothing but I will maintain it, and abide in it; and if my goods and all that I have be not able to counterpoise the case, my body shall be ready to serve the turn, for they be all at the queen's highness's pleasure.

*Chan.* Ah, sir, ye be very quick and stout in your answers! But as it should seem, that which you did was more of a will favouring the opinion of your religion against the service now used, than for any occasion or zeal of justice, seeing the queen's highness doth set it forth as yet, wishing all her faithful subjects to embrace it accordingly: and where you offer both body and goods in your trial, there is no such matter required at your hands, and yet ye shall not have your own will neither.



*Hales.* My lord, I seek not wilful will, but to shew myself as I am bound in love to God and obedience to the queen's majesty, in whose cause willingly for justice sake, all other respects set apart, I did of late (as your lordship knoweth) adventure as much as I had. And as for my religion, I trust it to be such as pleaseth God, wherein I am ready to adventure as well my life as my substance, if I be called thereunto. And so, in lack of mine own power and will, the Lord's will be fulfilled.

*Chan.* Seeing you be at this point, Mr. Hales, I will presently make an end with you. The queen's highness shall be informed of your opinion and declaration; and as her grace shall thereupon determine, ye shall have knowledge. Until such time, ye may depart as ye came, without your oath, for, as it appeareth, ye are scarce worthy the place appointed.

*Hales.* I thank your lordship: and as for my vocation, being both a burden and a charge more than ever I desired to take upon me, whensoever it shall please the queen's highness to ease me thereof, I shall most humbly with due contentation obey the same. And so he departed from the bar.

Not many days after this conversation in Westminster-hall, Mr. Hales at the commandment of the bishop was committed to the King's Bench, where he remained until Lent; then was he removed to the Compter in Bread-street, and afterwards from thence was carried to the Fleet.

Being in the Fleet, what it was that he had granted unto the bishops, by their fraudulent assaults and persuasion; namely, of Dr. Day, bishop of Clichester, and of judge Portman, as it is thought, overcome at last, I have not to say. This is certain, that shortly after, calling himself better to remembrance, he was brought to great repentance and terror of conscience; insomuch, that for very anguish of heart he was ready with his penknife to kill himself there in the prison; and had no doubt so done, had not the merciful providence of the Lord rescued him miraculously, as ye shall hear.

It happened when supper-time came that he should be called down, Mr. Hales having little mind either to eat or to drink, got him straightway to bed, where he lay all the night sobbing and groaning, and took little rest or sleep. At length when morning came, about six of the clock he sent his servant for a cup of beer, under pretence as though he were thirsty and desirous to drink. Whether this cause were true or feigned, it is unknown: but this followed, that this man was scarce out of the chamber, when he with his penknife had wounded himself in divers places of his body, and was purposed, no doubt, to have destroyed himself, had not the goodness of the Lord given present help in time of opportunity. Whereby it is evident for all men to understand how God's favour was not absent from the man, although he thought himself utterly forsaken for his denial, as by the sequel may well appear.

For as soon as he had sent his man out of his chamber, (see what God would have done!) even before the chamber door, eftsoons the butler met him; who being desired to fill the drink, and take in the cup, the other returned again unto his master, at the same very time when he was working his own destruction; whereby Mr. Hales at that time was stopped of his purpose, and preserved, not without God's manifest good will and providence.

When Winchester had knowledge of it, he straightway taketh occasion thereby to blaspheme the doctrine of the gospel, which he openly in the star-chamber called doctrine of desperation.

Mr. Hales being within a while after recovered of those wounds, and delivered out of prison, getting himself home unto his house, where he, either for the greatness of his sorrow, or for lack of good counsel, or for that he would avoid the necessity of hearing mass, having all things set in order, a good while before that, pertaining to his testament, casting himself into a shallow river, was drowned therein; which was about the beginning of the month of February, or in the month of January before, anno 1555: into such sorrow of conscience did he fall for having abjured the truth of the gospel, and in any wise dissembling, to escape the violence of persecutors.

*History of THOMAS TOMKINS, who first having his Hand burned, after was burned himself, by Bishop Bonner*

Mention was made before of six prisoners, brought before bishop Bonner the 8th of February, whose names were Tomkins, Pigot, Knight, Haukes, Lawrence, and Hunter; of the which six aforesaid martyrs, the first was *Thomas Tomkins*, burned in Smithfield the 16th day of March, anno 1555.

This Thomas Tomkins, a weaver by his occupation, dwelling in Shoreditch, and of the diocese of London, was of such conversation and disposition so godly, that if any woman had come to him with her web, as sometimes they did three and four in a day, he would always begin with prayer; or if any other had come to talk of any matter, he would likewise first begin with prayer. And if any had sought unto him to borrow money, he would shew him such money as he had in his purse, and bid him take it: and when they came to repay it again, so far off was he from seeking any usury at their hand, or strait exaction of his due, that he would bid them keep it longer, until they were better able.

Dr. Bonner, bishop of London, kept the said Tomkins with him in prison half a year; during which time the said bishop was so rigorous unto him, that he beat him bitterly about the face, whereby his face was swelled. Whereupon the bishop caused his beard to be shaven, and gave the barber twelve-pence.

Touching which shaving of Thomas Tomkins' beard, this is more to be added: bishop Bonner having Tomkins with him prisoner at Fulham, in the month of July, did set him with his other work-folks to make hay; and seeing him to labour so well, the bishop sitting him down, said, Well, I like thee well, for thou labourest well; I trust thou wilt be a good Catholic. My lord, (said he,) St. Paul saith, "He that doth not labour, is not worthy to eat." Bonner said, Ah, St. Paul is a great man with thee. And so, after such other talk, the bishop, in a jeering mood, wished his beard off, saying that so he would look like a Catholic. My lord, said Tomkins, before my beard grew, I was, I trust, a good Christian, and so I trust to be, my beard being on. But Bonner in fine sent for the barber, and caused his beard to be shaven off. The very cause was, for that Bonner had plucked off a piece of his beard before.

The rage of this bishop was not so great against him, but the constancy of the party was much greater with patience to bear it; who, although he had not the learning as others have, yet he was so endued with God's mighty Spirit, and so well planted in the perfect knowledge of God's truth, that by no means he could be removed from the confession of truth to impiety and error. Whereupon Bonner the bishop being greatly vexed against the poor man, when he saw that by no persuasions he could prevail with him, devised another practice, not so strange as cruel, further to try his constancy, to the intent that seeing he could not otherwise convince him by

doctrine of scriptures, yet he might overthrow him by some forefeeling and terror of death. So having with him Mr. Harpsfield, Mr. Pembleton, Dr. Chedsey, Mr. Willerton, and others standing by, he called for Thomas Tomkins, who coming before the bishop, and standing as he was wont in defence of his faith, the bishop fell from beating to burning. Who, having there a large wax candle of three or four wicks standing upon the table, thought there to represent unto us as it were the old image of king Porsenna. For as he burnt the hand of Scævola, so this Catholic bishop took Tomkins by the fingers, and held his hand directly over the flame, supposing that by the smart and pain of the fire being terrified, he would leave off the defence of his doctrine, which he had received.

Tomkins thinking no otherwise but there presently to die, began to commend himself unto the Lord, saying, "O Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit," &c. In the time that his hand was in burning, the same Tomkins afterward reported to one James Hinse, that his spirit was so wrapt that he felt no pain. In the which burning he never shrunk, till the veins shrunk, and the sinews burst, and the blood did spirt in Mr. Harpsfield's face, insomuch that the said Mr. Harpsfield, moved with pity, desired the bishop to stay, saying, that he had tried him enough. This burning was in the hall at Fulham.

And where the bishop thought by that means to drive him from his opinions, it proved much otherwise: for this Christian Scævola so valiantly did despise, abide, and endure that burning, that we have less cause hereafter to marvel at the manfulness of that Roman Scævola. I would to God the other had as well followed the example of that Etruscan tyrant. For he, after the left hand of Scævola was half burned, either satisfied with his punishment, or overcome by his manhood, or driven away by fear, sent him home safe unto his people: whereas Bonner, hitherto not contented with the burning of his hand, rested not until he had consumed his whole body into ashes in Smithfield.

#### *The first Examination of Thomas Tomkins.*

This faithful and valiant soldier of God, Thomas Tomkins, after he had remained the space of half a year in prison, about the 8th day of February, was brought with certain others before Bonner, sitting in his consistory, to be examined. To whom first was brought forth a certain bill or schedule subscribed (as it appeareth) with his own hand, the 5th day of the same month last before, containing these words following:

"Thomas Tomkins, of Shoreditch, and of the diocese of London, hath believed and doth believe that in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there is not the very body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ in substance, but only a token and remembrance thereof, the very body and blood of Christ being only in heaven, and no where else.

By me,

THOMAS TOMKINS."

Whereupon he was asked, whether he did acknowledge the same subscription to be of his own hand? To the which he granted, confessing it to be so. This being done, the bishop went about to persuade him (with words rather than with reasons) to relinquish his opinions, and to return again to the unity of the Catholic church, promising, if he would so do, to remit all that was past. But he firmly denied so to do. When the bishop saw he could not so convince him, he brought forth and read to him another writing, containing articles and interrogatories, wherunto he should come the next day and answer; in the mean time he should deliberate

with himself what to do; and so the next day, being the ninth day of March, at eight of the clock in the morning, to be present in the same place again, to give his determinate answer what he would do in the premises, and then either to revoke and reclaim himself, or else in the afternoon of the same day to come again, and have justice, as he called it, ministered unto him. The copy of which articles here followeth:

*Articles objected and ministered, the 8th day of February, against Thomas Tomkins, with his own hand subscribing to the same.*

Thou dost believe, that in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there is not, by the omnipotent power of Almighty God and his holy word, really, truly, and in very deed, the very true and natural body of our Saviour Jesus Christ, as touching the substance thereof, which was conceived in the womb of the Virgin Mary, and hanged upon the cross, suffering passion and death there for the life of the world.

I do so believe.

Thou dost believe, that after the consecration of the bread and wine prepared for the use of the sacrament of the altar, there doth remain the substance of material bread and material wine, not changed nor altered in substance by the power of Almighty God, but remaining as it did before.

I do so believe.

Thou dost believe, that it is an untrue doctrine, and a false belief, to think or say that in the sacrament of the altar there is, after consecration of the bread and wine, the substance of Christ's natural body and blood, by the omnipotent power of Almighty God, and his holy word.

I do so believe.

Thou dost believe, that thy parents, kinsfolks, and acquaintance, and also thy godfathers and godmother, and all people, did err and were deceived, if they did believe that in the sacrament of the altar there was, after the consecration, the body and blood of Christ, and that there did not remain the substance of material bread and wine.

I do so believe.—By me,

THOMAS TOMKINS.

#### *The Second Examination of Thomas Tomkins.*

The next day being the 9th of February, at eight of the clock before noon, the said Thomas Tomkins (according to the former commandment) was brought again into the place aforesaid, before the bishop and his assistants, where the aforesaid articles were propounded unto him; whereunto he answered as follows:

To the first he said, that he did so believe, as in the same is contained.

To the second he said, that it was only bread and a participation of Christ's death and passion, and so do the scriptures teach.

To the third he said, and did believe, it was a false doctrine to believe and think as is contained in this article.

To the fourth, he did also believe the same.

After this answer, he did also subscribe his name to the said articles. Whereupon the bishop drawing out of his bosom another confession subscribed with Tomkins's own hand, and also that article that was the first day objected against him, caused the same to be openly read, and then willed him to revoke and deny his said opinions; the which he utterly refused to do, and therefore was commanded to appear before the bishop again in the same place at two of the clock in the afternoon.

The bishop repeateth again the confession of Thomas Tomkins, written before by the said bishop of London, and subscribed by the said Tomkins, the 26th of September, anno 1554, which is this :

"I Thomas Tomkins, of the parish of Shoreditch, in the diocese of London, having confessed and declared openly heretofore to Edmund, bishop of London, mine ordinary, that my belief hath been many years past, and is at this present, that the body of our Saviour Jesus Christ is not truly and in very deed in the sacrament of the altar, but only in heaven, and so in heaven that it cannot now indeed be really and truly in the sacrament of the altar.

"And, moreover, having likewise confessed and declared to my said ordinary openly many times, that although the church, called the Catholic church, hath allowed, and doth allow, the mass and sacrifice made and done therein as a wholesome, profitable, and godly thing; yet my belief hath been many years past, and is at this present, that the said mass is full of superstition, plain idolatry, and unprofitable for my soul, and so I have called it many times, and take it at this present.

"Having also likewise confessed and declared to my said ordinary, that the sacrament of baptism ought to be only in the vulgar tongue, and not otherwise ministered, and also without any such ceremonies as accustomedly are used in the Latin church, and otherwise not to be allowed.

"Finally, being many times and oft called openly before my said ordinary, and talked withal touching all my said confessions and declarations, both by the said mine ordinary and divers other learned men, as well his chaplains as other, and counselled by all them to embrace the truth, and to recant mine error in the premises, which they told me was plain heresy and manifest error; do testify and declare hereby, that I do and will continually stand to my said confession, declaration, and belief, in all the premises, and every part thereof, and in no wise recant or go from any part of the same. In witness whereof I have subscribed and passed this writing the 26th day of September, the year aforesaid.

"By me, THOS. TOMKINS aforesaid."

*The last Appearance of Thomas Tomkins before Bonner and the Commissioners.*

The same day and place, at two o'clock in the afternoon, he was the last time brought before the bishops of London, Bath, and St. David's, with others; where he was earnestly exhorted by the said bishop of Bath, to revoke and leave off his opinions. Unto whom he answered, My lord, I was born and brought up in ignorance until now of late years; and now I know the truth, wherein I will continue unto the death.

Then Bonner caused all his articles and confessions to be again openly read, and so in his accustomed manner persuaded with him to recant. To whom he finally said, My lord, I cannot see but that you would have me forsake the truth, and to fall into error and heresy. The bishop seeing he would not recant, did proceed in his law, and so gave sentence of condemnation upon him.

Then he delivered him to the sheriff of London, who carried him straight unto Newgate, where he remained most joyous and steadfast until the 16th day of March next after; on which day he was by the said sheriff conveyed into Smithfield, and there sealed up his faith in the flaming fire, to the glory of God's holy name, and confirmation of the weak.

*A notable History of WILLIAM HUNTER, a young Man of Nineteen Years, pursued to death by Justice Brown, for the Gospel's sake, worthy of all young Men and Parents to be read.*

The 26th day of the said month of March, the year aforesaid, followed the martyrdom of *William Hunter*, a godly young man, of the age of nineteen years, and born of godly parents; by whom he was not only instructed in true religion and godliness, but also confirmed by them unto death, after a rare and strange example, worthy to be noted and had in admiration of all parents. Wherein may appear a singular spectacle, not only of a marvellous fortitude in the party so young, but also in his parents, to behold nature in them striving with religion, and overcome of the same. Whereby Christian parents may learn what is to be done, not only in their children, but also in themselves, if need at any time do require, or godliness should demand, the duty of a Christian man against natural affection. Example whereof in the sequel of this history we have here present before our eyes. Which history, as it was faithfully drawn out by Robert Hunter his own brother, (who being present with his brother William, and never left him till his death, sent the true report unto us,) we have here with like faithfulness placed and recorded the same, as followeth :

William Hunter, being an apprentice in London in the first year of queen Mary, was commanded at the Easter next following to receive the communion at a mass, by the priest of the parish where he dwelt, called Coleman-street; which because he refused to do, he was very much threatened that he should be brought before the bishop of London. Wherefore William Hunter's master (one Thomas Taylor, a silk-weaver) required William Hunter to go and depart from him, lest that he should come in danger because of him, if he continued in his house. For the which cause William Hunter took leave of his master, and thence came to Burntwood, where his father dwelt, with whom he afterwards remained about the space of half a quarter of a year.

After this it happened, within five or six weeks, that William going into the chapel of Burntwood, and finding there a Bible lying on a desk, did read therein. In the mean time there came in one father Atwell, a sumner, which hearing William read in the Bible, said to him, What meddlest thou with the Bible? Knowest thou what thou redest; and canst thou expound the scriptures?

To whom William answered and said, Father Atwell, I take not upon me to expound the scriptures, except I were dispensed withal: but I, finding the Bible here when I came, read in it to my comfort.

To whom father Atwell said, It was never a merry world since the Bible came abroad in English.

To which words William answered, saying, Father Atwell, say not so, for God's sake: for it is God's book, out of which every one that hath grace may learn to know both what things please God, and also what displease.

Then said father Atwell, Could we not tell before this time, as well as now, how God was to be served?

William answered, No, father Atwell, nothing so well as we may now, if that we might have his blessed word amongst us still as we have had.—It is true, said father Atwell, if it be as you say.

Well, said William Hunter, it liketh me very well, and I pray God that we may have the blessed Bible amongst us continually.

To which words father Atwell said, I perceive your mind well enough: you are one of them that misliketh the queen's

laws; and therefore you came from London, I hear say. You learned these ways at London: but for all that, said father Atwell, you must turn another leaf, or else you, and a great number more heretics, will broil for this gear, I warrant you.

To which words William said, God give me grace that I may believe his word, and confess his name, whatsoever comes thereof.

Confess his name! (quoth old Atwell;) no, no, ye will go to the devil all of you, and confess his name.

What! (said William;) you say not well, father Atwell.

At which words he went out of the chapel in a great fury, saying, I am not able to reason with thee; but I will fetch one straightway which shall talk with thee, I warrant thee, thou heretic. And he, leaving William Hunter reading in the Bible, straightway brought one Thomas Wood, who was then vicar of Southwell, who was at an ale-house over against the said chapel; who hearing old Atwell say that William Hunter was reading of the Bible in the chapel, came by and by to him, and finding him reading in the Bible, took the matter very heinously, saying, Sirrah! who gave thee leave to read in the Bible, and to expound it?

Then William answered, I expound not the scriptures, sir, but read them for my comfort.

What meddlest thou with them at all? (said the vicar.) It becometh not thee, nor any such, to meddle with the scriptures.

But William answered, I will read the scriptures, God willing, while I live: and you ought not, master vicar, to discourage any man for that matter, but rather exhort men diligently to read the scriptures, for your discharge and their own.

Unto which the vicar answered, It becometh thee well to tell me what I have to do! I see thou art an heretic by thy words.

William said, I am no heretic for speaking the truth.—But the vicar said, It is a merry world when such as thou art shall teach us what is the truth! thou art meddling, father Atwell tells me, with the 6th of John, wherein thou mayest perceive how Christ saith, “Except that ye eat the flesh of Christ, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.”

William said, I read the 6th of John, indeed; howbeit, I make no exposition on it.

Then said father Atwell, When you read it, I said that you there might understand how that in the sacrament of the altar is Christ's very natural body and blood: unto the which you answered, how that you would take the scriptures as they are, and that you would meddle with no great exposition, except that ye were dispensed withal.

Ah, (said the vicar,) What say you to the blessed sacrament of the altar? Believest thou not in it, and that the bread and wine are transubstantiated into the very body and blood of Christ?

William answered, I learn no such thing in the 6th of John, as you speak of.

Why, (said the vicar,) dost thou not believe in the sacrament of the altar?

I believe, (said William Hunter,) all that God's word teacheth.

Why, (said the vicar,) thou mayest learn this which I say plainly in the 6th of John.

Then said William, You understand Christ's words much like the carnal Capernites, which thought that Christ would have given them his flesh to feed upon; which opinion our Saviour Christ corrected, when he said, “The words which I speak to you are spirit and life.”

Now, (quoth the vicar,) I have found you out: now I see that thou art an heretic indeed, and that thou dost not believe in the sacrament of the altar.

Then said William Hunter, Whereas you doubt my belief, I would it were tried whether that you or I would stand faster in our faith.

Yea, thou heretic, (said the vicar,) wouldst thou have it so tried?—William Hunter answered, That which you call heresy, I serve my Lord God withal.

Then said the vicar, Canst thou serve God with heresy?—But William answered, I would that you and I were even now fast tied to a stake, to prove whether that I or you would stand strongest to our faith.—But the vicar answered, It shall not be so tried.—No, quoth William, I think so; for if I might, I think I know who would soonest recant: for I durst set my foot against yours even to the death.

That we shall see, quoth the vicar; and so they departed, the vicar threatening William much how that he would complain of him.

Immediately after, this vicar of Wield told Mr. Brown of the conversation which William Hunter and he had together. Which when Mr. Brown understood, immediately he sent for William's father, and the constable, one Robert Salmon: for immediately William Hunter and the vicar had reasoned together, he took his leave of his father, and fled, because Wood the vicar threatened him. Now when the constable and William's father were come, and were before Mr. Brown, he asked where William Hunter was? His father answered, saying, If it you please, sir, I know not where he is. No! quoth Mr. Brown; I will make thee tell where he is, and fetch him forth also, ere I have done with thee. Sir, said William's father, I know not where he is, nor where to seek for him.

Then said Mr. Brown, Why didst thou not bring him when thou hadst him? I promise thee, if thou wilt not fetch him, I will send thee to prison till I shall get him. Wherefore see that thou promise me to fetch him, or else it is not best to look me in the face any more, nor yet to rest in Burntwood. Well, quoth Mr. Brown to William's father, see that thou seek him forth, and bring him to me.

William's father answered, Sir, would you have me seek my son to be burned?

If thou bring him to me, quoth Mr. Brown, I will deal well enough for that matter; thou shalt not need to care for the matter. Fetch him, and thou shalt see what I will do for him. Moreover, if thou lackest money, quoth he, thou shalt have some; and bade the constable, Mr. Salmon, to give him a crown; but William's father took none of him. Howbeit, Mr. Brown would never rest till William's father had promised him to seek out his son.

And thus Mr. Brown sent the constable home again, and William's father, commanding him to seek out William Hunter, and then to come again and bring him to him.

After that old father Hunter had ridden two or three days' journey to satisfy Mr. Brown's expectation, it happened that William met with his father in the highway as he travelled, and, first seeing his father, came to him and spake to him, and told him how he thought that he sought for him; and then his father confessing it, wept sore, and said that Mr. Brown charged him to seek him, and bring him to him: Howbeit, said he, I will return home again, and say I cannot find you. But William said, Father, I will go home with you, and save you harmless, whatsoever cometh of it. And thus they came home together; but William, as soon as he was come home, was taken by the said constable, and laid in the stocks till the next day.

Mr. Brown, hearing that William Hunter was come home, sent for him to the constable, who brought him immediately to Mr. Brown. Now when William was come, Mr. Brown said to him, Ah, sirrah, are ye come! and then by and by he commanded the Bible to be brought, and opened it, and then began to reason with William on this manner, saying, I hear say you are a scripture-man, and can reason much of the sixth of John, and expound as pleaseth you; and turned the Bible to the 6th of St. John, and then he laid to his charge what an exposition he made when the vicar and he talked together. And William said, He urged me to say so much as I did.—Well, quoth Mr. Brown, because you can expound that place so well, how say you to another place? turning to the 22d of St. Luke. And Mr. Brown said, Look here, for Christ saith, that the bread is his body.

To which William answered, The text saith how Christ took bread, but not that he changed it into another substance; but gave that which he took, and brake that which he gave, which was bread, as is evident by the text; for else he should have had two bodies, which to affirm I see no reason, said William.

At which answer Mr. Brown was very angry, and took up the Bible and turned the leaves, and then flung it down again in such a fury, that William could not well find the place again whereof they reasoned.

Then Mr. Brown said, Thou naughty boy, wilt thou not take things as they are, but expound them as thou wilt? Doth not Christ call the bread his body plainly, and thou wilt not believe that the bread is his body after the consecration? Thou goest about to make Christ a liar.

But William Hunter answered, I mean not so, sir, but rather more earnestly to search what the mind of Christ is in that holy institution, wherein he commendeth unto us the remembrance of his death, passion, resurrection, and coming again, saying, "This do in the remembrance of me." And also though Christ call the bread his body, as he doth also say that he is a vine, a door, &c. yet is not his body turned into bread, no more than he is turned into a door or vine: wherefore Christ calleth the bread his body by a figure of speech.

At that word Mr. Brown said, Thou art a villain indeed; wilt thou make Christ a liar yet still? and was in such fury with William, and so raged, that William could not speak a word but he crossed him, and scoffed at every word. Wherefore William, seeing him in such fury, desired him that he would either bear him quietly, and suffer him to answer for himself, or else send him away.

To which Mr. Brown answered, Indeed I will send thee to-morrow to my lord of London, and he shall have thee under examination; and thus left off the talk, and wrote a letter immediately, and sent William Hunter with the constable to Bonner, bishop of London, who received William.

After that he had read the letter, and the constable returned home again, the bishop caused William to be brought into a chamber, where he began to reason with him in this manner: I understand, William Hunter, (quoth he,) by Mr. Brown's letter, how that you have had certain communication with the vicar of the Wiede, about the blessed sacrament of the altar, and how that ye could not agree; whereupon Mr. Brown sent for thee to bring thee to the Catholic faith, from the which, he saith, thou art gone. Howbeit, if thou wilt be ruled by me, thou shalt have no harm for any thing that thou hast said or done in this matter. William answered, saying, I am not fallen from the Catholic faith of Christ, I am sure, but do believe it, and confess it with all my heart.

Why, quoth the bishop, how sayest thou to the blessed sacrament of the altar? Wilt thou not recant thy saying, which thou confessedst before Mr. Brown, how that Christ's body is not in the sacrament of the altar, the same that was born of the Virgin Mary?

To which William answered, saying, My lord, I understand that Mr. Brown hath certified you of the talk which he and I had together, and thereby ye know what I then said to him, the which I will not recant, by God's help!

Then said the bishop, I think thou art ashamed to bear a faggot, and recant openly, but if thou wilt recant thy sayings, I will promise thee that thou shalt not be put to open shame; but speak the word here now between me and thee, and I will promise thee it shall go no farther, and thou shalt go home again without any hurt.

William answered and said, My lord, if you will let me alone, and leave me to my conscience, I will go to my father and dwell with him, or else with my master again; and so if nobody will disquiet or trouble my conscience, I will keep my conscience to myself.

Then, said the bishop, I am content, so that thou wilt go to the church, and receive, and be shaven, and so continue a good Catholic Christian.—No, quoth William, I will not do so for all the good in the world.

Then, quoth the bishop, if you will not do so, I will make you sure enough, I warrant you.—Well, quoth William, you can do no more than God will permit you.

Well, quoth the bishop, wilt thou not recant indeed by no means?—No, quoth William, never while I live, God willing.

Then the bishop commanded his men to put William in the stocks in his gate-house, where he sat two days and nights, only with a crust of brown bread and a cup of water.

At the two days' end the bishop came to him, and finding the cup of water and the crust of bread still by him upon the stocks, said to his men, Take him out of the stocks, and let him break his fast with you. Then they let him forth off the stocks; but would not suffer him to eat with them, but called him heretic: and he said, he was as loth to be in their company as they were to be in his.

After the breakfast, the bishop sent for William, and demanded whether he would recant or no? But William made him answer, how that he never would recant that which he had confessed before men, as concerning his faith in Christ.

Then the bishop said, that he was no Christian, but he denied the faith in which he was baptized. But William answered, I was baptized in the faith of the holy Trinity, the which I will not go from, God assisting me with his grace.

Then the bishop sent him to the convict prison, and commanded the keeper to lay irons upon him as many as he could bear; and moreover, asked him how old he was? and William said that he was nineteen years old.

Well, said the bishop, you will be burned ere you be twenty years old, if you will not yield yourself better than you have done yet. William answered, God strengthen me in his truth. And then he parted, the bishop allowing him a halfpenny a day to live on in bread or drink.

Thus he continued in prison three-quarters of a year: in which time he had been before the bishop five times, besides the time when he was condemned in the consistory in Paul's the 9th day of February, at which time his brother Robert Hunter was present, when and where he heard the bishop condemn him and five others more.

And then the bishop calling William, asked him if he would recant? and so read to him his examination and confession, as is above rehearsed, and then rehearsed how that



William confessed that he did believe that he received Christ's body spiritually when he did receive the communion. Dost thou mean, quoth the bishop, that the bread is Christ's body spiritually?

William answered, I mean not so, but rather when I receive the holy communion rightly and worthily, I do feed upon Christ spiritually through faith in my soul, and am made partaker of all the benefits which Christ hath brought unto all faithful believers through his precious death, passion, and resurrection; and not that the bread is his body, either spiritually or corporally.

Then said the bishop to William, Dost thou not think (holding up his cap) that for example here of my cap, thou mayest see the squareness and colour of it, and yet that not to be the substance, which thou judgest by the accidents?

William answered, If you can separate the accidents from the substance, and shew me the substance without the accidents, I could believe.—Then said the bishop, Thou wilt not believe that God can do any thing above man's capacity. Yes, said William, I must needs believe that: for daily experience teacheth all men that thing plainly. But our question is not what God can do, but what he will have us to learn in his holy supper.

Then the bishop said, I always have found thee at this point, and I see no hope in thee to reclaim thee unto the catholic faith, but thou wilt continue a corrupt member; and then pronounced sentence upon him, how that he should go from that place to Newgate for a time, and so from thence to Burntwood, where, said he, thou shall be burned.

Then the bishop called for another, and so when he had condemned them all, he called for William Hunter, and persuaded him, saying, If thou wilt yet recant, I will make thee a free man in the city, and give thee 40l. in good money, to set up thine occupation withal; or I will make thee steward of my house, and set thee in office; for I like thee well, thou hast wit enough, and I will prefer thee, if thou recant.

But William answered, I thank you for your great offers: notwithstanding, my lord, (said he,) if you cannot persuade my conscience with scriptures, I cannot find in my heart to turn from God, for the love of the world; for I count all things worldly but loss and dung, in respect of the love of Christ.

Then said the bishop, If thou diest in this mind, thou art condemned for ever.—William answered, God judgeth righteously, and justifieth them whom man condemneth unjustly.

Thus William and the bishop departed; William and the rest to Newgate, where they remained about a month, and afterwards were sent down, William to Burntwood, and the others into divers places of the country.

Now when William was come down to Burntwood, (which was the Saturday before the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, that followed on Monday after,) William remained till the Tuesday after, because they would not put him to death then, for the holiness of the day. In the mean time, William's father and mother came to him, and desired heartily of God that he might continue unto the end in that good way which he had begun; and his mother said to him, That she was glad that ever she was so happy as to bear such a child, which could find in his heart to lose his life for Christ's name sake.

Then William said to his mother, For my little pain which I shall suffer, which is but short, Christ hath promised me, mother, a crown of joy; may you not be glad of that, mother? With that his mother kneeled down on her knees, saying, I pray God strengthen thee, my son, to the end; yea, I think thee as well bestowed as any child that ever I bare.

At which words, Mr. Higbed took her in his arms, saying,

I rejoice (and so said the others) to see you in this mind; and you have a good cause to rejoice. And his father and his mother both said, That they were never of other mind; but prayed for him, that as he had begun to confess Christ before men, he likewise might so continue to the end.

William's father said, I was afraid of nothing, but that my son should have been killed in the prison by hunger and cold, the bishop was so hard to him. But William confessed, after a month, that his father was charged with his board, that he lacked nothing, but had meat and clothing enough, yea, even out of the court, both money, meat, clothes, wood, and coals, and all things necessary.

Thus they continued in their inn, whither resorted many people of the country to see those good men which were there; and many of William's acquaintance came to him, and reasoned with him, and he with them, exhorting them to come away from the abomination of popish superstition and idolatry.

Thus passing away Saturday, Sunday, and Monday; on Monday at night it happened that William had a dream about two o'clock in the morning, which was this: How that he was at the place where the stake was pitched, where he should be burned, which (as he thought in his dream) was at the town's end where the butts stood; which was so indeed. And also he dreamed, that he met with his father as he went to the stake; and also that there was a priest at the stake, which went about to have him recant. To whom he said, as he thought in his dream, how that he bade him, Away, false prophet! and how that he exhorted the people to beware of him, and such as he was: which things came to pass indeed. It happened that William made a noise to himself in his dream; which caused Mr. Higbed and the others to awake him out of his sleep, to know what he lacked. When he awaked, he told them his dream.

Now when it was day, the sheriff, Mr. Brocket, called on his men to set forward to the burning of William Hunter. Then came the sheriff's son to him, and embraced him, saying, William, be not afraid of these men which are here present with bows, bills, and weapons, ready to bring you to the place where you shall be burned. To whom William answered, I thank God I am not afraid; for I have cast my count what it will cost me already. Then the sheriff's son could speak no more to him for weeping.

Then William Hunter plucked up his gown, and stepped over the parlour groundsels, and went forward cheerfully, the sheriff's servant taking him by one arm, and his brother by another; and thus going in the way he met with his father, according to his dream; who spake to his son, weeping and saying, God be with thee, son William: and William said, God be with you, good father, and be of good comfort; for I hope we shall meet again, when we shall be merry. His father said, I hope so, William; and so departed. So William went to the place where the stake stood, even according to his dream, where all things were very unready. Then William took a wet broom faggot, and, kneeling down thereon, he read the 51st Psalm, till he came to these words, "The sacrifice of God is a contrite spirit; a contrite and a broken heart, O God, thou wilt not despise."

Then said Mr. Tyrill of the Braches (called William Tyrill), Thou liest, thou readest false; for the words are an humble spirit. But William said, The translation saith, a contrite heart. Yea, quoth Mr. Tyrill, the translation is false; ye translated books as ye list yourselves, like heretics. Well, quoth William, there is no great difference in those words.

Then said the sheriff, Here is a letter from the queen: if

thou wilt recant, thou shalt live ; if not, thou shalt be burned. No, quoth William, I will not recant, God willing. Then William arose, and went to the stake, and stood upright to it. Then came one Richard Ponde, a bailiff, and made fast the chain about William. Then said Mr. Brown, Here is not wood enough to burn a leg of him.

Then said William, Good people, pray for me ; and make speed and despatch me quickly ; and pray for me while you see me alive, good people, and I will pray for you likewise.

Now pray for thee ! quoth Mr. Brown ; I will pray no more for thee than I will pray for a dog. To whom William answered, Mr. Brown, now you have that which you sought for, and I pray God, it be not laid to your charge in the last day ; howbeit, I forgive you. Then said Mr. Brown, I ask no forgiveness of thee. Well, said William, if God forgive you, I shall not require my blood at your hands.

Then said William, Son of God, shine upon me ! and immediately the sun in the element shone out of a dark cloud so full in his face, that he was constrained to look another way ; whereat the people much mused, because it was dark a little time before. Then William took up a faggot of broom, and embraced it in his arms. Then the priest (which William dreamed of) came to his brother Robert with a popish book, to carry to William, that he might recant ; which book his brother would not meddle with.

Then William seeing the priest, and perceiving how he would have shewed him the book, said, Away, thou false prophet ! Beware of them, good people, and come away from their abominations, lest that you be partakers of their plagues. Then quoth the priest, Look, how thou burnest here, so shalt thou burn in hell. William answered, Thou liest, thou false prophet ! Away, thou false prophet, away !

Then was there a gentleman who said, I pray God have mercy upon his soul ! The people said, Amen, Amen. Immediately fire was made.

Then William cast his Psalter right into his brother's hand ; who said, William, think on the holy passion of Christ, and be not afraid of death. And William answered, I am not afraid. Then lifted he up his hands to heaven, and said, Lord, Lord, Lord, receive my spirit ! and casting down his head again into the smothering smoke, he yielded up his life for the truth, sealing it with his blood to the praise of God.

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*Here followeth the History of Mr. HIGBED and Mr. CAUSTON, two worthy Gentlemen of Essex, which for their sincere Confession of their Faith, under Bonner, Bishop of London, were martyred and burned in Essex, anno 1555.*

Although the condemnation of *Mr. Higbed and Mr. Causton* followed after the condemnation of those other martyrs which were condemned with Tomkins and Hunter, above-mentioned, yet because the time of their execution was before the burning of the aforesaid four martyrs, forsomuch that they suffered the same day that William Hunter did, which was the 26th of March, I thought therefore next after the story of the said William Hunter, following the order of time, here to place the same.

This *Mr. Higbed and Mr. Causton*, two worshipful gentlemen in the county of Essex, the one at Hornden-of-the-Hill, the other of the parish of Thundurst, being zealous and religious in the true service of God ; as they could not dissemble with the Lord their God, nor flatter with the world, so in the time of blind superstition and wretched idolatry, they could not long lie hid and obscure in such a number of

malignant adversaries, accusers, and servants of this world, but at length they were perceived and informed on to the aforesaid Edmund Bonner, bishop of London. By reason whereof, by commandment, they were committed to the officers of Colchester to be safely kept, and with them also a servant of Thomas Causton, who in this praise of Christian godliness was nothing inferior to his master.

Bonner, the aforesaid bishop, perceiving these two gentlemen to be of worshipful estate, and of great estimation in that county, lest any tumult should thereby arise, came thither himself, accompanied by Mr. Fecknam and certain others, thinking to reclaim them to his faction : so that great labour was taken therein, as well by terrors and threatenings, as by large promises and flattering, and all fair means, to reduce them again to the unity (as they termed it) of the mother church.

In fine, when nothing could prevail to make them assent to their doings, at length they came to this point, that they required certain respite to consult with themselves what was best to be done. Which time of deliberation being expired, and they remained still constant and unmoveable in their professed doctrine, and setting out also their confession in writing, the bishop seeing no good to be done in tarrying any longer there, departed thence, and carried them both to London, and with them certain other prisoners, which about the same time in those quarters were apprehended.

It was not long after this, but these prisoners being at London committed to strait prison, and there attempted sundry ways by the bishop and his chaplains to revoke their opinions ; at length, when no persuasions would serve, they were brought forth to open examination at the consistory in Paul's the 17th day of February, anno 1555. Where they were demanded, as well by the said bishop, as also by the bishop of Bath and others, whether they would recant their errors and perverse doctrine, as they termed it, and so come to the unity of the popish church ? which when they refused to do, the bishop assigned them likewise the next day to appear again, being the 18th of February.

On which day, among many other things there said and passed, he read unto them severally certain articles, and gave them respite until the next day to answer unto the same, and so committed them again to prison.

Upon the first day of March they were again brought before the bishop, and there exhibited their answers to the articles aforesaid.

Then the bishop beginneth first with Thomas Causton : Because ye shall not be suddenly trapped, and that men shall not say that I go about to seek snares to put you away ; I have hitherto respited you, that you should weigh and consider with yourself your state and condition, and that you should, while ye have time and space, acknowledge the truth, and return to the unity of the Catholic church. Then the bishop reading their articles and answers to the same, asked them if they would recant ? Which when they denied, they were again dismissed, and commanded to appear the next Wednesday after, at two o'clock in the afternoon, there to receive their definitive sentence against them ; which thing, as it seemeth, was yet deferred.

#### *Another Examination of Mr. Causton and Mr. Higbed.*

The next Friday, being the 8th day of March, the said Thomas Causton was first called to examination before the bishop, Fecknam, and Dr. Stempe, being in his palace, and there, after certain exhortations to recant his former profession, and to be conformable to the unity of their church, they promised him willingly to receive him again.

To whom he answered, You go about to catch us in snares and gins. But mark, by what measure ye measure us, look you to be measured with the same again at God's hands.

The bishop still persuaded with him to recant. To whom he answered, No, I will not abjure. Ye said, that the bishops that were lately burned be heretics: but I pray God make me such an heretic as they were.

The bishop then leaving Mr. Causton, called for Mr. Higbed, using with him the like persuasions that he did with the other. But he answered, I will not abjure; for I have been of this mind and opinion that I am now these sixteen years; and do what ye can ye shall do no more than God will permit ye to do; and with what measure you measure us, look for the same again at God's hands.

Then Fecknam asked him his opinion in the sacrament of the altar? To whom he answered, I do not believe that Christ is in the sacrament as ye will have him, which is of man's making.

Both their answers thus severally made, they were again commanded to depart for that time, and to appear the next day in the consistory at Paul's, between the hours of one and three of the clock at afternoon.

At which day and hour, being the 9th day of March, they were both brought thither; where the bishop caused Mr. Thomas Causton's articles and answers first to be read openly, and after exhorted him to recant and abjure his heretical opinions, and to come home now at the last to their mother the Catholic church, and save himself.

But Mr. Thomas Causton answered again, and said, No, I will not abjure; for I came not hither for that purpose. And therewithal did exhibit in writing unto the bishop (as well in his own name as also in Thomas Higbed's name) a confession of their faith; to which they would stand; and required leave to read the same: which, after great suit, was obtained, and so he read it openly in the hearing of the people, as followeth:

*The Confession and Faith of Thomas Causton, and Thomas Higbed, which they delivered to the Bishop of London, before the Mayor and Sheriffs, and in the presence of all the people there assembled, anno 1555, the ninth of March, and were condemned for the same in the said Consistory in Paul's Church, the year and day aforesaid.*

1. First, we believe and profess in baptism to forsake the devil, and all his works and pomps, and the vanities of this wicked world, with all the sinful lusts of the flesh.

2. We believe all the articles of our Christian faith.

3. We believe, that we are bound to keep God's holy will and commandments, and to walk in the same all the days of our life.

4. We believe, that there is contained in the Lord's Prayer all things necessary both for body and soul, and that we are taught thereby to pray to our heavenly Father, and no other saint or angel.

5. We believe that there is a Catholic church, even the communion of saints, built upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, (as St. Paul saith,) Christ being the head corner stone: for the which church Christ gave himself, to make it to himself a glorious congregation, without spot.

6. We believe, that this church of herself, and by her own merits, is sinful, and must needs say, Father, forgive us our sins; but through Christ and his merits she is freely forgiven; for he in his own person (saith St. Paul) hath purged her sins, and made her faultless in his sight. Besides whom there is no saviour (saith the prophet :) Neither is there salvation (saith St. Peter) in any other name.

7. We believe, as he is our only Saviour, so he is our only Mediator. For the apostle St. Paul saith, There is one God, and one Mediator between God and man, the Man Christ Jesus. Wherefore seeing none hath this name, God and Man, but Jesus Christ, therefore there is no Mediator but him.

8. We believe, that this church of Christ is and hath been persecuted, the words of Christ saying, "As they have persecuted me, so shall they persecute you: for the disciple is not above his Master. For it is not only given unto you to believe in Christ," (saith St. Paul,) "but also to suffer for his sake: for all that will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution."

9. We believe, that the church of Christ teacheth the word of God, truly and sincerely, putting nothing to, nor taking any thing from; and also doth minister the sacraments according to the primitive church.

10. We believe, that this church of Christ suffereth all men to read the scriptures according to Christ's commandment, saying, Search the scriptures; for they testify of me. We read also out of the Acts, that when St. Paul preached, the audience daily searched the scriptures whether he preached truly or no. Also the prophet David teacheth all men to pray with understanding: For how shall the unlearned (saith St. Paul) say Amen, at the giving of thanks, when they understand not what is said? And what is more allowed than true faith, which, St. Paul saith, cometh by hearing of the word of God?

11. We believe, that the church of Christ teacheth, that God ought to be worshipped according to his word, and not after the doctrine of men: For in vain (saith Christ) ye worship me, teaching nothing but the doctrine of men. Also we are commanded of God by his prophet, saying, Walk not in the traditions and precepts of your elders; but walk (saith he) in my precepts: do that I command you, put nothing thereunto, neither take any thing from it. Likewise saith Christ, You shall forsake father and mother, and follow me. Whereby we learn, that if our elders teach otherwise than God commanded, in that point we must forsake them.

12. We believe, that the supper of the Lord ought not to be altered and changed, forasmuch as Christ himself, being the wisdom of the Father, did institute it. For it is written, "Cursed is he that changeth my ordinances, and departeth from my commandments, or taketh any thing from them." Now we find by the scriptures, that this holy supper is sore abused:

First, In that it is given in one kind, where Christ gave it in both.

Secondly, In that it is made a private mass, where Christ made it a communion: for he gave it not to one alone, but to all the apostles in the name of the whole church.

Thirdly, In that it is made a sacrifice for the quick and the dead; whereas Christ ordained it for a remembrance of the everlasting sacrifice, which was his own body offered upon the altar of the cross once for all; as the holy apostle saith, "Even the full and perfect price of our redemption: And where there is remission of sin," saith he, "there is no more sacrifice for sin."

Fourthly, In that it is worshipped contrary to the commandment, saying, "Thou shalt worship nothing which is made with hands."

Fifthly, In that it is given in an unknown tongue, whereby the people are ignorant of the right use whereof, how Christ died for our sins, and rose again for our justification, by whom we be set at peace with God, and received to his favour and mercy by his promise, whereof this sacrament is a sure seal and witness.

Besides this, it is hanged up, and shut in a box, yea, many times so long that worms breed in it, and so it putrefieth; whereby the rude people have an occasion to speak irreverently. Therefore they that thus abuse it, bring up the slander, and not we, which pray daily to God to restore it to the right use, according to Christ's institution.

Now concerning Christ's words, "This is my body," we deny them not; but we say, that the mind of Christ in them must be searched out by other open scriptures, whereby we may come to the spiritual understanding of them, which shall be most to the glory of God: for as the holy apostle saith, "There is no scripture that hath any private interpretation." Besides this, the scriptures are full of the like figurative speeches; as, for example, Christ saith, "This cup is the new testament in my blood." "The rock is Christ," saith St. Paul. "Whosoever receiveth a child in my name," saith our Saviour Jesus Christ, "receiveth me."

Which sentences must not be understood after the letter, lest we do err, as the Capernaïtes did, which thought that Christ's body should have been eaten with their teeth, when he spake of the eating thereof. Unto whom Christ saith, "Such a fleshly eating of my body profiteth nothing: it is the Spirit (saith our Saviour Jesus Christ) that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing: for my words are spirit and life." Thus we see that Christ's words must be understood spiritually, and not literally. Therefore he that cometh to this worthy supper of the Lord, must not prepare his jaw, but his heart: neither tooth nor belly; but believe, saith St. Augustine, and thou hast eaten it. So that we must bring with us a spiritual hunger, and, as the apostle saith, try and examine ourselves, whether our conscience do testify unto us that we do truly believe in Christ, according to the scriptures: Wherefore if we be truly certified, being new born from our old conversation in heart, mind, will, and deed, then may we boldly with this marriage-garment of our faith come to the feast.

In consideration whereof we have invincible scriptures, as of Christ himself: "This do in remembrance of me." And St. Paul: "As often" saith he, "as ye eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall remember the Lord's death until he come." Here is no change, but bread still. And St. Luke affirmeth the same. Also Christ hath made a just promise, saying, "Me you shall not have always with: you I leave the world and go to my Father; for if I should not depart, the Comforter which I will send cannot come unto you." So according to his promise he is ascended, as the evangelists testify. Also, St. Peter saith, that "heaven shall keep him until the last day also."

Now, as touching his omnipotent power, we confess and say with St. Augustine, that Christ is both God and Man. In that he is God, he is every where; but in that he is Man, he is in heaven, and can occupy but one place: whereunto the scriptures do agree. For his body was not in all places at once when he was here; for it was not in the grave when the woman sought it, as the angel saith; neither was it at Bethania where Lazarus died, by Christ's own words, saying, "I am glad I was not there." And thus we conclude with the scriptures, that Christ is in his holy supper sacramentally and spiritually in all them that worthily receive it, and corporally in heaven, both God and Man.

And further we make here our protestation before God, (whom we call to record in this matter,) that this which we have said is neither of stubbornness nor wilful mind, as some judge of us; but even of very conscience truly, we trust, grounded on God's holy word: for before we took this matter in hand, we besought God from the bottom of our

hearts, that we might do nothing contrary to his holy and blessed word. And in that he hath thus shewed his power in our weakness, we cannot worthily praise him; unto whom we give hearty thanks, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

When he had thus delivered and read their confession, the bishop still persisting, (sometimes in fair promises, sometimes threatening to pronounce judgement,) asked them whether they would stand to this their confession and other answers? To whom Causton said, Yea, we will stand to our answers written with our hands, and to our belief therein contained. After which answer, the bishop began to pronounce sentence against him.

Causton said, that it was much rashness, and without all love and mercy, to give judgment without answering to their confession by the truth of God's word, whereunto they submitted themselves most willingly. And therefore I, quoth Causton, because I cannot have justice at your hand, but that you will thus rashly condemn me, do appeal from you to my lord cardinal.

Then Dr. Smith said, that he would answer their confession. But the bishop, not suffering him to speak, willed Harpsfield to say his mind for the stay of the people; who, taking their confession in his hand, neither touched nor answered one sentence thereof.

Which done, the bishop pronounced sentence, first against the said Thomas Causton: and then calling Thomas Higbed, caused his articles and answers likewise to be read. In the reading whereof, Higbed said, Ye speak blasphemy against Christ's passion, and ye go about to trap us with your subtleties and snares. And though my father and mother, and other my kinsfolk, did believe as you say, yet they were deceived in so believing. And further, where you say that my lord, named Cranmer, late archbishop of Canterbury, and others specified in the said articles, be heretics; I do wish that I were such an heretic as they were and be.

Then the bishop asked him again, whether he would turn from his error, and come to the unity of their church? To whom he said, No, I would ye should recant; for I am in the truth, and you in error.

Well, quoth the bishop, if you will return, I will gladly receive you.

No, said Higbed, I will not return as you will have me, to believe in the sacrament of the altar, your god.

Whereupon the bishop proceeded, and gave judgment upon him, as he had done before upon Thomas Causton. When all this was thus ended, they were both delivered to the sheriffs, and so by them sent to Newgate, where they remained by the space of fourteen days, praised be God, not so much in afflictions as in consolations.

For the increase whereof they earnestly desired all their good brethren and sisters in Christ to pray, that God for his Son's sake would go forth with that great mercy which already he had begun in them, so that they might persevere unto the end, to the praise of the eternal God, and comfort of all their brethren.

These fourteen days, after the condemnation, once expired, they were the 23d day of March fetched from Newgate at four o'clock in the morning, and so led through the city to Aldgate, where they were delivered unto the sheriff of Essex, and there being fast bound in a cart, were shortly after brought to their several appointed places of burning; that is to say, Thomas Higbed to Hornden-on-the-Hill, and Thomas Causton to Rayley, both in the county of Essex, where they did most constantly, the 26th day of the same month, seal this their faith with the shedding of their blood,

to the glory of God and great rejoicing of the godly. And thus much touching the apprehension, examination, confession, condemnation, and burning, of these constant martyrs.

**WILLIAM PYGOT, STEPHEN KNIGHT, and JOHN LAWRENCE, with their Examination and Martyrdom.**

In the story before of Thomas Tomkins and his fellows, mention was made of six which were examined and condemned together by bishop Bonner, the 9th day of February; of the which six condemned persons, two (which were Tomkins and William Hunter, as ye heard) were executed, the one upon the 26th of February, and the other upon the 26th day of March. Other three, to wit, *William Pygot* and *Stephen Knight*, suffered on the 20th day, and *John Lawrence* the 29th day, of the said month of March.

Touching which three martyrs, we have now something to say of their examinations. It was first demanded of them, what their opinion was of the sacrament of the altar? Whereunto they severally answered, and also subscribed, that in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there is not the very substance of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, but a special partaking of the body and blood of Christ; the very body and blood of Christ being only in heaven, and no where else. This answer thus made, the bishop caused certain articles to be read unto them, tending unto the same effect as did the articles before of Tomkins and of Causton.

Do you think and steadfastly believe, said he, that it is a catholic, faithful, christian, and true doctrine, to teach, preach and say, That in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, there is, without any substance of bread and wine there remaining, by the omnipotent power of almighty God and his holy word, really, truly, and in very deed, the true and natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, the self-same in substance (though not in outward form and appearance) which was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered upon the cross? yea, or nay?

Whether do you think, and steadfastly believe, that your parents, kinsfolk, friends, and acquaintance, here in this present realm of England, before your birth, a great while, and also after your birth, professing and believing the said doctrine and faith concerning the said sacrament of the altar, had a true faith, and were faithful and true Christian people, or no?

Whether do you think, and steadfastly believe, that your godfathers and godmother, professing and believing the same doctrine and faith concerning the said sacrament of the altar, had a true Christian faith, and were faithful and true Christian people, or no?

Whether do you think, and steadfastly believe, that your own self in times past, being of the age of 14 years and above, did think and believe concerning the said sacrament of the altar in all points as your said parents, kinsfolk, friends, acquaintance, godfathers, and godmother, did then think and believe them, or no?

Whether do you think, and steadfastly believe, that our sovereigns the king and queen of this realm of England, and all the nobility, clergy, and laity of this realm, professing and believing the said doctrine and faith, as other Christian realms do, concerning the said sacrament of the altar, have a true Christian faith, and believe as the Catholic and true church of Christ hath always believed, preached, and taught, or no?

Whether do you think, and steadfastly believe, that our Saviour Christ and his holy Spirit hath been, is, and shall

be, with his Catholic church, even to the world's end, governing and ruling the same in all things, especially in the necessary points of Christian religion, not suffering the same to err, or to be deceived therein?

Whether is it true, that you being suspected or infamed to be culpable and faulty in speaking against the sacrament of the altar, and against the very true presence of Christ's natural body, and the substance thereof in the said sacrament, and thereupon called before me upon complaint made to me against you, have not been a good space in my house, having freely meat and drink, and also divers times instructed and informed, as well by one being our ordinary, as also by my chaplains and divers other learned men, some whereof were bishops, some deans, and some archdeacons, and every one of them learned in divinity, and minding well unto you, and desiring the safeguard of your soul, and that you should follow and believe the doctrine of the Catholic church as before concerning the said sacrament of the altar; and whether you did not, at all times since your said coming to me, utterly refuse to follow and believe the said doctrine concerning the sacrament?

Whether can you now find in your hearts and conscience to conform yourself in all points to the said faith and Catholic church concerning the said sacrament of the altar, faithfully, truly, and plainly, without any dissimulation, believing therein as our said sovereigns, with the nobility, clergy, and laity, of this realm, and other Christian realms, and other persons aforesaid, and also the said Catholic church, have and do believe in that behalf?

In case you so cannot, what ground have you to maintain your opinion, and who is of the same opinion with you, and what conference have you had therein with any, what comfort and what relief have you had therein by any of them, and what are their names and surnames, and their dwelling places?

Their answers to these articles did not differ much from Tomkins, and other like martyrs above-mentioned.

Their answers being exhibited, they were commanded to appear again the next day, at eight of the clock in the morning, and in the mean while to bethink themselves what they would do.

The next day in the morning, being the 9th of February, before their open appearance, the bishop sent for William Pygot and Stephen Knight into his great chamber in his palace, where he exhorted them to recant, and deny their former profession.

Who answered, that they were not persuaded in their consciences to return and abjure their opinions, whereunto they had subscribed. Within a while after they were all three (with Thomas Tomkins and William Hunter afore-named) brought openly into the consistory the 9th day of February aforesaid, and there had the same articles propounded unto them, which were before propounded unto the aforesaid Thomas Tomkins, and thereunto also subscribed these words, "I do so believe."

The bishop also used certain talk unto John Lawrence only; whereunto he answered in this manner, That he was a priest, and was consecrated and made a priest about eighteen years past, and that he was some time a black friar professed; that also he was assured unto a maid, whom he intended to have married.

And being again demanded his opinion upon the sacrament? he said, that it was a remembrance of Christ's body, and that many have been deceived in believing the true body of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar, and that all such as do not believe as he doth do err. And after this;



they were all of them commanded to appear again at afternoon.

At which hour they came thither again, and there after the accustomed manner were exhorted to recant and revoke their doctrine, and receive the faith. To which they firmly answered, they would not, but would stick to that faith that they had declared and subscribed unto, for that they did believe that it was no error, but that the contrary thereof was very heresy.

When the bishop saw that neither his fair flatterings, nor yet his cruel threatenings, could prevail, he gave them severally their judgments. And because John Lawrence had been one of their anointed priests, he was by the bishop there (according to their order) solemnly degraded.

Their sentence of condemnation and his degradation ended, they were committed unto the custody of the sheriffs of London, who sent them unto Newgate, where they remained with joy together, until they were carried down into Essex, and there, the 28th day of March, the said William Pygot was burned at Braintree, and Stephen Knight at Maldon, who at the stake kneeling upon the ground, said this prayer which here followeth :

"O Lord Jesus Christ, for whose love I leave willingly this life, and desire rather the bitter death of thy cross, with the loss of all earthly things, than to abide the blasphemy of thy most holy name, or to obey men in breaking thy holy commandment ; thou seest, O Lord, that where I might live in worldly wealth to worship a false god, and honour thine enemy, I choose rather the torment of the body, and the loss of this life, and have counted all things but vile, dust, and dung, that I might win thee ; which death is dearer unto me than thousands of gold and silver. Such love, O Lord, hast thou laid up in my breast, that I hunger for thee as the deer that is wounded desireth the soil. Send thy holy Comforter, O Lord, to aid, comfort, and strengthen this piece of weak earth, which is empty of all strength of itself. Thou rememberest, O Lord, that I am but dust, and able to do nothing that is good : therefore, O Lord, as of thine accustomed goodness and love thou hast bidden me to this banquet, and accounted me worthy to drink of thine own cup amongst thine elect ; even so give me strength, O Lord, against this thine element, which as to my sight it is most irksome and terrible, so to my mind it may at thy commandment, as an obedient servant, be sweet and pleasant ; that, through the strength of thy holy Spirit, I may pass through the rage of this fire into thy bosom, according to thy promise, and for this mortal receive an immortal, and for this corruption put on incorruption. Accept this burnt-sacrifice and offering, O Lord, not for the sacrifice, but for thy dear Son's sake, my Saviour, for whose testimony I offer this free-will offering with all my heart and with all my soul. O heavenly Father, forgive me my sins, as I forgive all the world. O sweet Son of God, my Saviour, spread thy wings over me. O blessed and Holy Ghost, through whose merciful inspiration I am come hither, conduct me into everlasting life. Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit. Amen."

#### *The Death and Martyrdom of John Lawrence, Priest.*

The next day, being the 29th day of this month, the said John Lawrence was brought to Colchester, and there being unable to go, (for that as well his legs were sore worn with heavy irons in prison, as also his body weakened with evil keeping,) was borne to the fire in a chair, and so sitting was consumed.

At the burning of this Lawrence, he sitting in the fire, young children came about the fire, and cried as well as

young children could speak, saying, Lord, strengthen thy servant, and keep thy promise ! Lord, strengthen thy servant, and keep thy promise ! Which thing, as it is rare, so it is no small manifestation of the glory of God, which wrought this in the hearts of these little ones ; nor yet a little commendation to their parents, who from their youth brought them up in the knowledge of God and his truth.

#### *The History of Dr. ROBERT FARRAR, Bishop of St. David's, in Wales, who most valiantly gave his life for the testimony of the truth, March 30, anno 1555.*

The next day after, which was the 30th day of the said month of March, followed the martyrdom of the bishop of St. David's in Wales, called *Robert Farrar*, who was the next bishop in this catalogue of Christian martyrs that suffered after Mr. Hooper. This aforesaid Farrar, by the favour and good-will of the lord protector, was first called and promoted to that dignity. This man I may well call twice a martyr, not only for the cruel death of the fire which he suffered in the days of queen Mary, but also for divers other injuries and molestations in king Edward's time, which he no less firmly than unworthily sustained at the hands of his enemies after the fall of the duke of Somerset. Of these his vexations and troubles, with the wrangling articles and informations laid against him, to the number of fifty-six, and of the malice conceived against him by certain covetous canons of the church of Carmarthen, it is not necessary to make particular mention here : we shall therefore proceed to what more immediately relates to his martyrdom.

After that the aforesaid Mr. Farrar, bishop of St. David's, had been long detained in custody under sureties in the reign of king Edward, not for any crime, but by reason that he had been promoted by the duke of Somerset ; and now after his fall he found fewer friends to support him against such as hunted after his bishopric : at length, after the decease of king Edward, by the coming in of queen Mary, the state of religion began to be changed ; whereby a new trouble arose upon him, being now accused and examined, not for any matter of *præmunire*, but for his faith and doctrine. Whereupon he was called before the bishop of Winchester with Mr. Hooper, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Bradford, Mr. Sanders, and others aforesaid, the 4th of February. On which day he should also with them have been condemned : but because leisure did not then so well serve the bishop, his condemnation was deferred, and he sent to prison again, where he continued until the 14th day of the said month of February. What his examinations and answers were before the said bishop of Winchester, so much as came to our hands, I have here annexed.

#### *The Answer of Robert Farrar, Bishop of St. David's, before Winchester and others.*

At his first coming and kneeling before my lord chancellor, the bishop of Durham, and the bishop of Worcester, who sat at the table, and Mr. Rochester, Mr. Southwell, Mr. Bourne, and others, standing at the table's end, the lord chancellor said unto him :

*Win.* Now, sir, have you heard how the world goeth here ?

*Far.* If it like your honour, I know not.

*Win.* What say you ? Do you not know things abroad, notwithstanding you are a prisoner ?—*Far.* No, my lord, I know not.

*Win.* Lo, what a froward fellow is this !

*Far.* If it please your lordship, how should I know any thing abroad, being a prisoner ?

*Win.* Have you not heard of the coming in of the lord cardinal?

*Far.* I know not my lord cardinal; but I heard that a cardinal was come in, but I did not believe it, and I believe it not yet.

*Worcester.* I pray your lordship, tell him yourself, that he may know what is done.

*Win.* The queen's majesty and the parliament hath restored religion to the same state it was in at the beginning of the reign of our king Henry VIII. Ye are in the queen's debt, and her majesty will be good unto you, if you will return to the Catholic church.

*Far.* In what state I am concerning my debts to the queen's majesty, in the court of Exchequer, my lord treasurer knoweth; and the last time that I was before your honour, and the first time also, I shewed you, that I had made an oath never to consent nor agree that the bishop of Rome should have any power or jurisdiction within this realm; and further I need not rehearse to your lordship, you know it well enough.

*Bourne.* You were once abjured for heresy in Oxford.

*Far.* That was I not.

*Bourne.* You were.

*Far.* I was never; it is not true.

*Bourne.* You went from St. David's to Scotland.

*Far.* That I did not.

*Bourne.* You did.

*Far.* That did I never; but I went from York into Scotland.

*Bourne.* Ah, so said I, you went with Barlow.

*Far.* That is true, but never from St. David's.

*Bourne.* You carried books out of Oxford to the archbishop of York, L. Lee.

*Far.* That I did not.

*Bourne.* You did.

*Far.* I did not; but I carried old books from St. Oswald's to the bishop of York.

*Bourne.* You supplanted your master.

*Far.* That did I never in my life.

*Bourne.* By my faith you did.

*Far.* Forsooth, I did not, never in my life; but did shield and save my master from danger, and that I obtained of king Henry VIII. for my true and faithful service; I thank God therefore.

*Bourne.* My lord, (saith Mr. B. to my lord chancellor,) he hath an ill name in Wales as ever had any.

*Far.* That is not so; whosoever saith so, they shall never be able to prove it.

*Bourne.* He hath deceived the queen in divers sums of money.

*Far.* That is utterly untrue; I never deceived king nor queen of one penny in my life, and you shall never be able to prove what you say.

*Win.* Thou art a false knave.

Then Farrar stood up unbidden (for all that while he kneeled) and said, No, my lord, I am a true man, I thank God for it. I was born under king Henry VII. I served king Henry VIII. and king Edward VI. truly, and have served the queen's majesty that now is, truly, with my poor heart and word; more I could not do; and I was never false, nor shall be, by the grace of God.

*Win.* How sayest thou, wilt thou be reformable?

*Far.* My lord, if it like your honour, I have made an oath to God, and to king Henry the Eighth, and also to king Edward, and in that to the queen's majesty, the which I can never break while I live

*Durham.* You have made another oath before.

*Far.* No, my lord, I never made another oath before.

*Dur.* You made a vow.

*Far.* That did I not.

*Win.* You made a profession to live without a wife, as becometh the holy priesthood.

*Far.* No, my lord, if it like your honour, that did I never: I made a profession to live chastely; not without a wife.

*Worcester.* You were sworn to him that was master of your house.

*Far.* That was I never.

*Win.* Well, you are a froward knave; we will have no more to do with you, seeing that you will not come; we will be short with you, and that you shall know within this se'night.

*Far.* I am as it pleaseth your honour to call me; but I cannot break my oath, which your lordship yourself made before me, and gave in example, the which confirmed my conscience. Then I can never break that oath whilst I live, though I should die for it.

*Durham.* Well, saith he, he standeth upon his oath; call another.

My lord chancellor then did ring a bell; and Mr. Farrar said, I pray God save the king and queen's majesties long to continue in honour to God's glory and their comforts, and the comfort of the whole realm; and I pray God save all your honours. And so departed.

After these examinations thus ended, bishop Farrar so remained in prison uncondemned till the 14th day (as is aforesaid) of February, and then was sent down into Wales, there to receive sentence of condemnation. Who then upon the 26th of February, in the church of Carmarthen, being brought by Griffith Leyson, Esqr. sheriff of the county of Carmarthen, was there personally presented before Henry, the bishop of St. David's, and Constantine, the public notary; which Henry there and then discharged the said sheriff, and received him into his own custody, further committing him to the keeping of Owen Jones, and thereupon declared unto the said Mr. Farrar the great mercy and clemency that the king and queen's highness' pleasure was to be offered unto him, which he there did offer unto the said Mr. Farrar; that is to say, that if he would submit himself to the laws of this realm, and conform himself to the unity of the universal Catholic church, he should be received and pardoned. After that, seeing the said Mr. Farrar to give no answer to the premises, the said bishop ministered unto him these articles following:

#### *Articles devised against Bishop Farrar.*

First, Whether he believeth the marriage of priests lawful by the laws of God, and holy church, or not?

2. Item, Whether he believeth, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration duly pronounced by the priest, the very body and blood of Christ is really and substantially contained, without the substance of bread and wine?

Unto which articles the said bishop required the said Mr. Farrar to answer, upon his allegiance. To which he said, he would answer when he saw a lawful commission, and would make no further answer at that time.

Whereupon the said bishop taking no advantage upon the same answer, committed him to the said keeper to be kept in prison until a new monition, and in the mean time to deliberate with himself for his further answer to the premises.

*Another Examination of the Bishop of St. David's, before H. Morgan, (the pretended bishop of St. David's,) George Constantine, his register, and others, the last of February 1555.*

This day and place, Morgan (the pretended bishop of St. David's) sitting as judge, ministered unto bishop Farrar, there personally present before him, certain articles and interrogatories in writing; which being openly read and ministered unto him, the said bishop Farrar refused to answer, till he might see his lawful commission and authority. Whereupon the aforesaid pretended bishop of St. David's did pronounce him as *contumax*; and for the punishment of this his contumacy to be counted *pro confesso*; and so did pronounce him in writing. Which being done, he committed the said bishop to the custody of Owen Jones, until Monday next, being the 4th of March, then to be brought again into the same place, between one and two.

*Other Appearances of the said Bishop Farrar before Morgan.*

Item, The day and place appointed, the said bishop appearing again before the pretended bishop, humbly submitting himself as ready to answer to the articles and positions above-mentioned, gently required the copy of the articles, and a competent term to be assigned unto him to answer for himself; which being granted unto him, and the Thursday next being assigned unto him between one and three to answer precisely and fully, so he was committed again to custody, as above.

On Thursday, as was appointed, (which was the 7th of March,) the said bishop personally again appeared, where he exhibited a certain bill in writing, containing in it his answer unto certain articles objected and ministered unto him before. Then after, Henry, the pretended bishop of St. David's, offered him again the said articles as before.

First, That he willed him, being a priest, to renounce matrimony.

Secondly, To grant the natural presence of Christ in the sacrament, under the forms of bread and wine.

Thirdly, That the mass is a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead.

Fourthly, That general councils, lawfully congregated, never did nor can err.

Fifthly, That men are not justified before God by faith only, but that hope and charity are also necessarily required to justification.

Sixthly, That the Catholic church, which only hath authority to expound scriptures, and to define controversies of religion, and to ordain things appertaining to public discipline, is visible, and like unto a city set upon a mountain for all men to understand.

To these articles thus objected to him, he refused to subscribe, affirming that they were invented by man, and pertain nothing to the Catholic faith.

After this, the bishop above-named delivered unto him the copy of the articles, assigning him Monday next following to answer and subscribe to the same, either affirmatively or negatively.

Upon which Monday, being the 11th of March, he appearing again before the bishop and the aforesaid notary, George Constantine, exhibited in a written paper his mind and answer to the aforesaid articles, which the bishop had twice now objected against him before; to which articles and answers he did so subscribe. Then the bishop assigned the next Wednesday, in the forenoon, to hear his final and definitive sentence.

The which day and place the said bishop and true servant of God, Mr. Farrar, personally there appearing, was demanded by Henry, the pretended bishop of St. David's, whether he would renounce and recant his heresies, schisms, and errors, as he called them, which hitherto he had maintained; and if he would subscribe to the Catholic articles, otherwise than he had done before?

After this, the said godly bishop, Mr. Farrar, did exhibit a certain schedule written in English, appealing withal by express words of mouth from the bishop, as from an incompetent judge, to cardinal Pole, &c.

All which notwithstanding, the said bishop, proceeding in his rage, pronounced the definitive sentence against him; by which sentence he pronounced him an heretic excommunicate, and to be given up forthwith to the secular power, namely, to the sheriff of the town of Carmarthen, Mr. Leyson.

Thus this godly bishop being condemned and degraded, was committed to the secular power; who not long after was brought to the place of execution in the town of Carmarthen, where he in the market-place, on the south side of the market-cross, the 30th day of March, being the Saturday next before Passion-Sunday, most valiantly sustained the torments and passion of the fire.

Touching which constancy of this blessed martyr, this is worthy to be noted, that one named Richard Jones, a knight's son, coming to Mr. Farrar, a little before his death, seemed to lament the painfulness of the death he had to suffer; unto whom the bishop answered, That if he saw him once to lie in the pains of his burning, he should then give no credit to his doctrine. And as he said, so he right well performed the same; for so patiently he stood, that he never moved, but even as he stood, holding up his stumps, so still he continued, till one Richard Gravel with a staff dashed him upon the head, and so struck him down.

*The History of one RAWLINS WHITE, burned at Cardiff in Wales, about the month of March, for the Testimony of Christ's Gospel.*

This *Rawlins* was by his calling and occupation a fisherman, living and continuing in the said trade by the space of twenty years at the least, in the town of Cardiff, being, as a man of his vocation might be, one of a very good name, and well accounted among his neighbours. As touching his religion at the first, it cannot otherwise be known but that he was a great partaker of the superstition and idolatry that then was used, I mean in the reign of king Henry VIII. But after that God of his mercy had raised up the light of his gospel, through the blessed government of king Edward VI. here in this realm of England, this *Rawlins* began partly to dislike that which before he had embraced, and to have some good opinion of that which before by the iniquity of the time had been concealed from him; and the rather to bring this good purpose and intent of his to pass, he began to be a diligent hearer, and a great searcher out of the truth.

But because the good man was altogether unlearned, and withal very simple, he knew no ready way how he might satisfy his great desire. At length it came in his mind to take a special remedy to supply his necessity, which was this: He had a little boy which was his own son, which child he sent to school to learn to read English. Now after the little boy could read indifferently well, his father every night after supper, summer and winter, would have the boy to read a piece of the holy scripture, and now and then of

some other good book. In which kind of virtuous exercise the old man had great delight and pleasure; so that Rawlins within few years in the said time of king Edward, through the help of his little son, (a special minister appointed by God, no doubt, for that purpose,) and through much conference besides, so profited, that he was able not only to resolve himself touching his own former blindness and ignorance, but was also able to admonish and instruct others; and therefore when occasion served he would go from one place to another visiting such as he had best hope in. By which his doing he became in that country both a notable and open professor of the truth, being at all times, and in all such places, not without the company of his little boy, whom (as I have said) he used as an assistant to this good purpose. And, to this his great industry and endeavour in the holy scripture, God did also add in him a singular gift of memory, so that by the benefit thereof he would and could do that in vouching and rehearsing of the text, which men of riper and more profound knowledge, by their notes and other helps of memory, could very hardly accomplish. Inasmuch that he, upon the alleging of scripture, very often would cite the book, the leaf, yea, and the very sentence; such was the wonderful working of God in this simple and unlearned father.

Now when he had thus continued in his profession the space of five years, king Edward died; upon whose decease queen Mary succeeded, and with her all kind of superstition and papistry crept in. Which thing being once perceived, Rawlins did not altogether use open instruction and admonition, (as before he was wont,) and therefore oftentimes in some private place or other he would call his trusty friends together, and with earnest prayer and great lamentation pass away the time; so that by his virtuous instructions, being without any blemish of error, he converted a great number, which number no doubt had greatly increased, had not the cruel storm of persecution been raised.

The extremity and force whereof at the last so pursued this good father Rawlins, that he looked every hour to go to prison; whereupon many of those which had received comfort by his instructions did resort unto him, and by all means possible began to persuade him to shift for himself, and to dispose of his goods by some reasonable order to the use of his wife and children, and by that means he should escape that danger which was hanging over his head.

But Rawlins, nothing abashed for his own part through the iniquity of the times, and nothing at all moved with these their fleshly persuasions, thanked them most heartily for their good will, and told them plainly, that he had learned one good lesson touching the confession and denial of Christ; advertising them, that if he upon their persuasion should presume to deny his master Christ, Christ in the last day would deny and utterly condemn him: and therefore, quoth he, I will by favourable grace confess and bear witness of him before man, that I may find in him everlasting life.

Notwithstanding which answer, his friends were very importunate with him: howbeit, father Rawlins continued still in his good purpose so long, till at the last he was taken up by the officers of the town, as a man suspected of heresy. Upon which apprehension he was conveyed before the bishop of Llandaff that then was, the said bishop lying then at his house besides Chepstow; by whom, after divers combats and conflicts with him and his chaplains, this good father Rawlins was committed to prison in Chepstow. But this his keeping, whether it were by the bishop's means, or through the favour of his keeper, was not so severe but that, if he had so listed, he might have escaped oftentimes.

But that notwithstanding, he continued still, inasmuch that at the last he by the aforementioned bishop was removed from Chepstow to the castle of Cardiff, where he continued by the space of one whole year. And albeit that he was thus troubled and imprisoned, to his own undoing in this world, and to the utter decay of his poor wife and children; yet was his heart so set to the instruction and furtherance of others in the way of salvation, that he was never in quiet but when he was persuading or exhorting such of his familiar friends as commonly came unto him. Inasmuch, that on the Sundays, and other times of leisure, when his friends came to visit him, he would pass away the time in prayer and exhortation, admonishing them always to beware of false prophets which come in sheep's clothing.

Now when he had continued in Cardiff castle by the space of one whole year, the aforementioned bishop of Llandaff caused him to be brought again from the castle of Cardiff unto his own house beside Chepstow; and while he continued there, the bishop tried many ways to reduce him to some conformity. But when all means, either by their threatening words or flattering promises, were to no purpose, the bishop willed him to advise, and be at a full point with himself, either to recant his opinions, or else to abide the rigour of the law; and thereupon gave him a day of determination. Which day being come, the bishop with his chaplains went into his chapel, not without a great number of other by-dwellers that came to behold the manner of their doings. When the bishop with his retinue were placed in order, poor Rawlins was brought before them.

The bishop, after a great deliberation in addressing himself, declared the cause of his sending, which was for that he was a man well known to hold heretical opinions, and that through his instruction many were led into blind error. In the end he exhorted him to consider his own estate wherein he stood. For (said the bishop) Rawlins, you have oftentimes since your first trouble, both here in my house and elsewhere, been travailed withal touching your opinions, and that notwithstanding ye seem altogether obstinate and wilful. Now hereupon we thought good to send for you, to see if there were any conformity in you; so that the matter is come to this point, That if you will shew yourself repentant for that which you have done against God and the prince's law, we are ready to use favour towards you; but if by no means we can persuade you touching your reformation, we are minded at this time to minister the law unto you; and therefore advise with yourself what you will do.

When the bishop had made an end of his long tale, this good father Rawlins spake boldly to him, and said, My lord, I thank God I am a Christian man, and I hold no opinions contrary to the word of God; and if I do, I desire to be reformed out of the word of God, as a Christian man ought to be.

In the end, when Rawlins would in no wise recant his opinions, the bishop told him plainly, that he must proceed against him by the law, and condemn him as a heretic.

Proceed in your law, a-God's name, said Rawlins; but for an heretic you shall never condemn me while the world standeth.

But (said the bishop to his company) before we proceed any further with him, let us pray unto God that he would send some spark of grace upon him! and it may so chance, that God through our prayer will here turn and convert his heart.

When Rawlins heard the bishop say so, Ah, my lord, (quoth he) now you deal well, and like a goodly bishop, and I thank you most heartily for your great charity and gentle-

ness. Christ saith, "Where two or three be gathered together in my name, I will be in the midst of them; and there be more than two or three of you. Now if it be so that your request be godly and lawful, and that ye pray as ye should pray, without doubt God will hear you. And therefore, my lord, go to, do you pray to your God, and I will pray to my God. I know that my God will both hear my prayer, and perform my desire."

By and by the bishop and his company fell to prayer; and Rawlins, turning himself to a pew that stood somewhat near him, fell down upon his knees, covering his face with his hands; and when they had prayed awhile, the bishop and his company arose from prayer. And then also arose Rawlins, and came before the bishop.

Then said the bishop, Now, Rawlins, how is it with thee? Wilt thou revoke thy opinions or no? Surely (said Rawlins) my lord, Rawlins you left me, and Rawlins you find me, and by God's grace Rawlins I will continue. Certainly if your petitions had been just and lawful, God would have heard them: but you honour a false god, and pray not as ye should pray; and therefore hath not God granted your desire. But I am a poor simple man, as you see, and God hath heard my complaint, and I trust he will strengthen me in his own cause.

The bishop, when he perceived that this hypocrisy of theirs took none effect, then with hot words he reprov'd him, and forthwith was ready to read the sentence. However, upon some advice given to him by his chaplains that were there present, he thought best first to have a mass, thinking that indeed by so doing some wonderful work should be wrought in Rawlins; and thereupon a priest began a mass.

In the mean time poor Rawlins betook himself to prayer in a secret place thereby, until such time as the priest came to the sacring, as they term it, which is a principal part of their idolatry. When Rawlins heard the sacring bell ring, as the use was, he arose out of his place, and came to the choir-door, and there standing awhile, turned himself to the people, speaking these words, Good people, if there be any brethren amongst you, or, at the least, if there be but one brother amongst you, the same one bear witness at the day of judgment, that I bow not to this idol, (meaning the host that the priest held over his head.)

The mass being ended, Rawlins was soon called for again: to whom the bishop used many persuasions. But the blessed man continued so steadfast in his former profession, that the bishop's talk was altogether in vain.

Whereupon the bishop caused the definitive sentence to be read; which being ended, Rawlins was dismissed, and from thence he was by the bishop's commandment carried again to Cardiff, there to be put into the prison of the town, called Cockmarel, a very dark, loathsome, and most vile prison.

Rawlins in the mean time passed away the time in prayer, and chiefly in singing psalms; which kind of godly exercise he always used both at Cardiff castle, and in all other places.

Now after he had thus continued a prisoner in Cockmarel prison in Cardiff, as is aforesaid, a good space, about three weeks before the day wherein he suffered, the head officers of the town, that had the charge of his execution, were determined to burn him, because they would be sooner rid of him; having not indeed a writ of execution awarded, as by the law they should have. Whereupon one H. Lewes, the recorder of the town that then was, seeing that they went about to burn him without any warrant by writ, came to

them and told them, that if they did burn him before they had the writ, *De Hareticis comburendis*, the wife of the said Rawlins would upon just cause, by law, call their doings into question.

Immediately upon this advertisement they sent to London for the writ above-named; upon the receipt whereof they made some speed to the execution of the said Rawlins.

Now when the day was come, wherein the good father should perform and accomplish the last act of this his worthy conflict, he was the night before willed to prepare himself. Now when he perceived his time was no less near than it was reported unto him, he sent forthwith to his wife, and willed her by the messenger, that in any wise she should make ready and send unto him his wedding garment, (meaning a shirt,) which afterward he was burned in. Which request or rather commandment of his, his wife with great sorrow and grief of heart did perform, and early in the morning did send it to him; which he received most gladly and joyfully.

Now when the hour of his execution was come, this good and constant father Rawlins was brought out of prison, having on his body the long shirt, which he called his wedding garment, and an old russet coat which he was wont to wear; besides this, he had upon his legs an old pair of leather buskins, which he had used long before. And thus being brought out of prison, he was accompanied, or rather guarded, with a great company of armed men. Which sight when he beheld, Alas! (quoth he,) what meaneth all this? All this needed not; by God's grace, I will not start away: but I will with all my heart and mind give unto God most hearty thanks, that he hath made me worthy to abide all this for his holy name's sake.

So he came to a place in his way where his poor wife and children stood weeping and making great lamentation; the sudden sight of whom so pierced his heart, that the tears trickled down his face. But he soon after, as though he had misliked this infirmity of his flesh, began to be as it were altogether angry with himself; insomuch that striking his breast with his hand, he used these words, Ah, flesh, stayest thou me so! wouldst thou fain prevail! Well, I tell thee, do what thou canst, thou shalt not, by God's grace, have the victory. By this time this poor innocent came to the very altar of his sacrifice (I mean the place appointed for his death,) and there found a stake ready set up, with some wood toward the making of the fire. Which when he beheld, he set forward himself very boldly; but in going toward the stake, he fell down upon his knees, and kissed the ground; and in rising again, the earth a little sticking on his nose, he said these words, Earth unto earth, and dust unto dust; thou art my mother, and unto thee I shall return.

Then went he cheerfully and very joyfully, and set his back close unto the stake; and when he had stood there awhile, he cast his eyes upon the person who wrote this account, and called him unto him, and said, I feel a great fighting between the flesh and the spirit, and the flesh would very fain have his swing; and therefore I pray you, when you see me any thing tempted, hold your finger up to me, and I trust I shall remember myself.

As he was thus standing with his back close unto the stake, a smith came with a great chain of iron; to whom when he saw, he cast up his hand with a loud voice, and gave God great thanks. Then the smith cast the chain about him, and as he was making it fast on the other side, Rawlins said unto him, I pray you, good friend, knock in the chain fast: for it may be that the flesh may strive mightily.



But God, of thy great mercy, give me strength and patience to abide the extremity!

Now when the smith had made him sure to the stake, the officers began to lay on more wood, with a little straw and reed; wherein the good old man was no less occupied than the best: for as far as he could reach his hands, he would pluck the straw and reed, and lay it about him in places most convenient for his speedy despatch; which thing he did with such a cheerful countenance and familiar gesture, that all men there present were in a manner astonished.

Thus when all things were ready, so that there lacked nothing but the putting to of the fire, directly over against the stake in the face of Rawlins, there was a standing erected, whereon stepped up a priest, addressing himself to speak to the people, which were many in number, because it was market-day. When Rawlins perceived him, and considered the cause of his coming, he reached a little straw unto him, and made two little stays, and set them under his elbows. Then went the priest forward in his sermon, wherein he spake of many things touching the authority of the church of Rome. In the mean time, Rawlins gave such good ear and attention, that he seemed nothing at all moved or disquieted. At the last the priest came to the sacrament of the altar, and there he began to inveigh against Rawlins's opinions; in which his invective he cited the common place of Scripture, and thereupon made a clerly interpretation.

Now when Rawlins perceived that he went about not only to teach and preach the people false doctrine, but also to confirm it by scripture, he suddenly started up, and beckoned his hand to the people, saying twice, Come hither, good people, and hear not a false prophet preaching; and then said unto the preacher, Ah, thou naughty hypocrite, dost thou presume to prove thy false doctrine by scripture! Look in the text what followeth: did not Christ say, "Do this in remembrance of me?" After which words, the priest, being rather amazed with this interruption, forthwith held his peace.

Then some that stood by cried out, Put fire! set to fire! Which being set to, the straw and reed by and by cast up both a great and sudden flame; in which flame this good and blessed man bathed his hands so long, until such time as the sinews shrunk, and the fat dropped away, saving that once he did as it were wipe his face with one of them. All this while, which was somewhat long, he cried with a loud voice, O Lord, receive my soul! O Lord, receive my spirit! until he could not open his mouth. At last the extremity of the fire was so vehement against his legs, that they were consumed almost before the rest of his body was burned, which made the whole body fall over the chain into the fire sooner than it would have done. During which time of his burning, it cannot be said that he felt any great pain, considering, that not without his perfect memory he abode both quietly and patiently, even unto the departing of his life.

Thus died this godly old man Rawlins, for the testimony of God's truth, and is now rewarded with the crown of eternal life.

It is recorded furthermore of the said good father Rawlins by this reporter, that as he was going to his death, and standing at the stake, he seemed in a manner to be altered in nature: for as before he was wont to go stooping or rather crooked, through the infirmity of age, having a sad countenance, and very feeble complexion, and withal very soft in speech and gesture, now he went and stretched up himself not only bolt upright, but also bore withal a most pleasant and comfortable countenance, not without great courage both in speech and behaviour. He had about his

head a kerchief, the hairs of his head (somewhat appearing beneath his kerchief) and also his beard, were more inclining to white than to gray, which gave such a show and countenance to his whole person, that he seemed to be altogether angelical.

It is also said by this reporter, that a little before the fire flashed up to his body, many of his friends came to him, and took him by the hand, amongst whom the reporter of this story held him so long by the hand, till the flame of the fire arose, and forced them asunder. In the mean time, the priest, of whom I spake afore, cried out and said, That it was not lawful for any man to shake him by the hand, because he was an heretic, and condemned by the church.

The chief cause of his trouble, was his opinion touching the sacrament of the altar. He was at the time of his death of the age of threescore years, or thereabouts.

In March 1555, pope Julius died; concerning whose deeds, to make a full declaration, it would not be so tedious to the reader as horrible to all good ears. Under this Julius flourished the archbishop of Beneventanus, a Florentine, named Johannes, a Casadean of the pope's chamber, and chief legate to the Venetians: who well declaring the fruit of that filthy see, so far forgot both honesty and nature, that he shamed not only to play the filthy Sodomite himself, and to boast openly of the same, but also took upon him most impudently in Italian metre, to all men's ears, to set forth the praise and commendation of that beastly iniquity, saying, that he himself never used other; and this book was printed at Venice by one Trojanus Navus: and yet the pope could suffer this so great iniquity and shameless beastliness even in his own chamber, who could not abide the true doctrine of Christ in Christian books.

Amongst other pranks and deeds of the aforesaid pope, in his jubilee, and in the synod of Trent, and in confirming of the idol of Loretto, this is also reported of him in his life, that he delighted greatly in pork-flesh and peacocks. Upon a time when he was admonished by his physician to abstain from all swine's flesh, for that it was hurtful for his gout, and yet would not follow his counsel; the physician afterwards gave warning to his steward, that he should set no more pork-flesh before him. Whereupon when the pope perceived the said pork-flesh to be lacking in his accustomed service, Where, said he, is my pork? And when the steward had answered that his physician had forbidden any pork to be served; then the pope, bursting out into a great rage, said these words, Bring me, said he, my pork-flesh, al dispetto de Dio; that is, in the despite of God.

At another time, he sitting at dinner, pointing to a peacock upon his table, which he had not touched, Keep, said he, this cold peacock for me against supper, and let me sup in the garden; for I shall have guests. So when supper came, and amongst other hot peacocks he saw not his cold peacock brought to his table, the pope, after his wonted manner, fell into an extreme rage, &c. Whereupon one of his cardinals sitting by desired him, saying, Let not your holiness, I pray, be so moved with a matter of so small weight. Then the pope answering again, What (said he) if God was so angry for an apple, that he cast our first parents out of paradise for the same; why may not I, being his vicar, be angry then for a peacock, since a peacock is a greater matter than an apple?

Behold here, good reader, the holiness of this blasphemous pope! And yet thou shalt see here what affection was borne to him here in England, by the dirges, hearses, and funerals, commanded to be had and celebrated in

all churches, by the queen and her council, as may appear by the copy of their letters here following :

*A Letter from the Bishop of Winchester (being Lord Chancellor) unto Bonner, Bishop of London, touching the celebrating of the Pope's Funeral.*

"After my hearty commendations to your good lordship, the king and queen's majesty having certain knowledge of the death of the pope's holiness, thought good there should be as well solemn obsequies said for him throughout the realm, as also these prayers, (which I send you herein enclosed,) used at mass-time in all places at this time of vacation ; and therefore willed me to signify their pleasures unto you in this behalf, that thereupon ye might proceed to the full accomplishment thereof, by putting the same in due execution within your own diocese, and sending word to the rest of the bishops to do the like in theirs.

Thus doubting not but that your lordship will use such diligence in this matter at this time as shall be necessary, I bid your lordship heartily well to fare.—From my house at Asher, the 10th of April, 1555.

"Your assured friend and brother,  
"STEPHANUS WINTON, Chan."

Upon this commandment, on Wednesday in Easter week there were hearsees set up, and dirges sung, for the said Julius, in divers places. At which time it chanced a woman to come into St. Magnus' church, at the bridge foot in London, and there seeing a hearse and other preparation, asked what it meant ? and others that stood by said, that it was for the pope, and that she must pray for him. Nay, quoth she, that will I not, for he needeth not my prayers : and seeing he could forgive us all our sins, I am sure he is clean himself : therefore I need not pray for him. She was heard speak these words by certain that stood by ; which by and by carried her unto the cage at London bridge, and bid her cool herself there.

*A Spectacle for all Christians to behold, and to take heed of the like blasphemous Doctrine.*

By many and sundry ways Almighty God hath admonished men of all nations in these our later years, to embrace, and not violently to repugn against, the light of his gospel : as first, by preaching of his word ; secondly, by the blood of the martyrs ; and thirdly, by terrible examples shewed from time to time upon his adversaries. In the number of whom cometh here to be remembered the notable working of God's hand upon a certain priest in Kent, named *Nightingal*, parson of Crondal, besides Canterbury ; who upon Shrove-Sunday, which was about the third day of the said month of March, and year of our Lord aforesaid, rejoicing not a little at this alteration of religion, began to make a sermon to his parishioners, taking his text out of the words of St. John, "He that saith that he hath no sin, is a liar, and the truth is not in him," &c. And so upon the same very impertinently declared to them all such articles as were set forth by the pope's authority, and by the commandment of the bishops of this realm ; saying, moreover, unto the people, Now, masters and neighbours, rejoice and be merry, for the prodigal son is come home : for I know that the most part of you be as I am, for I know your hearts well enough. And I shall tell you what hath happened in this week past : I was before my lord cardinal Pole's grace, and he made me as free from sin as I was at the font-stone ; and on Thursday last being before him, he hath appointed me to notify (I

thank him for it) the same unto you : and I will tell you what it is. And so reading the pope's bull of pardon that was sent into England, he said, he thanked God that ever he had lived to see that day ; adding, moreover, that he believed that by the virtue of that bull he was clean from sin, as that night that he was born. And immediately upon the same fell suddenly down out of the pulpit, and never stirred hand nor foot !

Testified by Robert Austen, of Cartham, who both heard and saw the same, and is witnessed also by the whole country round about.

#### VARIOUS PERSONS TROUBLED FOR RELIGION.

In the beginning of April, and the 2d day of the said month, died in prison *John Awecock*, who after was buried in the fields, as the manner of the Papists was to deny their Christian burial to such as died out of their popish anti-christian church.

On the 1st day of April, anno 1555, a letter was sent to the sheriff of Kent, to apprehend *Thomas Wodgate* and *William Maynard*, for preaching secretly, and to send them up to the council.

The 7th of the said month, another letter was sent to the said sheriff for the apprehension of one *Harwich*, who went about with a boy with him, preaching from place to place.

The 15th of April, a letter was directed to sir Nicholas Hare and sir Thomas Cornwallis, willing them to examine *Mr. Flower*, alias *Branch*, what he meant to wear about his neck written, *Deum time, Idolum fuge* ; and whom else he knew to wear the like, praying them also to speak to Bonner, bishop of London, speedily to proceed against him for his religion according to the laws, and that the justices of peace of Middlesex should likewise proceed against him for shedding of blood in the church, according to the statute, so as if he continued his opinion, he might be executed at the farthest by the latter end of this week, and that his right hand be, the day before his execution, or the same day, stricken off.

The 22d of April, there was a like letter sent to the justices of peace of Middlesex, with a writ for the execution of the said Flower, commanding them to see his hand stricken off before his burning.

The 29th of April, *Mr. Robert Horubey*, servant then to the lady Elizabeth, was vented before the council for his religion ; and standing constantly to the truth, notwithstanding their threats and other persuasions, was therefore committed to the Marshalsea.

*A Declaration of the Life, Examination, and Burning of GEORGE MARSH, who suffered Martyrdom for the profession of the Gospel of Christ, at Westminster, the 24th day of April, anno 1555.*

*George Marsh* was born in the parish of Deane, in the county of Lancaster, and was well brought up in learning an honest living by his parents ; who afterwards, about the 25th year of his age, took to wife an honest maiden of the country ; with whom he continued, earning their living upon a farm, having children between them lawfully begotten ; and then God taking his wife out of this world, he being most desirous of godly studies, (leaving his household and children in good order,) went unto the university of Cambridge, where he studied and much increased in learning

and godly virtues, and was a minister of God's holy word and sacraments, and for a while was curate to Laurence Saunders.

In which condition of life he continued for a space, earnestly setting forth God's true religion, to the defacing of Antichrist's false doctrine, by his godly readings and sermons, as well there and in the parish of Dean, as elsewhere in Lancashire.

Whereupon at length, by detraction of certain adversaries, he was apprehended, and kept in close prison by George Cotes, then bishop of Chester, in strait prison in Chester, within the precinct of the bishop's house, about the space of four months, being not permitted to have relief and comfort of his friends; but charge being given to the porter to mark who they were that asked for him, and to signify their names unto the bishop, as by the particular description of his story, testified and recorded with his own pen, more evidently may appear in the process hereunder:

*The Handling, Treating, and Examination of George Marsh, being sent first by the Earl of Derby to Dr. Cotes, Bishop of Chester.*

On the Monday before Palm-Sunday, which was the 12th day of March, it was told me at my mother's house, that Roger Wrinstone, with other of Mr. Barton's servants, did make diligent search for me in Bolton, and when they perceived that I was not there, they gave strict charge to Robert Ward and Robert Marsh to find and bring me to Mr. Barton the day next following, with others to be brought before the honourable earl of Derby, to be examined in matters of religion, &c.

I knowing this by relation of divers of my friends, was diversely affected: my mother and other my friends advertising me to fly, and to avoid the peril, which thing I had intended afore after a week then next ensuing, if this in the mean while had not chanced; seeing that if I were taken, and would not recant in matters of religion, (as they thought I would not, and as, God strengthening and assisting me with his holy Spirit, I never will,) it would not only have put them to great sorrow, heaviness, and losses, with costs and charges, to their shame and rebuke in this world, but also mine own self, after troubles and painful imprisonment, unto shameful death.

This considered, they advised me and counselled me to depart and fly the country, as I had intended to have done, if this had not happened. To whose counsel my weak flesh would gladly have consented, but my spirit did not fully agree; thinking and saying thus to myself, that if I fled so away, it would be thought that I did not only fly the country, and my nearest and dearest friends, but much rather from Christ's holy word, according as these years past I had with my heart, or at least with my outward living, professed, and with my mouth and word taught, according to the small talent given me of the Lord. I being thus with their counsel and advice, and the cogitations and counsels of mine own mind, drawn as it were divers ways, went from my mother's house, saying, that I would come again at evening.

In the mean time, I ceased not by earnest prayer to ask counsel of God (who is the giver of all good gifts) and of other my friends, whose godly judgments and knowledge I much trusted unto. After this, I met with one of my said friends on Deane Moor, about sun going down; and after we had consulted together of my business, not without hearty prayer kneeling on our knees, we departed. I not fully determined what to do, but taking my leave with my friend, said, I doubted not but God, according as our prayer

and trust was, would give me such wisdom and counsel as should be most to his honour and glory, the profit of my neighbours and brethren in the world, and obtaining of mine eternal salvation by Christ in heaven.

This done, I returned to my mother's house again, where had been divers of Mr. Barton's servants seeking after me; who, when they could not find me, straitly charged my brother and William Marsh to seek me that night, and to bring me to Smethhills the next day: who being so charged, were gone to seek me.—Thus intending afore to have been all night with my mother, but then considering that my tarrying there would disquiet her with her household, I departed from thence, and went beyond Deane church, and there tarried all night with an old friend of mine, taking ill rest, and consulting much with myself of my trouble.

So at my first awaking, one came to me from a faithful friend of mine with letters, which I never read, nor yet looked on, who said this: My friend's advice was that I should in no wise fly, but abide and boldly confess the faith of Jesus Christ. At whose word I was so confirmed and established in my conscience, that from thenceforth I consulted no more whether it were better to fly or tarry; but was at a point with myself, that I would not fly, but go to Mr. Barton, who did seek for me, and there present myself, and patiently bear such cross as it should please God to lay upon my shoulders. Whereupon my mind and conscience afore being much unquieted and troubled, was now merry and quiet.

So I arose betimes in the morning, and after I had said the English Litany, as my custom was, with other prayers, kneeling on my knees by my friend's bedside, I prepared myself to go towards Smethhills; and as I was going thitherward, I went into the house of Henry Widdowes, of my mother-in-law, of Ralph Yeton, and of the wife of Thomas Richardson, desiring them to pray for me, and have me commended to all my friends, and to comfort my mother, and be good to my little children; for, as I supposed, they should not see my face any more before the last day. And so took my leave of them, not without tears shed on both parts, and came to Smethhills about nine of the clock, and presented myself afore Mr. Barton; who shewed me a letter from the earl of Derby, wherein he was commanded to send me with others to Latham.

Whereupon he charged my brother and William Marsh to bring and deliver me the next day by ten o'clock, before the said earl or his council. I made earnest suit with other special friends, which I had there at the same time, to Mr. Barton, that he would take some one of them or them all, bound by recognizance or otherwise for mine appearing before the said earl, or his said council, that my brother and William Marsh might be at home, because it was the chiefest time of seeding, and their ploughs could not go if they were not at home; but nothing could be obtained.

So we went to my mother's, and there I dined and shifted part of my clothes; and so praying, took my leave of my mother, the wife of Richard Marsh, and both their households, they and I both weeping, and so departed from them, and went toward Latham, and were all night a mile and an half on this side Latham. So the next day, which was Wednesday, we arose, prayed, and came to Latham betimes, and tarried there till four of the clock at afternoon.

Then was I called by Roger Mekinson to my lord and his council, and so I was brought into the chamber of presence, where was present sir William Nores, sir Pierce Alec, Mr. Shereburn, the parson of Grapnal, Mr. More, with others. Where when I had tarried a little while, my lord turned him toward me, and asked what was my name? I answered, Marsh.

Then he asked, whether I was one of those that sowed evil seed and dissension amongst the people? Which thing I denied, desiring to know mine accusers, and what could be laid against me; but that I could not know.

Then, said he, he would with his council examine me themselves, and asked me whether I was a priest? I said, No. Then he asked me, what had been my living? I answered, I was a minister, served a cure, and taught a school. Then said my lord to his council, This is a wonderful thing: afore he said he was no priest, and now he confesseth himself to be one. I answered, By the laws now used in this realm, as far as I do know, I am none.

Then they asked me, who gave me orders, or whether I had taken any at all? I answered, I received orders of the bishop of London and Lincoln.

Then said they one to another, Those be of these new heretics; and asked me what acquaintance I had with them? I answered, I never saw them but at the time when I received orders.

They asked me how long I had been curate, and whether I had ministered with a good conscience? I answered, I had been curate but one year, and had ministered with a good conscience, I thanked God; and if the laws of the realm would have suffered me, I would have ministered still; and if the laws at any time hereafter would suffer me to minister after that sort, I would minister again.

Whereat they murmured, and the parson of Grapnal said, this last communion was the most devilish thing that ever was devised.

They then asked me, what my belief was? I answered, I believed in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, according as the scriptures of the Old and New Testament do teach, and according as the four symbols or creeds, that is, to wit, the creed commonly called *Apostolorum*, the creed of Nice council, of Athanasius, and of Austin and Ambrose, do teach.

And after a few words, the parson of Grapnal said, But what is thy belief in the sacrament of the altar?

I answered, I believe that whosoever, according to Christ's institution, did receive the holy sacrament of Christ's body and blood, did eat and drink Christ's body and blood with all the benefits of his death and resurrection, to their eternal salvation; for Christ, said I, is ever present with his sacrament.

Then asked they me, whether the bread and wine, by the virtue of the words pronounced by the priest, were changed into the flesh and blood of Christ? and that the sacrament, whether it were received, or reserved, was the very body of Christ?

Whereunto I made answer, I knew no further than I had shewed already. For my knowledge is unperfect, said I; desiring them not to ask me such hard and unprofitable questions, whereby to bring my body into danger of death, and to suck my blood. Whereat they were not a little offended, saying they were no blood-suckers, and intended nothing to me but to make me a good Christian.

So after many other questions, which I avoided as well as I could, remembering the saying of Paul, "Foolish and unlearned questions avoid, knowing they do but engender strife;" my lord commanded me to come to the board, and gave me pen and ink in my hand, and commanded me to write mine answers to the questions of the sacrament above named; and I wrote as I had answered before. Whereat he being much offended, commanded me to write a more direct answer, saying, I should not choose but to do it.

Then I took the pen and wrote, That further I knew not. Whereat he being sore grieved, after many threatenings,

said, I should be put to shameful death like a traitor, with such other like words; and sometimes giving me fair words, if I would turn and be conformable as others were, how glad he would be.

In conclusion, after much ado, he commanded me to ward, in a cold, windy, stone house, where was little room; where I lay two nights without any bed, saving a few great canvass tent-clothes, and a pair of sheets, but no woollen clothes; and so continued till Palm-Sunday, occupying myself as well as I could in meditation, prayer, and study: for no man could be suffered to come to me, but my keeper twice a day, when he brought me meat and drink.

On Palm-Sunday after dinner I was sent for to my lord and his council, (saving sir William Nores and sir Pierce Alec were not then present in place,) amongst whom was sir John Beram, and the vicar of Prescot. So they examined me yet once again of the sacrament. And after I had communed apart with the vicar of Prescot a good space concerning that matter, he returned to my lord and his council with me, saying, That answer which I had made before, and then did make (as it is above written) was sufficient for a beginner, and as one which did not profess a perfect knowledge in that matter, until such time as I had learned further. Wherewith the earl was very well pleased, saying, he doubted not but by the means and help of the vicar of Prescot I would be conformable in other things. So after many fair words he commanded I should have a bed, with fire, and liberty to go amongst his servants, so that I would do no harm with my communication amongst them.

And so after much other communication I departed, much more troubled in my spirit than afore, because I had not with more boldness confessed Christ, but in such sort as mine adversaries thereby thought they should prevail against me; whereat I was much grieved. For hitherto I went about as much as in me lay to rid myself out of their hands; if by any means without open denying of Christ and his word that could be done.

This considered, I cried more earnestly unto God by prayer, desiring him to strengthen me with his holy Spirit with boldness to confess him; and to deliver me from their enticing words, and that I might not be spoiled through their philosophy and deceitful vanity, after the traditions of men and ordinances of the world, and not after Christ.

And so after a day or two I was sent for to the vicar of Prescot, and the parson of Grapnal; where our communication was concerning the mass; and he asked what offended me in the mass? I answered, the whole mass did offend me, first, because it was in a strange language, whereby the people were not edified, contrary to St. Paul's doctrine, 1 Cor. xiv. and because of the manifold and intolerable abuses and errors contained therein, contrary to Christ's priesthood and sacrifice.

Then they asked me, in what place thereof? and I named certain places; which places they went about with gentle and far-sought interpretations to mitigate, saying, those places were understood far otherwise than the words did purport, or than I did take them.

I answered, I did understand them as they did purport, and as their own books do comment and gloss upon them.

They said, *Sacrificium* or *Oblatio* did not in the mass signify any thing else than either a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, or else a memorial of a sacrifice or oblation. So they caused a mass-book to be sent for, and shewed me where in some places the mass was written, *Sacrificium laudis*. Whereunto I answered, that it followed not therefore that in all places it signified a sacrifice or oblation of praise

or thanksgiving; and although it did, yet was not a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving to be offered for the sins of the people, for that did Christ by his own passion once offer on the cross: where the words of the mass were, that the priest did offer an oblation and sacrifice for the sins and offences both of himself and of the people; for them that were dead, and for the salvation of the living; and that the commixtion of the body and blood of Christ was health both of body and soul.

The vicar answered, That was to be understood of the commixtion of Christ's body and blood with his church or people. So after much exhortation unto me that I should be conformable to the true Catholic church, (which as they meant was the Romish church,) I departed, not consenting unto them.

So within a day or two came to me Mr. More, bringing with him certain articles, whereunto Dr. Crome had consented and subscribed in the presence of certain witnesses in the days of king Henry VIII. and willed me to read them over; and asked me whether I would consent and subscribe unto those articles? And after communication had of one or two of the said articles, I confessed plainly I would in no wise consent and subscribe to those articles; for that would be against mine own conscience. And so he departed from me.

So within a short space after, which was on Shier-Thurs-day, the said parson and vicar sent for me again, saying, my lord would be at a short point with me; for if I would not consent and subscribe unto four articles drawn out of the articles aforesaid, I must go to prison straightways.

The first was, Whether the mass now used in the church of England was according to Christ's institution, and with faith, reverence, and devotion, to be heard and seen?

The second, Whether the Almighty, by the words pronounced by the priest, did change the bread and wine after the words of consecration into the body and blood of Christ, whether it were received or reserved?

Thirdly, Whether the lay people ought to receive but under the form of bread only, and that the one kind was sufficient for them?

Fourthly, Whether confession to the priest now used in England were godly and necessary?

These four questions or articles they delivered me in writing, and bade me go to my chamber and subscribe my answers with mine own hand, and come again. So within one half hour I came to them again, and delivered them the questions, with mine answer. The first I denied. The second I answered, as I did to my lord afore, and as is above written. To the third I answered, that the lay-people by Christ's institution ought to receive under both kinds, and that it sufficeth not them to receive under the one kind only. Fourthly, that though auricular confession were a commodious mean to instruct the rude people, yet it was not necessary, nor commanded of God.

They much exhorted me then to leave mine opinions, saying, I was much deceived, understanding the scriptures amiss; and much counselled me to follow the Catholic church of Christ, and to do as others did. I answered, my faith in Christ conceived by his holy word I neither could nor would deny, alter, or change, for any living creature, whatsoever he were; desiring them to speak to my lord, that during my life and imprisonment my poor friends might be suffered to relieve me with necessary things according to their powers. And so, after much exhortation of them, to do and believe as the Catholic church did, we departed; I from thenceforth continuing in the porter's ward, not coming

forth of my chamber, saving at noon and night while I dined and supped.

Upon one of the Easter holidays Mr. Shereburn and Mr. More sent for me, persuading me much to leave mine opinions; saying, all the bringers-up and favourers of that religion had evil luck, and were either put to death, or in prison and in danger of life. Again, the favourers of the religion now used had wondrous good luck and prosperity in all things; with many other worldly reasons of man's wisdom; for, as for the scriptures, Mr. Shereburn confessed himself ignorant.

I answered, I believed and leaned only to the scriptures, not judging things by prosperity or adversity. But they earnestly advised me to refuse mine opinions, and not to let for any worldly shame.

I answered, that what I did, I did not for the avoiding of any worldly shame, saying, my soul and life were dearer to me than the avoiding of any worldly shame: neither yet did I it for any vain praise of the world, but in reverent fear of God.

Then Mr. More questioned with me of receiving the sacrament under the one kind. I said, Christ's institution was plain, that all men should drink of the cup. Then he told me of the 24th of Luke, and the 20th of the Acts, where was but mention of breaking bread only; whereof he gathered, that they received the sacrament but under one kind.

That I denied, saying, those places either did not speak of the celebration of the Lord's supper, or else under the name of breaking bread was signified and meant the receiving of the sacrament both of the body and blood of Christ, according to his institution. So after much communication of that matter, Mr. Shereburn said, It was great pity that I, being a well-favoured young man, and one that might have good living and do good, would so foolishly cast myself away, sticking so hard to such foolish opinions.

I answered as afore I had done to my lord and to his council, that my life, mother, children, brethren, sisters, and friends, with other delights of my life, were as dear and sweet unto me as unto any other man, and that I would be as loath to lose them as another would, if I might hold them with good conscience, and without the ignominy of Christ: and seeing I could not do that, my trust was, that God would strengthen me with his holy Spirit to lose them all for his sake. For I take myself, said I, for a sheep appointed to be slain, patiently to suffer what cross soever it shall please my merciful Father to lay on me. And so after I had desired them, that if I were committed to prison, my friends might be suffered to relieve me, they departed.

Mr. More after this brought unto me a book of one Alphonsus, a Spanish friar, of all heresies wherewith the church of Rome (which he called Christ's true church) had been troubled since Christ's time, willing me to read and take counsel of that book; and appointed me a place, where this author did write against them that say, the lay-people ought to receive under both kinds.

This author I perceived did vehemently write against Luther, Melancthon, Pelican, and other German divines, in all points defending the blasphemous abuses and enormities of the Romish church, condemning as detestable heresies whatsoever was written, taught, or believed, contrary to the same, using for his strongest and surest arguments the consent, agreement, and determination, of the Romish church. So within a few days Mr. More came to me again, asking me how I liked the book?—I said, the author of the book did in all points, being a Papist, allow the rites and abuses



of the Romish church; and shewed him farther, that this author, without authority, and contrary both to the scriptures and old doctors, did condemn for heresy the lay-people receiving of this sacrament under both kinds, whereas this author witnesseth his own self, Christ's church nine hundred years after Christ used the contrary.

So in conclusion he rebuked me, saying, I was unlearned, and erred from the Catholic faith, stubborn, and stood altogether in mine own conceit.—I answered, For my learning, I acknowledge myself to know nothing but Jesus Christ, even him that was crucified, and that my faith was grounded upon God's holy word only, and such as I doubted not pleased God, and as I would stand in until the last day, God assisting me; and that I did not say or do any thing either of stubbornness, self-willfulness, vain-glory, or any other worldly purpose, but with good conscience, and in the fear of God; and desired them to speak to my lord and his council, that I might find some gentleness and mercy at their hands. He made me short answer. Then I said, I commit my cause unto God, who hath numbered the hairs of my head, and appointed the days of my life, saying, I am sure, God, which is a righteous judge, would make inquisition for my blood, according as he hath promised. Then he took his book from me, and departed.

I continued still in ward until Low-Sunday, and after dinner, my keeper, Richard Scott, came to me into my chamber, and told me that two young men were come to carry me to Lancaster; and so delivered me unto them, a great company, both of my lord's servants and others, accompanying and bringing me on the way, counselling like as is aforesaid.

To whom I made plain answer, that in matters of faith I would give place to no earthly creature. So they comforted me, and said that they were sorry for me; saying, If I knew mine opinion to be good, I did well; and so they departed, willing my bringers to treat me honestly.

My bringers by the way shewed me they were willed and advised to bind me, and that they desired first to see me; and after they had looked on me sitting at dinner, they answered they would take charge of me, being loose: for, they said, I seemed to be an honest man.

The first night we were all night at Broughton, and the second day we came to Lancaster betimes at afternoon, and so they kept me all night with them of their gentleness, and on the morrow delivered me to the gaoler, who brought me into the highest prison.

After that the said George came to Lancaster castle, and there being brought with other prisoners unto the sessions, was made to hold up his hand with the malefactors. The earl of Derby had the following conversation with him.

*Communication between George Marsh and the Earl of Derby.*

I said unto my lord, I had not dwelled in the country these three or four years past, and came home but lately to visit my mother, children, and other my friends, and to have departed out of the country before Easter then next, and to have gone out of the realm. Wherefore I trusted, seeing nothing could be laid against me wherein I had offended against the laws of this realm, his lordship would not with captious questions examine me, to bring my body into danger of death, to the great discomfort of my mother; but suffer me to avoid peaceably, seeing I might have fled out of the country, and yet of mine own will came to his lordship.

He said to his council, he had heard tell of me above at London; and intended to make search for me, and take me either at Lancashire or above at London; and asked me into what land I would have gone?

I answered, I would have gone either into Germany, or else into Denmark. He said to his council, In Denmark they used such heresy as they have done in England; but as for Germany, (he said,) the emperor had destroyed them.

So after such like words I said unto him, my trust was, that his lordship, being of the honourable council of the late king Edward, consenting and agreeing to acts concerning faith towards God and religion, under great pain, would not so soon after consent to put poor men to shameful death, as he had threatened me, for embracing the same with so good a conscience. He answered, that he, with the lord Windsor and lord Dacres, with one more whose name I have forgotten, did not consent to those acts, and that the names of them four would be to be seen as long as the parliament house stood. Then my lord did rehearse the evil luck of the dukes of Northumberland and Suffolk, with others, because they favoured not the true religion; and again, the good hap and prosperity of the queen's highness, because she favoured the true religion: thereby gathering the one to be good, and of God, and the other to be wicked, and of the devil, and said that the duke of Northumberland confessed so plainly.

While I was (saith Marsh) in ward at Latham, divers at sundry times came unto me. Some said unto me, that all my fellows had recanted, and were gone home, whereas indeed that was not so; for I saw divers of them divers times after. Others said, that it was reported amongst my lord's household, that I had consented and agreed in all things with my lord and his council.

Furthermore, while I was at Lancaster, at this session many came to me to talk with me: some of good-will towards me, but without knowledge, gave me such counsel as Peter gave Christ as he went up to Jerusalem, when he took him aside and began to rebuke him, saying, Master, favour thyself, this thing shall not be unto thee. But I answered with Christ's sharp answer unto Peter again, who turned about and said unto Peter, "Come after me, Satan." And perceiving that they were an hinderance unto me, and that they savoured not the things which are of God, but the things that are of men, I made them plain answer, that I neither could nor would follow their counsel, but that, by God's grace, I would both live and die with a pure conscience, and according as hitherto I had believed and professed. For we ought in no wise to flatter and bear with them, though they love us never so well, which go about to pluck us away from the obedience that we owe unto God and to his word, but after Christ's example sharply to rebuke them for their counsel.

Some others, yea, even strangers, also came to me, far unlike to these, who after sober communication had, consented with me in all things, lamenting much my troublous estate, giving me comfortable words, and some money too, and resorted to me oftentimes for the space of two, three, or four days. There came also many priests to me, by two, three, four, five, or six, at once, whose mouths it was a thing easy enough to stop; for the priests, which is much to be lamented, be not always the greatest clerks, and best learned in the law of God: at their departing, they either consented with me, or else had nothing to say against me, saying, they could find no fault with my words. My communication with them was about the sacrament. There came also into the prison to me Mr. Westby, Mr. Ashton of Hill, Mr. Ashton of Chaterton, and many more, both gentlemen and others, to my great comfort. Unto whom I had good occasion to utter a great part of my conscience: for God so strengthened me with his spirit of boldness, according to my humble request

and prayer before, (everlasting thanks be given him,) that I was nothing afraid to speak to any that came to me, no, not even to judges themselves, before whom I was thrice arraigned at the bar amongst the thieves, with irons on my feet, and put up my hand as others did; but yet with boldness I spake unto them, so long as they would suffer me.

They also sent for me the fourth time into their chamber, where, amongst other things, they laid it straitly to my charge, that I had reported that I knew a whole mass of good gentlemen in Lancashire of mine opinion, and straitly charged me, upon pain of allegiance to the queen's grace, to shew who they were. (But I denied that I had spoken any such thing, as it was indeed a false forged lie of some wicked wretches.) After that, they threatened and rebuked me, for my preaching to the people out of the prison, as they called it, and for my praying and reading so loud that the people in the streets might hear. The truth is, I and my prison-fellow Warborton, every day kneeling on our knees, did read morning and evening prayer, with the English Litany every day twice, both before noon and after, with other prayers more, and also read every day certain chapters of the Bible, commonly toward night: and we read also these things with so high and loud a voice, that the people without in the streets might hear us, and would oftentimes, namely, in the evenings, come and sit down in our sights under the windows, and hear us read, wherewith others being offended, complained.

All this while George Marsh was not yet brought before the bishop, whose name was Dr. Cotes, placed the same time in the bishopric of Chester. Of whose coming then into Lancaster, the said George Marsh reporteth as followeth:

*How the Bishop came to Lancaster, and of his doings there.*

The bishop being at Lancaster, there set up and confirmed all blasphemous idolatry, as holy-water casting, procession, gadding, matins mumbling, children confirming, mass bearing, setting up idols, with such heathenish rites forbidden by God; but no gospel preaching, which Christ, God's Son, so earnestly commanded. He was informed of me, and willed to send for and examine me. Which thing he refused to do, saying, he would have nothing to do with heretics so hastily.

And instead of his liberality towards me, poor prisoner, he sent for the gaoler, and rebuked him, because he suffered me to fare so well, willing him to have me more strictly kept and dieted. But if his lordship were tabled but one week with me, I do think he would judge our fare but slender enough.

Also he, and his chaplains, and chancellor, did find fault with the schoolmaster and others, for speaking to me, as to a most heinous heretic, and also with the gaoler for suffering them. Such is the mercy that those religious fathers shew to the friendless and comfortless in their adversities. If we may know the tree by the fruits, as Christ saith, no man can judge such for any other but for enemies to Christ and his true religion. God lay it never to their charge, but forgive them, and turn their hard hearts, if it be his will.

*The Troubles and Examination of George Marsh, under Dr. Cotes, Bishop of Chester.*

Ye heard before how George Marsh, being first imprisoned at Latham, and afterwards translated unto Lancaster, was troubled by the earl. Again, within few days after, the said Marsh was removed from Lancaster, and coming to Chester, was sent for by Dr. Cotes, then bishop, to appear before him in his hall, nobody being present but the twain; and then he asked him certain questions concerning the sacrament: who made such answer as the bishop seemed

therewith to be content, saying, that he utterly denied transubstantiation, and allowed not the abuse of the mass, nor that the lay-people should receive under one kind only, contrary to Christ's institution; in which point the bishop went about to persuade him: howbeit, God be thanked, all in vain. Much other talk he had with him, to move him to submit himself to the universal church of Rome; and when he saw he could not prevail, he sent him to prison again. And after being there, came to him divers times one Massie, a fatherly old man, one Wrench, the schoolmaster, one Hensham, the bishop's chaplain, and the archdeacon, with many more; who with all probability of words and philosophy, or worldly wisdom and deceitful vanity, after the tradition of men, and the beggarly ordinances and laws of the world, but not after Christ, went about to persuade him to submit himself to the church of Rome, and to acknowledge the pope to be head thereof, and to interpret the scriptures none otherwise than that church did; with many such arguments and persuasions of fleshly wisdom.

To whom the said George Marsh answered, that he did acknowledge and believe (though much evil be withal annexed) one holy catholic and apostolic church, without which there is no salvation, and that this church is but one, because it ever hath, doth, and shall confess and believe one only God, and him only worship, and one only Messiah, and in him only trust for salvation; which church also is ruled and led by one Spirit, one word, and one faith, and that this church is universal or catholic, because it ever hath been since the world's beginning, is, and shall endure to the world's end, and comprehending within it all nations, kindreds, and languages, degrees, states, and conditions of men; and that this church is builded only upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Jesus Christ himself being the head corner-stone, and not upon the Romish laws and decrees, the bishop of Rome being the supreme head.

And where they said the church did stand in ordinary succession of bishops, being ruled by general councils, holy fathers, and the laws of holy church, and so had continued by the space of fifteen hundred years and more; he made answer, that the holy church, which is the body of Christ, and therefore most worthy to be called holy, was before any succession of bishops, general councils, or Romish decrees; neither yet was bound to any time or place, ordinary succession, general councils, or traditions of fathers; neither had any supremacy over empires and kingdoms; but that it was a little poor flock, dispersed and scattered abroad.

He shewed and proved unto them also, by the flood of Noah, the destruction of Sodom, the Israelites' departing out of Egypt, by the parables of the sower, of the king's son's marriage, of the great supper, and by other plain sentences of scripture, that this church was of none estimation, and little in comparison of the church of hypocrites and wicked worldlings.

He was thrust at with all violence of craft and subtlety; but yet the Lord upheld him and delivered him. Everlasting thanks be to that merciful and faithful Lord, which suffereth us not to be tempted above our might, but in the midst of our troubles strengtheneth us with his most holy Spirit of comfort and patience, giving us a mouth and wisdom how and what to speak, which all his adversaries are not able to resist.

*Another Appearance of George Marsh before the Bishop.*

Now after that the said bishop had taken his pleasure in punishing his prisoner, and often reviling him, giving taunts and odious names of heretic, &c. he caused him to be

brought forth into the chapel in the cathedral church of Chester, called our Lady's chapel, before him the said bishop, at two of the clock in the afternoon, who was there placed in a chair for that purpose, and Fulk Dutton, mayor of the said city, and others.

Then they caused the said George Marsh to take an oath upon a book, to answer truly unto such articles as should be objected against him. Upon which oath taken, the chancellor laid unto his charge, that he had preached and openly published most heretically and blasphemously, within the parish of Deane, Eccles, Bolton, Berry, and many other parishes within the bishop's diocese, in the months of January, February, or some other time of the last year, proceeding directly against the pope's authority and Catholic church of Rome, the blessed mass, the sacrament of the altar, and many other articles. Unto all which in sum he answered, that he neither heretically nor blasphemously preached or spake against any of the said articles; but simply and truly, as occasion served, and (as it were thereunto forced in conscience) maintained the truth touching the same articles, as all you now present did acknowledge the same in the time of the late king Edward VI.

Then they examined him severally of every article, and bade him answer directly yea or nay, without circumstance, for they were come to examine, and not to dispute at that present.

Then he answered them unto every article very modestly, according to the doctrine by public authority received and taught in this realm at the death of the said king Edward; whose answers were every one noted by the registrar. After this, the company for that time brake up, and he was returned to his prison.

#### *The final Appearance of George Marsh before the Bishop.*

Within three weeks after this, or thereabouts, in the said chapel, the said bishop and others before-named there being assembled, the said George Marsh was brought by the keeper and others with bills and divers weapons before them; where first the said chancellor, by way of an oration, declared unto the people present the said bishop's charge and burning charity, who even like as a good shepherd doth see to his flock, that none of his sheep have the scab or other disease for infecting other clean sheep, but will save and cure the said scabbed sheep; so his lordship had sent for the said George Marsh there present, as a scabbed sheep, and had weeded him out for corrupting others, and had done what he could in shewing his charitable disposition towards the said Marsh, to reduce him from his haughty heresies; but all that he could do would not help: so that he was now determined, if the said Marsh would not relent and abjure, to pronounce and give sentence definitive against him. Wherefore he bade the said George Marsh to be now well advised what he would do, for it stood upon his life; and if he would not at that present forsake his heretical opinions, it would be, after the sentence given, too late, though he would never so gladly desire it.

Then the said chancellor first asked him, whether he were not of the bishop's diocese? To which he answered, that he knew not how large his diocese was, for his continuance was at Cambridge. But then they replied, and asked whether he had not lately been at Deane parish, in Lancashire, and there abode? And he answered, Yea.

Then the chancellor read all his former answers that he had made in that place at his former examination, and at every one he asked him, whether he would stick to the same, or, no? To which he answered again, Yea, yea.

How say you then to this? (quoth the chancellor :) in your last examination, amongst many other damnable and schismatical articles, you said, That the church and doctrine taught and set forth in king Edward's time, was the true church, and the doctrine of the true church; and that the church of Rome is not the true and catholic church.

I so said indeed, quoth Marsh, and I believe it to be true. Here also others took occasion to ask him, (for that he denied the bishop of Rome's authority in England,) whether Linus, Anacletus, and Clement, that were bishops of Rome, were not good men? and he answered, Yes, and divers others: But, said he, they claimed no more authority in England than the bishop of Canterbury doth at Rome; and I strive not, quoth he, with the place, neither speak I against the person of the bishop, but against his doctrine, which in most points is repugnant to the doctrine of Christ.

Thou art an arrogant fellow indeed then, said the bishop: in what article is the doctrine of the church of Rome repugnant to the doctrine of Christ?

To whom George Marsh answered and said, O my lord, I pray you judge not so of me: I stand now upon the point of my life and death, and a man in my case hath no cause to be arrogant, neither am I, God is my record. And as concerning the disagreement of the doctrine, among many other things, the church of Rome erreth in the sacrament. For where Christ in the institution thereof did as well deliver the cup as the bread, saying, "Drink ye all of this," (and Mark reporteth that they did drink of it :) in like manner St. Paul delivered it unto the Corinthians: and in the same sort also was it used in the primitive church by the space of many hundred years. Now the church of Rome doth take away one part of the sacrament from the laity. Wherefore, if I could be persuaded in my conscience by God's word, that it were well done, I could gladly yield in this point.

Then said the bishop, *Non disputandum est cum heretico*, that is, "There is no disputing with an heretic." And therefore, when all his answers were read, he asked him whether he would stand to the same; being as they were, said he, full of heresy! or else forsake them, and come unto the Catholic church?

To whom he made this full answer, and said, That he held no heretical opinion, but utterly abhorred all kinds of heresy, although they most untruly so did slander him. And he desired all the people present to bear him witness, (if hereafter any would slander him, and say that he held any grievous heresy,) that in all articles of religion he held none other opinion than was by law most godly established, and publicly taught in England, at the death of king Edward VI. and in the same pure religion and doctrine he would, by God's grace, stand, live, and die.

And here the chancellor spake to one Leach, which stood near unto Marsh, and bade him stand farther from him; for his presence did him no good.

This being done, the bishop took a writing out of his bosom, and began to read the sentence of condemnation: but when the bishop had read almost half thereof, the chancellor called him, and said, Good, my lord, stay, stay; for if ye proceed any further, it will be too late to call it again. And so the bishop stayed. Then his popish priests, and many other of the ignorant people, called upon Marsh, with many earnest words, to recant, and amongst others, one Pulleyn, a shoemaker, said to him, For shame, man! remember thyself, and recant.—They bade him kneel down and pray, and they would pray for him. So they kneeled down, and he desired them to pray for him, and he would pray for them.

The bishop then asked him again, whether he would not have the queen's mercy in time? and he answered, he did gladly desire the same, and did love her grace as faithfully as any of them; but yet he durst not deny his Saviour, Christ, for losing his mercy everlasting, and so win everlasting death.

Then the bishop put his spectacles again upon his nose, and read forward his sentence about five or six lines; and there again the chancellor, with a smiling countenance, called to the bishop, and said, Yet, good my lord, once again stay; for if that word be spoken, all is past, and no relenting will then serve: and the bishop, pulling off his spectacles, said, I would stay if it would be.

How sayest thou, quoth he, wilt thou recant? Many of the priests and ignorant people bade him do so, and to call to God for grace; and pulled him by the sleeve, and bade him recant and save his life.

To whom he answered, I would as fain live as you, if in so doing I should not deny my Master, Christ, and again he should deny me before his Father in heaven.

So the bishop read out his sentence unto the end, and straight after said unto him, Now will I no more pray for thee than I will for a dog. And Marsh answered, that notwithstanding he would pray for his lordship. And after this, the bishop delivered him unto the sheriffs of the city. Then his late keeper bade him Farewell, good George! with weeping; which caused the officers to carry him to prison at the north gate, where he was closely kept until the time he went to his death, during which time he had small comfort or relief of any worldly creature. For being in the dungeon or dark prison, none that would do him good could speak with him, or at least durst so do for fear of accusation: and some of the citizens which loved him in God for the gospel's sake, whereof there were but a few, although they were never acquainted with him, would sometimes in the evening, at a hole upon the wall of the city, that went into the said dark prison, call to him, and ask him how he did. He would answer them most cheerfully, that he did well, and thanked God most highly that he would vouchsafe of his mercy to appoint him to be a witness of his truth, and to suffer for the same, wherein he did most rejoice; beseeching him, that he would give him grace not to faint under the cross, but patiently bear the same to his glory, and comfort of his church; with many other godly sayings at sundry times, as one that most desired to be with Christ. Once or twice he had money cast him in at the same hole, about ten pence at one time, and two shillings at another; for which he gave God thanks, and used the same to his necessity.

When the time and day appointed came that he should suffer, the sheriffs of the city, whose names were Amry and Couper, with their officers, and a great number of poor simple barbers, with rusty bills and poll-axes, went to the north gate, and there took out the said George Marsh, who came with them most humbly and meekly, with a lock upon his feet. And as he came upon the way towards the place of execution, some folks proffered him money, and looked that he should have gone with a little purse in his hand, (as the manner of felons was accustomed in that city in times past, at their going to execution, to the end to gather money to give unto a priest to say trentals or masses for them after their death, whereby they might, as they thought, be saved;) but Marsh said, he would not as then be troubled with money, but willed some good man to take the money, if the people were disposed to give any, and to give it unto the prisoners or poor people. So he went all the way unto his death with his book in his hand, looking upon the same;

and many of the people said, This man goeth not unto his death as a thief, or as one that deserveth to die.

Now when he came to the place of execution without the city, near unto Spittle-Boughton, one Cawdrey (being then a deputy chamberlain of Chester) shewed Marsh a writing under a great seal, saying, that it was a pardon for him if he would recant. Whereat Marsh answered, that he would gladly accept the same; and said farther, that he loved the queen: but forasmuch as it tended to pluck him from God, he would not receive it upon that condition.

After that he began to speak to the people, shewing the cause of his death, and would have exhorted them to stick unto Christ.—Whereupon one of the sheriffs said, George Marsh, we must have no sermoning now.—To whom he said, Master, I cry you mercy: and so kneeling down, made his prayers, and then put off his clothes unto his shirt; and then was he chained to the post, having a number of faggots under him, and a thing made like a firkin, with pitch and tar in the same, over his head; and by reason the fire was unskilfully made, and that the wind did drive the same to and fro, he suffered great extremity in his death, which, notwithstanding, he bore very patiently.

Wherein this is to be noted, That when he had been a long time tormented in the fire without moving, having his flesh so broiled and puffed up, that they which stood before him underneath could not see the chain wherewith he was fastened, and therefore supposed no less but he had been dead, notwithstanding, suddenly, he spread abroad his arms, saying, Father of heaven, have mercy upon me! and so yielded his spirit into the hands of the Lord!

Upon this, many of the people said that he was a martyr, and died marvellously patient and godly. Which thing caused the bishop shortly after to make a sermon in the cathedral church, and therein affirmed, That the said Marsh was an heretic, burnt like an heretic, and was a firebrand in hell.

In recompense of this his good and charitable sermon, within short time after the just judgment of God appeared upon the said bishop, recompensing him in such wise, that not long after he turned up his heels and died. Upon what cause his death was gendered, I have not here precisely to pronounce, because the rumour and voice of the people is not always to be followed: notwithstanding, such a report went in all men's mouths, that he died of the foul disease.

#### *A Letter Exhortatory of George Marsh to the faithful Professors of Laughton.*

"Grace be unto you, and peace be multiplied, in the knowledge of Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

"I thought it my duty to write unto you, my beloved in the Lord at Laughton, to stir up your minds, and to call to your remembrance the words which have been told you before, and to exhort you, (as that good man, and full of the Holy Ghost, Barnabas, did the Antiochians,) that with purpose of heart ye continually cleave unto the Lord, and that ye stand fast, and be not moved away from the hope of the gospel, whereof (God be thanked) ye have had plenteous preaching unto you by your late pastor, Mr. Saunders, and other faithful ministers of Jesus Christ; which now, when persecution ariseth because of the word, do not fall away like shrinking children, and forsake the truth, being ashamed of the gospel whereof they have been preachers, but are willing and ready for your sakes, which are Christ's mystical body, to forsake not only the chief and principal delights of this life, (I do mean their native countries, friends, living, &c.) but also to fulfil their ministry to the utmost, that is

with their painful imprisonments and blood-sheddings, if need shall require, to confirm and seal Christ's gospel, whereof they have been ministers; and, as St. Paul saith, they are ready not only to be cast into prison, but also to be killed, for the name of the Lord Jesus.

"Whether these, being that good salt of the earth, that is, true ministers of God's word, by whose doctrine, being received through faith, men are made savoury unto God, and which themselves lose not their saltness now when they be proved with the boisterous storms of adversity and persecution; or others, being that unsavoury salt which hath lost its saltness, that is, those ungodly ministers which do fall from the word of God into the dreams and traditions of Antichrist: whether of these, I say, be more to be credited and believed, let all men judge.

"Wherefore, my dearly beloved, receive the word of God with meekness that is grafted in you, which is able to save your souls; and see that ye be not forgetful hearers, deceiving yourselves with sophistry, but doers of the word; whom Christ doth liken to a wise man, which buildeth his house on a rock, that when the great rain descended, and the floods came, and beat upon the house, it fell not, because it was grounded upon a rock: that is, when Satan, with all his legion of devils, with all their subtle suggestions, and the world, with all the mighty princes thereof, with their crafty counsels, do furiously rage against us, we faint not, but abide constant in the truth, being grounded upon a most sure rock, which is Christ, and the doctrine of the gospel, against which the gates of hell (that is, the power of Satan,) cannot prevail.

"And be ye followers of Christ and his apostles, and receive the word in much affliction, as the godly Thessalonians did: for the true followers of Christ, and the apostles, be they which receive the word of God. They only receive the word of God, which both believe it, and also frame their lives after it, and be ready to suffer all manner of adversity for the name of the Lord, as Christ and all the apostles did, and as all that will live godly in Christ Jesus must do: for there is none other way into the kingdom of heaven, but through much tribulation. And if we suffer any thing for the kingdom of heaven's sake, and for righteousness sake, we have the prophets, Christ, the apostles, and martyrs, for an ensample to comfort us: for they did all enter into the kingdom of heaven at the strait gate and narrow way that leadeth unto life, which few do find. And unless we will be content to deny our own selves, and take up the cross of Christ and his saints, it is an evident argument that we shall never reign with him.

"And again, if we can find in our hearts patiently to suffer persecution and tribulations, it is a sure token of the righteous judgment of God, that we are counted worthy of the kingdom of God, for which we also suffer. 'It is verily, (saith the apostle,) a righteous thing with God, to recompense tribulation to them that trouble us, and rest to us that be troubled;' for after this life, the godly being delivered from their tribulations and pains, shall have a most quiet and joyful rest; whereas the wicked and ungodly contrariwise shall be tormented for evermore with intolerable and unspeakable pains, as Christ, by the parable of the rich glutton and wretched Lazarus, doth plainly declare. These ought we to have before our eyes always, that in the time of adversity and persecution, (whereof all that will be the children of God shall be partakers, and wherewith it hath pleased God to try some of us already,) we may stand steadfast in the Lord, and endure even unto the end, that we may be saved. For unless we, like good warriors of Jesus Christ,

will endeavour ourselves to please him, who hath chosen us to be soldiers, and fight the good fight of faith even unto the end, we shall not obtain that crown of righteousness which the Lord, that is a righteous judge, shall give to all them that love his coming. Let us therefore receive with meekness the word that is grafted in us, which is able to save our souls; and ground ourselves on the sure rock, Christ. 'For (as the apostle saith) other foundation can no man lay, besides that which is laid already, which is Jesus Christ. If any man build on this foundation, gold, silver, precious stones, timber, hay, stubble, every man's work shall appear: for the day shall declare it, and it shall be shewed in the fire. And the fire shall try every man's work what it is. If any man's work that he hath builded upon abide, he shall receive a reward: if any man's work burn, he shall suffer loss; but he shall be saved himself, nevertheless yet as it were through fire.'

"By fire here doth the apostle understand persecution and trouble; for they which do truly preach and profess the word of God, which is called the word of the cross, shall be railed upon and abhorred, hated, thrust out of company, persecuted, and tried in the furnace of adversity, as gold and silver tried in the fire.

"By gold, silver, and precious stones, he understandeth them that in the midst of persecution abide steadfast in the word. By timber, hay, and stubble, are meant such as in time of persecution do fall away from the truth. And when Christ doth purge his floor with the wind of adversity, these scatter away from the face of the earth like light chaff, which shall be burned with unquenchable fire. If they then which do believe, do in time of persecution stand steadfastly in the truth, the builder (I do mean the preacher of the word) shall receive a reward, and the work shall be preserved and saved: but if it so be that they go back and swerve, when persecution ariseth, the builder shall suffer loss, that is to say, shall lose his labour and cost, but yet he shall be saved, if he, being tried in the fire of persecution, do abide fast in the faith.

"Wherefore, my beloved, give diligent heed that ye, as living stones, be builded upon this sure rock, and be made a spiritual house and a holy priesthood to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable unto God by Jesus Christ. For we are the true temple of God, and the Spirit of God dwelleth in us, if so be that we continue in the doctrine of the gospel. We are also an holy and royal priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices and oblations; for the sacrifices of the new testament are spiritual, and of three manners:

"The first is the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, which St. Paul doth call the fruit of those lips which confess the name of God.

"The second is mercy towards our neighbours, as the prophet Hosea saith, I will have mercy, and not sacrifice. Read the five-and-twentieth chapter of Matthew.

"The third is, when we make our body a quick sacrifice, holy and acceptable unto God; that is, when we mortify and kill our carnal lusts, and so bring our flesh, through the help of the Spirit, under the obedience of God's holy law. This is a sacrifice to God most acceptable, which the apostle calleth our reasonable serving of God. And let us be sure that unless we do now at this present take better heed to ourselves, and use thankfully the grace of God offered to us by the gospel preached these years past, whereby we are brought to the knowledge of the truth; unless, I say, we keep Christ and his holy word dwelling by faith in the house and temple of our hearts, the same thing that Christ threatened unto the Jews, shall also happen unto us: that is, the



unclean spirit of ignorance, superstition, idolatry, infidelity, and unbelief, the mother and head of all vices, which by the grace of God was cast out of us, bringing with him seven other spirits worse than himself, shall to our utter destruction return again unto us; and so shall we be in worse case than ever we were before. For if we, after we have escaped from the filthiness of the world, through the knowledge of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, be yet tangled therein again and overcome, then is the latter end worse than the beginning; and it had been better for us not to have known the way of righteousness, than, after we have known it, to turn from the holy commandment given to us. For it is then happened unto us according to the true proverb, 'The dog is turned to his vomit again, and the sow that was washed to wallowing in the mire.'

"Wherefore, my beloved in Christ, let us (on whom the ends of the world are come) take diligent heed unto ourselves, that now, in these last and perilous times, in the which the devil is come down, and hath great wrath, because he knoweth his time is but short, and whereof the prophets, Christ, and the apostles, have so much spoken, and given us an earnest forwarning, we withhold not the truth in unrighteousness, believing, doing, or speaking any thing against our knowledge and conscience, or without faith. For if we so do, for whatsoever cause it be, it is a wilful and obstinate infidelity, and a sin unto death; and as our Saviour Christ saith, 'If ye believe not, ye shall die in your own sins.' For unless we hold fast the word of life, both believing it, and also bringing forth fruit worthy of repentance, we shall, with the unprofitable fig-tree, which did but cumber the ground, be cut down, and our talent taken from us, and given unto another that shall put it to a better use: and we, through our own unthankfulness put from the mercy of God, shall never be able to pay our debts, that is to say, we shall altogether be lost and undone. For the earth, that drinketh in rain that cometh oft upon it, and bringeth forth herbs meet for them that dress it, receiveth blessing of God: but that ground that beareth thorns and briars, is reprov'd, and is high unto cursing, whose end is, to be burned.'

"Nevertheless, dear friends, we trust to see better of you, and things which accompany salvation, and that ye being the good ground, watered with the moistness of God's word plentifully preached among you, will with a good heart hear the word of God and keep it, bringing forth fruit with patience. And be none of those forgetful and hypocritical hearers, which, although they hear the word, yet the devil cometh and catcheth away that which was sown in their heart; either having no root in themselves, endure but a season, and, as soon as tribulation or persecution ariseth because of the word, by and by they were offended; either with the cares of this world, and deceitfulness of riches, choke the word, and so are unfruitful. Read the parable of the sower, and among other things note and mark, that the most part of the hearers of God's word are but hypocrites, and hear the word without any fruit or profit, yea, only to their greater condemnation; for only the fourth part of the seed doth bring forth fruit. Therefore let not us, that be ministers or professors and followers of God's word, be discouraged, though that very few do give credit, and follow the doctrine of the gospel, and be saved.

"Whosoever therefore hath ears to hear, let him hear; for whosoever hath, to him shall be given, and he shall have abundance; but whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken away even that he hath: that is to say, they that have a desire of righteousness, and of the truth, shall be more and more illuminated of God; on the contrary part, they that do

not covet after righteousness and truth, are more hardened and blinded, though they seem unto themselves most wise. For God doth here follow an example of a loving father, which when he seeth that fatherly love and correction doth not help forwards his children, useth another way. He ceaseth to be beneficial unto them, and to minister unto them fatherly correction: he giveth them over unto themselves, suffering them to live as they list themselves.

"But we trust to see better of you, my dearly beloved, and that ye, like very Gaderemites, for fear to lose your worldly substance or other delights of this life, will not banish away Christ and his gospel from among you; but that ye with all diligence of mind will receive the word of God, taught you by such ministers as now, when persecution ariseth because of the word, are not ashamed of the testimony of our Lord Jesus, but are content to suffer adversity with the gospel, and therein to suffer trouble as evil-doers, even unto bonds. And if ye refuse thus to do, your own blood will be upon your own heads. And as ye have had plentiful preaching of the gospel, more than others have had; so ye shall be sure, if ye repent not, and bring forth fruit worthy of repentance, to be sorer plagued, and to receive greater vengeance at God's hand than others, and the kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and be given to another nation, which will bring forth the fruits thereof.

"Wherefore, my dearly beloved in Christ, take good heed to yourselves, and ponder well in your minds, how fearful and horrible a thing it is to fall into the hands of the living God. And see that ye receive not the word of God in vain, but continually labour in faith, and declare your faith by your good works, which are infallible witnesses of the true justifying faith, which is never idle, but worketh by charity. And see that ye continually give yourselves unto all manner of good works: amongst the which the chiefest are, to be obedient to the magistrates, sith they are the ordinance of God, whether they be good or evil, unless they command idolatry and ungodliness, i. e. things contrary unto true religion. For then ought we to say with Peter, We ought more to obey God than man. But in any wise we must beware of tumult, insurrection, rebellion, or resistance.

"The weapon of a Christian in this matter, ought to be the sword of the Spirit, which is God's word and prayer, coupled with humility and due submission, and with readiness of heart rather to die than to do any ungodliness. Christ also doth teach us, that all power is of God, yea, even the power of the wicked, which God canseth oftentimes to reign, for our sins and disobedience towards him and his word. Whosoever then doth resist any power, doth resist the ordinance of God, and so purchase to himself utter destruction and undoing.

"We must also by all means be promoters of unity, peace, and concord. We must honour and reverence princes, and all that be in authority, and pray for them, and be diligent to set forth their profit and commodity.

"Secondly, We must obey our parents, or them that be in their rooms, and be careful for our households, that they be provided for and fed, not only with bodily food, but much rather with spiritual food, which is the word of God.

"Thirdly, We must serve our neighbours by all means we can, remembering well the saying of Christ, 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye likewise unto them; for this is the law and the prophets.'

"Fourthly, We must diligently exercise the necessary work of prayer for all estates; knowing that God therefore hath so much commanded it, and hath made so great promises unto it, and doth so well accept it. After these

works, we must learn to know the cross, and what affection and mind we must bear towards our adversaries and enemies, whatsoever they be, to suffer all our adversities and evils patiently, to pray for them that hurt, persecute, and trouble us : and by thus using ourselves, we shall obtain an hope and certainty of our vocation, that we be the elect children of God.

"And thus I commend you, brethren, unto God, and to the word of his grace, which is able to build further, and to give you an inheritance among all them which are sanctified ; beseeching you to help Mr. Saunders and me, your late pastors, and all them that be in bonds for the gospel's sake, with your prayers to God for us, that we may be delivered from all them that believe not, and from unreasonable and froward men, and that this our imprisonment and affliction may be to the glory and profit of our Christian brethren in the world, and that Christ may be magnified in our bodies, whether it be by death or by life.

"Salute from me all the faithful brethren : and because I write not several letters to them, let them either read or hear these my letters. The grace of our Lord be with you all. Amen.—The 28th of June, by the unprofitable servant of Jesus Christ, and now also his prisoner,

"GEORGE MARSH.

"Save yourselves from this untoward generation. Pray, pray, pray : never more need."

*Another Letter of the said George Marsh, to certain of his dearly beloved Friends at Manchester, in Lancashire.*

"Grace be with you, and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

"After salutations in Christ to you, with thanks for your friendly remembrances of me, desiring and wishing unto you, not only in my letters, but also in my daily prayers, such consolation in spirit and taste of heavenly treasures, that ye may thereby continually work in faith, labour in love, persevere in hope, and be patient in all your tribulations and persecutions, even unto the end and glorious coming of Christ ; these shall be earnestly to exhort and beseech you in Christ, as ye have received the Lord Jesus, even so to walk, rooted in him, and not to be afraid of any terror of your adversaries, be they never so many and mighty, and you on the other side never so few and weak : for the battle is the Lord's. And as in times past God was with Abraham, Moses, Isaac, David, the Maccabees, and others, and fought for them, and delivered all their enemies into their hands ; even so hath he promised to be with us also unto the world's end, and so to assist, strengthen, and help us, that no man shall be able to withstand us. For as I was with Moses, so will I be with thee, saith God, and will never leave thee nor forsake thee. Be strong and bold, neither fear nor dread : for the Lord thy God is with thee whithersoever thou goest. Now if God be on our side, who can be against us ?

"In this our spiritual warfare is no man overcome, unless he traitorously leave and forsake his Captain ; either cowardly cast away his weapons, or willingly yielded himself to his enemies, either fearfully turn his back and fly. Be strong therefore in the Lord, dear brethren, and in the power of his might, and put on all the armour of God, that ye may be able to stand steadfast against the crafty assaults of the devil.

"Now what weapons ye must fight withal, learn of St. Paul, a champion both much exercised, and also most valiant and invincible. For we must think none other, but that the life of man is a perpetual warfare upon earth, as the examples of all godly men throughout all ages do declare.

The valiant warrior St. Paul being delivered into the hands of the ungodly, and that so many times, and also from so many extreme perils and dangers of death, as he his own self doth witness, is fain to commit himself in the end to the rough waters of the sea, where he was in great peril and jeopardy of his own life : yet was God always (to the great comfort of all that hear of it) most ready to comfort and succour him, and gloriously delivered him out of all his troubles ; so that no man that invaded him could do him any harm, and in the end he was compelled to say, I have finished my course, the time of my departing is at hand, I long to be loosed, and to be with Christ, which is the best of all, most heartily desiring death.

"These things be written for our learning and comfort, and be to us a sure obligation, that if we submit ourselves to God and his holy word, no man shall be able to hurt us, and that he will deliver us from all troubles, yea, from death also, until such time as we covet and desire to die. Let us therefore run with patience unto the battle that is set before us, and look unto Jesus the captain and finisher of our faith, and after his example, for the reward's sake that is set out unto us, patiently to bear the cross, and despise the same. For all that will live godly in Christ Jesus, shall suffer persecution.

"Christ was no sooner baptized, and declared to the world to be the Son of God, but Satan was by and by ready to tempt him ; which thing we must look for also ; yea, the more we shall increase in faith and virtuous living, the more strongly will Satan assault us ; whom we must learn, after the example of Christ, to fight against, and overcome with the holy and sacred scriptures of the word of God (which are our heavenly armour) and sword of the Spirit. And let the fasting of Christ, while he was tempted in the wilderness, be unto us an example of sober living, not for the space of forty days, (as the Papists do fondly fancy of their own brains,) but as long as we are in the wilderness of this wretched life assaulted of Satan, who like a roaring lion walketh about, and ceaseth not, seeking our destruction.

"Neither can the servants of God at any time come and stand before God, that is, lead a good life, and walk innocently before God, but Satan cometh also among them ; that is, he daily accuseth, findeth fault, vexeth, persecuteth, and troubleth the godly ; for it is the nature and property of the devil always to hurt, and to do mischief, unless he be forbidden of God ; for unless God doth permit him, he can do nothing at all, not so much as enter into a filthy hog.

"Let us, therefore, knowing Satan's deceits and rancour, walk the more warily, and take upon us the shield of faith, whereby we may be able to quench and to overcome all the fiery and deadly darts of the wicked. Let us take to us the helmet of salvation, and sword of the Spirit, (which is the word of God,) and learn to use the same according to the example of our grand captain, Christ. Let us fast and pray continually. For this frantic kind of devils go not out otherwise, as Christ doth teach us, but by faithful prayer and fasting ; which is true abstinence and soberness of living, if we use the same according to the doctrine of the gospel and word of God. Fasting is acceptable to God, if it be done without hypocrisy, that is to say, if we use it to this intent, that thereby this mortal body and disobedient carcase may be tamed and brought under the subjection of the spirit : and again, if we fast to this intent, that we may spare wherewith to help and succour our poor needy brethren.

"To fasting and prayer must be joined alms, and mercy towards the poor and needy ; and that our alms may be acceptable unto God, three things are chiefly required :

"First, That we give with a cheerful and joyful heart; for the Lord loveth a cheerful giver.

"Secondly, That we give liberally, putting aside all niggardship, knowing that he that soweth little, shall reap little, and he that soweth plenteously, shall reap plenteously. Let every man therefore do according as he is able. The poorest caitiff in the world may give as great and acceptable an alms in the sight of God as the richest man in the world can do. The poor widow that did offer but two mites, which make a farthing, did highly please Christ; insomuch, that he affirmed with an oath that she of her penury had added more to the offerings of God than all the rich men, which of their superfluity had cast in very much. For if there be first a willing mind, as St. Paul saith, it is accepted according to that a man hath, and not according to that a man hath not.

"Thirdly, We must give without hypocrisy and ostentation, not seeking the praise of men, or our own glory or profit. And although the scriptures in some places make mention of a reward to our alms and other good works, yet ought we not to think that we do merit any thing; but rather we ought to acknowledge, that God in his mere mercy rewardeth in us his own gifts. For what hath he that giveth alms, that he hath not received? He then that giveth to a poor man any manner of thing, giveth not of his own, but of those goods which he hath received of God. What hast thou, saith the apostle, that thou hast not received? If thou hast received it, why rejoicest thou, as though thou hadst not received it?

"This sentence ought to be had in remembrance of all men. For if we have nothing but that which we have received, what can we deserve? or, what need we to dispute and reason of our own merits?—it cometh of the free gift of God, that we live, that we love God, that we walk in his fear: where is our deserving then? We must also in this our spiritual warfare arm ourselves with continual prayer; a very necessary, strong, and invincible weapon; and after the example of Christ, and all other godly men, cry heartily unto God in faith in all our distresses. Let us go boldly to the seat of grace, where we shall be sure to receive mercy, and find grace to help in time of need. For now is pride and persecution increased: now is the time of destruction and wrathful displeasure.

"Wherefore, my dear brethren, be ye fervent in the law of God, and jeopard ye your lives, if need shall require, for the testament of the fathers, and so shall ye receive great honour, and an everlasting name. Remember Abraham: was not he found faithful in temptation, and it was reckoned unto him for righteousness? Joseph in time of his trouble kept the commandment, and was made a lord of Egypt. Phinehas was so fervent for the honour of God, that he obtained the covenant of an everlasting priesthood. Joshua, for the fulfilling of the word of God, was made the captain of Israel. Caleb bare record before the congregation, and received an inheritance. David also in his merciful kindness obtained the throne of an everlasting kingdom. Elias, being zealous and fervent in the law, was taken up into heaven. Ananias, Azarias, and Misael, remained steadfast in the faith, and were delivered out of the fire. In like manner, Daniel, being unguilty, was saved from the mouth of the lions.

"And thus ye may consider throughout all ages, since the world began, that whosoever put their trust in God were not overcome. Fear not ye then the words of ungodly men; for their glory is but dung and worms: to-day they are set up, and to-morrow are they gone, for they are turned into earth, and their memorial cometh to nought. Wherefore let us take good hearts unto us, and quit ourselves like men in

the law: for if we do the things that are commanded us in the law of the Lord our God, we shall obtain great honour therein.

"Beloved in Christ, let us not faint because of affliction, wherewith God trieth all them that are sealed unto life everlasting; for the only way into the kingdom of God is through much tribulation. For the kingdom of heaven is like a city builded and set upon a broad field, and full of all good things; but the entrance is narrow and sudden, full of sorrow and travel, perils and labours; like as if there were a fire at the right hand, and a deep water at the left, and as it were one strait path between them both, so small that there could but one man go there. If this city were now given to an heir, and he never went through the perilous way, how could he receive his inheritance? Wherefore, seeing we are in this narrow and strait way, which leadeth unto the most joyful and pleasant city of everlasting life; let us not stagger, either turn back, being afraid of the dangerous and perilous way, but follow our captain, Jesus Christ, in the narrow and strait way, and be afraid of nothing, no, not even of death itself: for it is he that must lead us to our journey's end, and open us the door unto everlasting life.

"Consider also the course of this world, how many there be which for their master's sake, or for a little promotion's sake, would adventure their lives in worldly affairs, as commonly in wars, and yet is their reward but light and transitory, and ours is unspeakable, great, and everlasting. They suffer pains to be made lords on earth for a short season; how much more ought we to endure like pains, yea, peradventure, much loss, to be made kings in heaven for evermore? Consider also the wicked of this world, which, for a little pleasure's sake, or to be avenged on their enemies, will fight with sword and weapons, and put themselves in danger of imprisonment and hanging. So much as virtue is better than vice, and God mightier than the devil, so much ought we to excel them in this our spiritual battle.

"And seeing, brethren, it hath pleased God to set me, and that most worthy minister of Christ, John Bradford, your countryman, in the fore-front of this battle, where for the time is most danger, I beseech you all in the bowels of Christ to help us, and all our fellow soldiers standing in like perilous places, with your prayers to God for us, that we may quit ourselves like men in the Lord, and give some example of boldness and constancy, mingled with patience in the fear of God; that ye and others our brethren, through our example, may be so encouraged and strengthened to follow us, that ye also may leave example to your weak brethren in the world, to follow you, Amen.

"Consider what I say: the Lord give us understanding in all things. Brethren, the time is short: it remaineth that ye use this world as though ye used it not: for the fashion of this world vanisheth away. See that ye love not the world, neither the things that are in the world; but set your affection on heavenly things, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God. Be meek and long-suffering, serve and edify one another with the gift that God hath given you. Beware of strange doctrine; lay aside the old conversation of greedy lusts, and walk in a new life. Beware of uncleanness, covetousness, foolish talking, false doctrine, and drunkenness; rejoice and be thankful towards God, and submit yourselves one to another. Cease from sin, spend no more time in vice, be sober, and apt to pray: be patient in trouble, love each other, and let the glory of God, and profit of your neighbour, be the only mark ye shoot at in all your doings. Repent ye of the life that is past, and take better heed to your doings hereafter. And above all things, cleave

ye fast to him, who was delivered to death for our sins, and rose again for our justification. To whom with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and rule for evermore, Amen.

"Salute from me in Christ all others which love us in the faith, and at your discretion make them partakers of these letters: and pray ye all for me and others in bonds for the gospel, that the same God (which by his grace hath called us from wicked Papistry unto true Christianity, and now of love proveth our patience by persecution,) will of his mercy and favour in the end gloriously deliver us, either by death or by life, to his glory, Amen.—At Lancaster, the 30th of August, 1555.

"By me, an unprofitable servant of Christ,

"GEORGE MARSH."

*A Prayer of George Marsh, which he used daily.*

"O Lord Jesus Christ, which art the only physician of wounded consciences, we miserable sinners, trusting in thy gracious goodness, do briefly open unto thee the evil tree of our heart, with all the roots, boughs, leaves, and fruits, and with all the crooks, knots, and knoures, all which thou knowest: for thou thoroughly perceivest as well the inward lusts, doubtings; and denying thy providence, as those gross outward sins which we commit inwardly and deadly. Wherefore we beseech thee, according to the little measure of our infirmity, although we be far unable and unapt to pray, that thou wouldest mercifully circumcise our stony hearts, and for these old hearts create new within us, and replenish us with a new spirit, and water us and moisten us with the juice of heavenly grace and wells of spiritual waters, whereby the inward venom and noisome juice of the flesh may be dried up, and custom of the old man changed, and our hearts (always bringing forth thorns and briars to be burned with fire) from henceforth may bear spiritual fruits in righteousness and holiness unto life everlasting, Amen."

*The Burning of JOHN CARDMAKER, and JOHN WARNE, Upholsterer; who suffered both together in Smithfield, anno 1555.*

Upon the 30th day of May, suffered together in Smithfield, *John Cardmaker*, (otherwise called *Taylor*;) prebendary of the church of Wells; and *John Warne*, upholsterer, of the parish of St. John's, in Waldbrook. Mr. Cardmaker was at first an observant friar, before the dissolution of the abbeyes; then after was a married minister, and in king Edward's time appointed to be a reader in Paul's, where the Papists were so much grieved with him for his doctrine's sake, that in his reading they cut and mangled his gown with their knives. This Cardmaker being apprehended in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, with Mr. Barlow bishop of Bath, was brought to London, and laid in prison in the Fleet, king Edward's laws yet being in force. But after the parliament was ended, in which the pope was again admitted as supreme head of the church, and the bishops had also gotten power and authority, *ex officio*, to exercise their tyranny, these two were brought before Winchester, chancellor; and as unto others before, so now unto them, the chancellor offered the queen's mercy, if they would agree, and be conformable, &c.

To this they both made such an answer, as the chancellor with his fellow commissioners, allowed them for Catholics. Whether they of weakness so answered, or he of subtlety would so understand their answer, that he might have some

forged example of a shrinking brother to lay in the dish of the rest which were to be examined, it may easily be perceived by this, that to all them which followed in examination, he objected the example of Barlow and Cardmaker, commending their soberness, discretion, and learning. But whatsoever their answer was, yet notwithstanding Barlow was led again to the Fleet, from whence he afterwards being delivered, did by exile constantly bear witness to the truth of Christ's gospel. Cardmaker was conveyed to the Compter in Bread-street, the bishop of London procuring it to be published, that he should shortly be delivered, after that he had subscribed to transubstantiation and certain other articles. To the same prison where Cardmaker was, Lawrence Saunders was brought, (after the sentence of excommunication and condemnation was pronounced against him,) where these two prisoners had such Christian conference, that whatsoever the breath of the bishop blustered, and the tickle ears of the people too lightly believed, in the end they both shewed themselves constant confessors and worthy martyrs of Christ: as of Lawrence Saunders, it is already written. After whose departure Cardmaker remained there prisoner, to be baited of the Papists, who would needs seem to have a certain hope that Cardmaker was become theirs. Continual and great conference divers of them had with him, with reasonings, persuasions, threatenings, and all to none effect. To the end that their doings might appear, he required them to put their reasons in writing, and promised by writing to answer them.

Dr. Martin, who bare also a part in those pageants, took upon him to be the chief actor by writing, whose long unsavoury letters and simple reasons for transubstantiation, and such Papistical trash, this Cardmaker answered largely, learnedly, and substantially, confuting the same, opening the falsehood of his arguments, and truly delivering the opinions of the fathers, which Martin abused for the maintaining of his purpose.

*Articles objected by Bonner against John Taylor alias Cardmaker, with his Answers.*

First, I Edmund, bishop of London, object against thee sir John Taylor, *alias* Cardmaker, that thou wast and art of the city and diocese of London, and so of the jurisdiction of me, Edmund, bishop of London.

Item, That thou in times past didst profess the rule of St. Francis, and didst by vow promise to keep poverty, chastity, and obedience, according to the rule of St. Francis.

Item, That thou in times past didst receive all the orders of the church then used.

Item, That thou after thy said entry into religion and profession and orders aforesaid, didst take to wife a widow; breaking thereby thy vow and order, and also the ordinance of the church.

Item, That thou hast believed and taught, and so dost believe, that in the sacrament of the altar, under the visible signs there, that is to say, under the forms of bread and wine, there is really and truly the true and very natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Item, That the belief of the Catholic church is, that in having the body and blood of Christ really and truly contained in the sacrament of the altar, is to have (by the omnipotent power of Almighty God) the body and blood of Christ there invisibly and really present under the said sacrament, and not to make thereby a new God, or a new Christ, or a new body of Christ.

Item, That it may stand well together, and so is the faith of the Catholic church, that the body of Christ is visibly

and truly ascended into heaven, and there is, in the visible form of his humanity; and yet the same body in substance is invisibly and truly contained in the said sacrament of the altar.

Item, That Christ at his last supper, taking bread into his hands, blessing it, breaking it, giving it to his apostles, and saying, "Take, eat, this is my body;" did institute a sacrament there, willing that his body really and truly should be contained in the said sacrament, no substance of bread and wine there remaining, but only the accidents thereof.

*Answers of Cardmaker to the Articles aforesaid.*

The first article he confesseth to be true in every part.

To the second article he answereth and confesseth, that he, being under age, did profess the said order and religion, and afterwards by the authority of king Henry the VIII. he was dispensed with for the same religion.

The third he confesseth to be true in every part.

To the fourth, he confesseth the first part thereof to be truth; and to the second part he answereth and saith, that in marriage he brake no vow, because he was set at liberty to marry, both by the laws of this realm, and also by the laws and ordinances of the church of the same.

To the fifth he answereth and confesseth, that he hath believed and taught as it is contained in this article, but he doth not now so believe nor teach.

To the sixth he answereth, that he doth not believe the same to be true in any part thereof.

To the seventh he answereth, that he doth not believe the same to be true in part thereof.

The eighth he doth believe that it is true; that is to say, that Christ taking bread at his last supper into his hands, blessing it, breaking it, giving it to his disciples, and saying, "Take, eat, this is my body," did institute a sacrament there. And to the other part of this article (willing that his body really and truly should be contained in the said sacrament, no substance of bread and wine there remaining, but only the accidents thereof,) he answereth, that he doth not believe the same to be true.

By me, JOHN CARDMAKER.

Mr. Cardmaker calling to mind afterwards the ready cavillings of the Papists, and thinking himself not to have fully and according to his true meaning answered the latter part of the last eighth article, did the next day after the aforesaid answers exhibit unto the bishop in a schedule this hereafter following:

Where in my answer to your articles I deny the presence of Christ in the sacrament, I mean not his sacramental presence, for that I confess; but my denial is of his carnal presence in the same. But yet further, because this word is oftentimes taken of the holy fathers, not only for bread and wine, but also for the whole administration and receiving of the same, according to Christ's institution; so I say, that Christ is present spiritually too, and in all them which worthily receive the sacrament: so that my denial is still of the real, carnal, and corporal presence, in the sacrament, and not of the sacramental nor spiritual presence.

This have I thought good to add to my former answer, because no man should misunderstand it.

By me, JOHN CARDMAKER.

Next to these articles of Mr. Cardmaker, I thought best to mention the articles and answers likewise of J. Warne, his fellow martyr.

*Articles ministered against John Warne, Upholsterer, of the parish of St. John in Walbrook, with his Answers to the same.*

First, That, thou, John Warne, being of the age of 29 years, and of the parish of St. John of Walbrook, in London, hast believed, and dost believe firmly and steadfastly, that in the sacrament, commonly called the sacrament of the altar, there is not the very true and natural body of our Saviour Christ in substance, under the forms of bread and wine.

Item, That thou hast believed, and dost believe, that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest, there is not (as the church of England doth believe and teach) the body of Christ: but that there doth only remain the substance of material bread, as it is before the consecration, or speaking of the words of consecration; and that the said bread is in no wise altered or changed.

Item, That thou hast said, and dost believe, that if the Catholic church do believe and teach, that there is in the mass now used in England, and in other places of Christendom, a sacrifice, wherein there is a sacrament containing the body and blood of Christ really and truly; then that belief and faith of the church is naught, against God's truth and the scripture.

Item, That thou hast said, that where about a twelve-month ago and more, a great rough water-spaniel of thine was shorn on the head, and had a crown like a priest made in the same, thou didst laugh at it, and like it, though thou didst it not thyself, nor knewest who did it.

Item, That thou neither this Lent last past, nor at any time since the queen's majesty's reign, hast come into the church, or heard mass, or been confessed, or received the sacrament of the altar; and hast said, that thou art not sorry that thou hast so done, but thou art glad, because thou hast not therewith defiled thy conscience, which otherwise thou shouldest have done.

Upon all which articles John Warne being examined by the said Bonner in presence of divers witnesses, the 23d of May, the year 1555, did confess and believe the same, and subscribe hereunto his name with his own hand.

By me, JOHN WARNE.

Also it was objected against the said John Warne, by the bishop aforesaid, as followeth.

Item, That thou John Warne wast in time past here in the city of London, convented in the Guildhall for heresy against the sacrament of the altar, according to the order of the laws of this realm of England in the time of king Henry the Eighth, and when alderman Barnes was sheriff, and the Thursday after that Anne Askew was burnt in Smithfield, and thereupon thou wast sent a prisoner to Newgate, to whom Edmund, Bishop of London, did repair with his chaplains, to instruct thee in the true faith of Christ, touching the said sacrament of the altar, and to bring thee from thy error; which was, that in the sacrament of the altar there is not the body of Christ, nor any corporal presence of Christ's body and blood, under the forms of bread and wine; but that in the said sacrament there is only material bread and wine, without any substance of Christ's body and blood at all: and because thou wouldest not leave and forsake thy said heresy therein, but persist and abide obstinately and wilfully therein, thou wert according to the said laws condemned to death, and to be burnt; and thereupon labour being made for thee to the king and others in the court, thou hadst a pardon of king Henry the Eighth, and so thereby didst save thy life.



Nevertheless, in thy heart, conscience, and mind, thou didst both then and also afore believe no otherwise than at this present thou dost believe; that is to say, that in the sacrament of the altar there is neither the very true body or blood of Christ, nor no other substance but the substance of material bread and wine, and to receive the said material bread, and to break it, and to distribute it among the people, only is the true receiving of Christ's body, and no otherwise: so that thy faith and belief is, that in the said sacrament there is no substance of Christ's material body and blood; but all the thing that is there, is material bread, and the receiving thereof as afore; and that the substance of the natural and true body of Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, is only in heaven, and not in the sacrament of the altar. In which thine opinion thou hast ever hitherto since continued, and so dost continue at this present, thou confessing all this to be true, and in witness thereof subscribing thy name thereunto as followeth.

By me, JOHN WARNE.

John Warne being examined upon the aforesaid articles by the bishop, before certain witnesses, whose names were John Roswell, John Heywood, Robert Ravens, the 23d of May, did answer to the same, confessing and granting the articles and the contents thereof to be true, according as they were objected in every part, subscribing also the same with his hand. Such strength and fortitude God's holy Spirit wrought in him, to stand stoutly and confidently to the defence of the sincere doctrine of his Son.

Whereupon the bishop exhorting him with many words to leave his heresies, as he called them, and to return to the bosom of his mother the holy church, commanded him to appear again the next day, being the 24th of the same month.

Who so doing, and answering as he did before, was willed to come thither again at afternoon; and so he did: where and at what time he was earnestly exhorted by the said bishop to recant his opinions. To whom he answered, that he would not depart from his received profession, unless he were thereunto thoroughly persuaded by the holy scriptures.

Upon which answer he was willed to come again the next day, being the 25th day of the same month, at one o'clock in the afternoon. At which day and hour the bishop examined him again upon all his former articles before objected: to the which he most constantly did stick, with this further answer thereunto added: I am persuaded, (quoth he,) that I am in the right opinion, and I see no cause to repent; for all filthiness and idolatry is in the church of Rome.

The bishop then seeing that notwithstanding all his fair promises, and terrible threatenings, (whereof he used store,) he could not prevail; finished this examination with the definitive sentence of condemnation pronounced against the said John Warne, and so charged the sheriffs of London with him, under whose custody he remained in the prison of Newgate, until the 30th day of the same month of May.

Upon the which 30th of May, being the day appointed for their execution, John Cardmaker, with the said John Warne, were brought by the sheriffs to the place where they should suffer. Who being come to the stake, first the sheriffs called Cardmaker aside, and talked with him secretly so long, that in the mean time Warne had made his prayers, was chained to the stake, and wood and reeds set about him, so that nothing wanted but the firing; but still abode Cardmaker talking with the sheriffs.

The people, which before had heard that Cardmaker would recant, and beholding this manner of doing, were in a marvellous dump and sadness, thinking indeed that Cardmaker should now recant at the burning of Warne.

At length Cardmaker departed from the sheriffs, and came towards the stake, and, in his garments as he was, kneeled down and made a long prayer in silence to himself: yet the people confirmed themselves in their fancy of recanting, seeing him in his garments, praying secretly, and no semblance of any burning.

His prayers being ended, he rose up, put off his clothes unto his shirt, went with bold courage to the stake, and kissed it sweetly: he took Warne by the hand, and comforted him heartily, and so gave himself to be bound also to the stake most gladly. The people seeing this so suddenly done, contrary to their fearful expectation, as men delivered out of a great doubt, cried out for joy, with so great a shout as hath not been heard a greater, saying, "God be praised! The Lord strengthen thee, Cardmaker, the Lord Jesus receive thy spirit." And thus continued while the executioner put fire to them, and they both passed through the fire to the blessed rest and peace among God's holy saints and martyrs, to enjoy the crown of triumph and victory prepared for the elect soldiers and warriors of Christ Jesus in his blessed kingdom. To whom be glory and majesty for ever. Amen.

*The Confession of the Faith of John Warne, Citizen of London, which he wrote the day before he was burned, the 30th day of May, anno 1555. As good a Comment on the Apostle's Creed as is to be found.*

"I believe in God the Father Almighty, and maker of heaven and earth.

A Father, because he is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the everlasting Word, which Word was made flesh, and therein also manifested to be his Son; in whom he hath adopted us to be his children, the inheritors of his kingdom, and therefore he is our Father; and Almighty God, because he hath of nothing created all things visible and invisible, both in heaven and in earth, even all creatures contained therein, and governeth them.

"And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord.

The eternal Word, perfect God with his Father, of equal power in all things, of the same substance, of like glory, by whom all things were made and have life, and without whom nothing liveth: he was made also perfect man, and so being very God and very Man in one Person, is the only Saviour, Redeemer, and Ransomer, of them which were lost in Adam our forefather. He is the only mean of our deliverance, the hope of our health, the surety of our salvation.

"Which was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary.

According to the Father's most merciful promise, this eternal Son of God, forsaking the heavenly glory, humbled himself to take flesh of a Virgin, according to the scriptures, uniting the substance of the Godhead to the substance of the Manhood, which he took of the substance of that blessed Virgin Mary in one Person, to become therein the very Messiah, the anointed king and Priest, for ever appointed to pacify the Father's wrath, which was justly gone out against us all for our sin.

"Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried, and descended into hell.

He was arraigned before Pontius Pilate the ruler of Jewry, and so unjustly accused of many crimes, that the ruler judged him innocent, and sought means to deliver him; but, contrary to known justice, he did let go Barabbas, which had deserved death, and delivered Christ to be crucified, who deserved no death: which doth declare unto us manifestly that he suffered for our sins, and was buffeted for our offences, as the prophets do witness; thereby to have it

manifested to all men, that he is that Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world. Therefore suffering for our sins, he received and did bear our deserved condemnation, the pains of death, the taste of abjection, the very terror of hell, yielding his spirit to his Father, his body to be buried in earth.

*"The third day he rose again from death to life."*

To make full and perfect the whole work of our redemption and justification, the same crucified body which was laid in the grave, was raised up again the third day from death, by the power of his Father, and the glory of his Godhead: he became the first-fruits of the resurrection, and got the victory of death, that all by him might be raised up from death. Through whom all true penitent sinners may now boldly come unto the Father, and have remission of their sins.

*"He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty."*

After that in his death and resurrection he had conquered sin, death, and the devil, and had been conversant forty days in the earth, being seen of the apostles, and more than five hundred brethren at once, in the same body in which he wrought the work of our salvation, he ascended into heaven with eternal triumph, for the victory over death, sin, hell leaving the passage open, by which all true believers may and shall enter into his kingdom, where he now sitteth at his Father's right hand, that is to say, in power and glory equal, in majesty co-eternal.

*"From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead."*

He shall appear again in great glory to receive his followers unto himself, and to put his enemies under his feet, changing all living men in a moment, and raising up all that be dead, that all may be brought to his judgment. In this shall he give each man according to his deeds. They which have followed him in regeneration, which have their sins washed away in his blood, and are clothed with his righteousness, shall receive the everlasting kingdom, and reign with him for ever; and they which, after the race of the corrupt generation of Adam, have followed flesh and blood, shall receive everlasting damnation with the devil and his angels.

*"I believe in the Holy Ghost."*

I do believe that the Holy Ghost is God, the third person in Trinity, in unity of the Godhead equal with the Father and the Son, given through Christ to inhabit our spirits, by which we are made to feel and understand the great power, virtue, and lovingkindness, of Christ our Lord. For he illuminateth, quickeneth, and certifieth, our spirit, that by him we are sealed up unto the day of redemption, by whom we are regenerate and made new creatures, so that by him and through him we do receive all the abundant goodness promised us in Jesus Christ.

*"The Holy Catholic Church."*

This is an holy number of Adam's posterity, elected, gathered, washed, and purified, by the blood of the Lamb, from the beginning of the world, and is dispersed through the same by the tyranny of Gog and Magog; that is to say, the Turk and his tyranny, and Antichrist, otherwise named the bishop of Rome, and his angels, as this day also doth teach.

*"The communion of saints."*

Which most holy congregation (being, as Paul teacheth, builded upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ being the head corner-stone,) though it be by the tyranny of Satan and his ministers persecuted, some by

imprisonment, some by death, and some by other afflictions and painful torments; yet doth it remain in one perfect unity, both in faith and fellowship: which unity is knit in an unspeakable knot, as well of them which are departed from this mortal life, as of them which now be living, and hereafter shall be in the same, and so shall continue until they all do meet in the kingdom, where the head, Jesus Christ, with all his holy members, (of which number through Christ I assuredly believe I am one,) shall be fully complete, knit, and united together for evermore.

*"The forgiveness of sins."*

I do believe that my sins, and all their sins which do rightly believe the holy scripture, are forgiven only through Jesus Christ, of whom only I do profess that I have my whole and full salvation and redemption, which St. Paul saith cometh not through our works and deservings, but freely by grace, lest any should boast himself. Through the blood of the cross all things in heaven and earth are reconciled, and set at peace with the Father; without him no heavenly life given, nor sin forgiven.

*"The resurrection of the body."*

I do believe that, by the same my Saviour Christ, I and all men shall rise again from death; for he, as St. Paul saith, is risen again from the dead, and is become the first-fruits of them which sleep. For by man came death, and by a Man cometh the resurrection from death. This Man is Christ, through the power of whose resurrection I believe that we all shall rise again in these our bodies: the elect clothed with immortality, to live with Christ for ever; the reprobate also shall rise immortal, to live with the devil and his angels in death everlasting.

*"And the life everlasting."*

Through the same Jesus, and by none other, I am sure to have life everlasting. He only is the way and entrance into the kingdom of heaven. "For so God loved the world, that he did give his only Son Jesus Christ, to the end that so many as do believe in him might have everlasting life. The which I am sure to possess so soon as I am dissolved, and departed out of this tabernacle, and in the last day shall both body and soul possess the same for ever; to the which God grant all men to come."

I believe that the sacraments, that is to say, of baptism and of the Lord's supper, are seals of God's most merciful promise towards mankind. In baptism, as by the outward creature of water I am washed from the filthiness which hangeth on my flesh; so do I assuredly believe, that I am by Christ's blood washed clean from my sins, through which I have sure confidence of my certain salvation. In the partaking of the Lord's supper, as I receive the substance of bread and wine, the nature of which is to strengthen the body; so do I, by faith, receive the redemption wrought in Christ's body broken on the cross, life by his death, resurrection by his resurrection, and, in sum, all that ever Christ in his body suffered for my salvation, to the strengthening of my faith in the same. And I believe, that God hath appointed the eating and drinking of the creatures of bread and wine in his holy supper, according to his word, to move and stir up my mind to believe these articles above written.

This is my faith; this do I believe: and I am content by God's grace to confirm and seal the truth of the same with my blood.

By me, JOHN WARNE.

*A Letter of John Cardmaker to a certain friend of his.*

"The peace of God be with you. You shall right well perceive that I am not gone back, as some men do report

me, but as ready to give my life as any of my brethren that are gone before me, although by a policy I have a little prolonged it, and that for the best, as already it appeareth unto me, and shall shortly appear unto all. That day that I recant any point of doctrine, I shall suffer twenty kinds of death, the Lord being mine assistance, as I doubt not but he will. Commend me to my friend, and tell him no less. This the Lord strengthen you, me, and all his elect. My riches and poverty is as it was wont to be, and I have learned to rejoice in poverty as well as riches; for that I account now to be, be very riches. Thus fare ye well in Christ. Salute all my brethren in my name. I have conferred with some of my adversaries, learned men, and I find that they be but sophists and shadows."

*A Note concerning Mr. Cardmaker.*

Mr. Cardmaker being condemned, and in Newgate, one Beard, a promoter, came to him two or three days before he was burned, and said unto him, Sir, I am sent unto you by the council, to know whether ye will recant, or no?

*Car.* From which council are you come? I think ye are not come, nor yet sent, from the queen's council, but rather from the commissioners, unto whom as I suppose ye belong. And whereas ye would know whether I will recant or no: Thus I pray you report of me to those who ye said sent you: I know you are a tailor by your occupation, and have endeavoured yourself to be a cunning workman, and thereby to get your living: so I have been a preacher these twenty years, and ever since that God by his great mercy hath opened mine eyes to see his eternal truth, I have by his grace endeavoured myself to call upon him, to give me the true understanding of his holy word, and I thank him for his great mercy; I hope I have discharged my conscience in the setting forth of the same, to that little talent that I have received.

*Beard.* Yea, sir; but what say you to the blessed sacrament of the altar?

*Car.* I say, and mark it well, that Christ the night before his bitter passion ordained the holy and blessed communion, and hath given commandment, that his death should be preached before the receiving thereof, in remembrance of his body broken, and his precious blood shed for the forgiveness of our sins, to as many as faithfully believe and trust in him.

And furthermore, to conclude the matter briefly with him, he asked of him, Whether the sacrament he spoke of had a beginning or no? Whereunto when he had granted and affirmed the same to be, then Mr. Cardmaker again thus inferred thereupon: If the sacrament, as you confess, have a beginning and an ending, then it cannot be God; for God had no beginning nor ending. And so willing him well to note the same, he departed from him.

The fifth day, Mr. Secretary Bourne, the master of the rolls, sir Francis Englefield, sir Richard Read, and Dr. Hughes, authorizing them, or two or three of them at the least, to proceed to further examination of Benger, Cary, D. and Field, upon such points as they shall gather out of their former confessions, touching their lewd and vain practices of calculating or conjuring, presently sent unto them with the said letters.

The seventh day there was another letter to sir John Tregonwell, willing him to join in commission with the said lord North, and others above-named, about the examination of the said parties and others, for conjuring and witchcraft.

And the 29th of August, Cary and D. were set at liberty upon bonds for their good appearing until Christmas after.

The twelfth day a letter was sent to the lord treasurer, to cause writs to be made to the sheriff of Sussex, for the burning and executing of Dirike, a brewer, at Lewes, and other two, the one at Stainings, the other at Chichester.

The 23d of June a letter was sent to Bonner to examine a report given to the council, of four parishes within the shire of Essex, that would still use the English service, and to punish the offenders, if any such be.

*The Story of JOHN ARDELEY and JOHN SIMPSON, of the Parish of Wigborough the Great, in Essex.*

With Mr. Cardmaker and John Warne, upon the same day, and in the same company, and for the same cause, was also condemned *John Ardeley* and *John Simpson*, the 25th day of May. But before we may come to the story of them, first here is to be noted the copy of the king and queen's letter, directed from the court the same day, and sent by a post early in the morning to the bishop, in tenor and form as followeth:

*"To the Right Reverend Father in God, our right trusty and well-beloved, the Bishop of London.*

*"Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And where of late we addressed our letters to the justices of peace within every of the counties of this our realm, whereby amongst other instructions given them for the good order and quiet government of the country round about them, they are willed to have a special regard unto such disordered persons as, forgetting their duties towards God and us, do lean to any erroneous and heretical opinions, refusing to shew themselves conformable to the Catholic religion of Christ's church; wherein if they cannot by good admonitions and fair reasons reform them, they are willed to deliver them to the ordinary, to be by him charitably travelled withal, and removed (if it may be) from their naughty opinions; or else, if they continue obstinate, to be ordered according to the laws provided in that behalf: understanding now, to our no little marvel, that divers of the said disordered persons, being by the justices of peace, for their contempt and obstinacy, brought to the ordinaries to be used as aforesaid, are either refused to be received at their hands, or if they be received, are neither so travelled with, as Christian charity requireth, nor yet proceeded withal according to the order of justice, but are suffered to continue in their errors, to the dishonour of Almighty God, and dangerous example of others; like as we find this matter very strange, so we have thought convenient both to signify our knowledge, and therewith also to admonish you to have in this behalf such regard henceforth to the office of a good pastor and bishop, as when any such offenders shall be by the said officers or justices of peace brought unto you, to use your good wisdom and discretion in procuring to remove them from their errors, if it may be, or else in proceeding against them (if they shall continue obstinate) according to the order of the laws; so as through your good furtherance, both God's glory may be better advanced, and the commonwealth more quietly governed.—Given under our signet, at our honour of Hampton Court, the 24th of May, the first and second years of our reigns."*

This letter thus coming from the court to the bishop, made him the more earnest and hasty to the condemnation, as well of others, as of these men, (of whom we have now

presently to treat,) John Simpson, I mean, and John Ardeley. Which being both of one county, and of one town together, and of one trade, that is, being both husbandmen in the town of Wigborough, in Essex, and also almost of one age, save that Simpson was of the age of 34, the other of 30, were brought up both together by the under sheriff of Essex, to Bonner, bishop of London, upon the accusation (as in that time it was called) of heresy.

As touching the order and manner of their examinations before the bishop: as the articles ministered against them were much alike, so their answers again unto the same were not much different in manner and form as those before.

Thus these articles being to them objected, and their answers made unto the same, the bishop, according to the old trade of his consistory court, respited them to the afternoon, bidding them to make their appearance the said day and place between the hours of two and three. At which time the said bishop repeating again the said articles unto them, and beginning with John Ardeley, did urge and solicit him, according to his manner of words, to recant.

To whom John Ardeley again, constantly standing to his professed religion, gave answer in words as followeth: My lord, (quoth he,) neither you, nor any other of your religion, is of the Catholic church; for you be of a false faith, and I doubt not but you shall be deceived at length, bear as good a face as ye can; ye will shed the innocent blood, and you have killed many, and yet go about to kill more, &c.

And added further, saying, If every hair of my head were a man, I would suffer death in the opinion and faith that I am now in.

These, with many other words, he spake. Then the bishop yet demanded, if he would relinquish his erroneous opinions, as he called them, and be reduced again to the unity of the church? He answered as followeth: No, God foreshield that I should so do, for then I should lose my soul.

After this, the said bishop asking John Ardeley, after his formal manner, if he knew any cause why he should not have sentence condemnatory against him? so read the condemnation: as he also did against John Simpson, standing likewise in the same cause and constancy with John Ardeley; which was done the 25th day of May. And so were they both committed to the secular power, that is, to the hands of the sheriffs, to be conveyed to the place where they should be executed. But before I come to their execution, here is not to be passed a thing not unworthy the looking upon, which happened in the closing up the examination of these two innocent martyrs of God, which is this:

At the time of the examination of this Simpson and John Ardeley aforesaid, there was assembled such a great multitude of people, that because the consistory was not able to hold them, they were fain to stand in the church, near about the said consistory, waiting to see the prisoners when they should depart. It happened, in the mean time, that the bishop being set in a heat with the stout and bold answers of the said two prisoners, especially of John Simpson, burst out in his loud and angry voice, and said, Have him away, have him away.

Now the people in the church hearing these words, and thinking (because the day was far spent) that the prisoners had their judgment, they being desirous to see the prisoners had to Newgate, severed themselves, one running one way, another another way, which caused such a noise in the church, that they in the consistory were all amazed, and marvelled what it should mean: wherefore the bishop also being somewhat afraid of this sudden stir, asked what there

was to do? The standers by answering, said, that there were like to be some tumult; for they were together by the ears.

When the bishop heard this, by and by his heart was in his heels, and, leaving his seat, he with the rest of the court betook them to their legs, hastening with all speed possible to recover the door that went into the bishop's house: but the rest, being somewhat lighter of foot than my lord, did sooner recover the door, and thronging hastily to get in, kept the bishop still out, and cried, Save my lord, save my lord! but meaning yet first to save themselves if any danger should come, whereby they gave the standers by good matter to laugh at; resembling in some part a spectacle not much unlike to the old stagers at Oxford, worse feared than hurt, when the church there was noised to be set on fire, whereof you may read before.—See page 305.

Now John Simpson and John Ardeley being delivered (as is aforesaid) to the sheriffs, were shortly after sent down from London to Essex, where both they in one day, which was about the 10th of June, were put to death, albeit in several places; for John Simpson suffered at Rochford, and John Ardeley the same day was had to Railey, where he finished his martyrdom most quietly in the quarrel of Christ's gospel.

#### *A Note of John Ardeley.*

For the better consideration of the rigorous cruelty of these Catholic days, this is worthy to be noted and known to all posterity, concerning the examinations of this Ardeley and his company, how that they being brought before the commissioners, were by them greatly charged of stubbornness and vain-glory. Unto whom they answered in defence of their own simplicity, that they were content willingly to yield to the queen all their goods and lands, so that they might be suffered to live under her, in keeping their consciences free from all idolatry and papistical religion. Yet this would not be granted, although they had offered all to their heart's blood: so greedy and so thirsty were these persecutors of Christian blood.

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*The ridiculous handling and proceeding of Bishop Bonner, and his mates, against JOHN TOOLY, first suspected and condemned after his death, and then digged out of his grave, and given to the secular power, and so burned for an heretic.*

About the same time of the burning of these two aforesaid, in the beginning of the said month of June, fell out a solemn process, and much ado was made about the pope's spirituality, against John Tooly in a case of heresy.—The story is this: There was, about the time that the Spaniards began first to keep a stir in England, one John Tooly, a citizen and poulterer in London, who conspired with certain others of his society to rob a Spaniard at St. James's; and although the deed was heinous and wicked of itself, yet was it aggravated and made greater than it was by others, being committed against such a person and against such a country, which both the queen and her whole court did highly favour. The robbers being known, and brought into judgment, this Tooly was found guilty, and judged to be hanged; whereas notwithstanding in this realm there are many more thefts committed than thieves executed.

The aforesaid Tooly being led to the gallows, which stood fast by Charing Cross, a little before he died, standing upon the cart, read a certain prayer in a printed book, and two other prayers written in two several papers: who then



having the halter about his neck, desired the people there present to pray for him, and to bear him witness that he died a true Christian man, and that he trusted to be saved only by the merits of Christ's passion and shedding of his precious blood, and not by any masses or trentals, images or saints, which were (as he said) mere idolatry and superstition, and devised by the bishop of Rome: and as the same Tooley, and two others his fellows which were there hanged with him, did steal and rob for covetousness, so the bishop of Rome did sell his masses and trentals, with such other paltry, for covetousness; and there being in a great anger, as appeared, against the bishop of Rome, spake with a loud voice these words following, From the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities; from false doctrine and heresy, and from the contempt of thy word and commandment; good Lord deliver us!

And then adding further to the same, he spake unto the people: All you that be true Christian men, say with me, Amen. And immediately thereupon 300 persons and more, to the judgment and estimation of those that were there present, answered and said, Amen, three times together at the least.

After this it happened, that when Tooley had read the bill the first time, it fell from him, and a certain young man, who was thought to be an apprentice, stooped down and took up the bill, and climbed up the cart, and delivered it unto Tooley again, which he again did read to the people. That done, he delivered unto one of the marshal's officers the book aforesaid, and willed him to deliver it unto one Hukes, saying, that it was his book. Furthermore, he delivered one of the prayers, written in a paper, to one Robert Bromeley, sergeant, who desired it of him. Upon the top of which bill was written a line containing these words, Beware of Antichrist; and subscribed underneath, "Per me, Thomas Harold, prisoner in the Marshalsea, an Enemy to Antichrist." For the bill aforesaid, Robert Bromeley was brought afterwards *coram nobis*, and was fain to ask pardon of the bishop, and to detest all the words of Tooley, and glad so to escape.

Thus while Tooley had made his prayers (as is above said) to be delivered from the pope's tyranny, by the same prayer he fell into great tyranny: for so soon as the noise of this fact came unto the ears of the priests and mitred prelates, they were not a little mad, thinking it not tolerable that so great a reproach should be done against the holy father. Calling therefore for a council together, as though it had been a matter of great importance, Tooley's talk at his death was debated among themselves.

At last, after much *pro* and *contra*, they all consented to those men's judgment, which thought it meet that the violating of the pope's holiness should be revenged with fire and faggot. Cardinal Pole was no small actor in this sentence: for as Winchester and Bonner did always thirst after the blood of the living, so Pole's lightning was for the most part kindled against the dead; and he reserved this charge only to himself, I know not for what purpose, except, peradventure being loath to be so cruel as the other, he thought nevertheless by this means to discharge his duty towards the pope. By the same cardinal's like lightning and fiery fist the bones of Martin Bucer and Paulus Phagius, which had lien almost two years in their graves, were taken up and burned at Cambridge, as Tooley's carcase was here at London. And besides this, because he would shew some token of his diligence in both universities, he caused Peter Martyr's wife (a woman of worthy memory) to be digged out of the churchyard, and to be buried on the dunghill.

But now to our purpose of Tooley: who having ended his prayer, was hanged and put into his grave, out of which he was digged again, by the commandment of the bishops: and because he was so bold to derogate the authority of the bishop of Rome, at the time of his death, it pleased them to judge and condemn him as an heretic, upon the commandment of the council's letter, as here appeareth.

*A Letter sent unto Bonner, Bishop of London, from the Council.*

"After our very hearty commendations to your lordship: Understanding that of late, amongst others that have suffered about London for their offences, one lewd person, that was condemned for felony, died very obstinately, professing at the time of his death sundry heretical and erroneous opinions; like as we think it not convenient that such a matter should be overpassed without some example to the world, so we thought good to pray your lordship to cause further inquiry to be made thereof, and thereupon to proceed to the making out of such process as by the ecclesiastical laws is provided in that behalf. And so we bid your lordship heartily well to fare. From Hampton Court, the 28th of April, 1555.

"Your lordship's loving friends,

"Ste. Winton, Cha.  
F. Shrewsbury,  
John Gage,

Thomas Cheney,  
R. Rochester,  
William Peter,

Richard Southwell."

Anon after a citation was set up upon Paul's church door, under the bishop of London's great seal; the tenor whereof here ensueth:

*The Writ or Mandate of Bonner, Bishop of London, set up at Charing Cross, on St. Paul's church door, and at St. Martin's-in-the-Field, for the citing and further inquiring out of the case of John Tooley.*

"Edmund, by the sufferance of God, bishop of London, to all and singular persons, vicars, curates, and others, clerks, and learned men, being within our diocese of London, and especially unto Richard Clonie, our sworn sumner, greeting, salutation, and benediction. Forsomuch as it is come to our hearing by common fame and the declaration of sundry credible persons, that one John Tooley, late citizen and poulterer of London, the son of perdition and iniquity, coming to the profundity of malice in the self-same time in the which he should go to hanging, according to the laws of the realm, for the great theft lately by him committed, at which time chiefly he should have cared for the wealth of his soul, and to have died in the unity of the Catholic church, did utter divers and sundry damnable, blasphemous, and heretical opinions and errors, utterly contrary and repugnant to the verity of the Catholic faith and unity of the same, and did exhort, stir up, and encourage the people, there standing in great multitude, to hold and defend the same errors and opinions. And, moreover, certain of the people there standing, as it did appear, affected with errors and heresies, as fautors and defenders of the said John, did conform and give express consent to the aforesaid words, propositions, and affirmations; which thing we do utter with sorrow and bitterness of heart.

"We therefore, the aforesaid Edmund, and bishop above-said, not being able nor daring to pass over in silence, nor wink at the aforesaid heinous act, lest by our negligence and slackness the blood of them might be required at our hands at the most terrible day of judgment, desiring to be certified



whether the premises declared unto us be of the truth, and lest that any scabbed sheep, lurking among the simple flock of our Lord, do infect them with pestiferous heresy: to you, therefore, we straitly charge and command that you cite, or cause to be cited, all and singular having and knowing the truth of the premises, by setting up this citation upon the church door of St. Martin's in the Fields, being within our diocese of London, and also upon the cathedral church door of St. Paul's in London, leaving there the copy thereof, or by other means or ways, the best you can, that this citation and monition may come to their knowledge.

"All which and singular by the tenor of these presents we cite and admonish that they appear, and every one of them do appear before us, our vicar-general, or commissary, whatsoever he be in that behalf, in our cathedral church of St. Paul in London, in the consistory place, upon Thursday the 2d day of May now next ensuing, betwixt the hours of nine and ten of the clock in the forenoon the same day, to bear witness of the truth in this behalf, and to depose and declare faithfully the truth that they know or have heard of the premises, and moreover to do and receive what law and reason doth receive.

"Further, we commit unto you as before, and straitly enjoining you, do command, that ye will generally cite the wife of the said Tooly that is dead, and his children, and his kindred by father and mother, his friends and his familiars in especial, and all other and every of them, if there be any perhaps that desire to defend and purge the remembrance of the person in the premises, that ye admonish them after the manner and form aforesaid, whom we likewise by the tenor of these presents do in such sort cite and monish that they appear all, and that every one of them do appear (under pain to be compelled to keep silence for ever hereafter in this behalf) before us, or our vicar-general in spiritual matters, or such our commissary, at the day, hour, and place aforesaid, to defend the good name and remembrance of him that is dead, and to say, allege, and propose, in due form of law, a cause reasonable, if they have or can tell of any, why the said John Tooly, that is dead, ought not to be determined and declared for such an heretic and excommunicate person, and his remembrance condemned in the detesting and condemning of so heinous a deed and crime, and his body or carcase to lack church-burial, as a rotten member cut off from the church, and the same to be committed to the arm and power secular, and they compelled hereafter for ever to hold their place.

"And furthermore, to do, receive, and to suffer as law and reason will, and as the quality of such matter, and the nature of themselves, do constrain and require; and, moreover, that you cite and monish, after the manner aforesaid, all and every of the receivers, fautors, and creditors, of the said John Tooly that is dead, especially if any of them do incline and give consent to those wicked and detestable affirmations, propositions, and rehearsals aforesaid, that on this side the said Thursday they return and submit themselves unto us, and to the lap of the holy mother church: which thing if they do, we trusting upon the mercy of Almighty God, do promise that we will receive them, being penitent for such of their errors and faults, with thanks, benignity, mercy, and favour, to the comfort and health of their own souls, and in that behalf save their honesties to the uttermost of our power: otherwise, if they will not provide thus to come of their own accord, but to abide the ordinary process of the law, let those men know that we will punish more severely this offence, according to the uttermost of the law, and as far as the law will bear it; and what

ye shall do in the premises, let him among you, which shall execute this our present mandate, certify us, or our vicar-general in spiritual matters, either by his own person, or by his letters patent, together with these authentically sealed.

"Dated at London, under our seal, the last day of April, 1555, and of our translation the eleventh."

When the time of this citation was expired, and this Tooly, being cited, did not appear; next in order of law came the *suspension*, (whereas one *suspension* had been enough for him) and after that cometh the excommunication, that is, that no man should eat and drink with him; or if any met him by the way, he should not bid him good morrow; and besides that, he should be excluded from the communion of the church! (Though the man were long ere this dead and buried.) These things being prepared in such manner, as in such cases full wisely they used to do, at length one stood out for the nonce, that made answer to certain articles rehearsed in judgment openly, and then in behalf of the dead man. But when the poor dead man could neither speak for himself, nor did (as they said) *sufficiently answer* them by the other, to avoid the name of an heretic; first, witnesses were provided against him, whose names were Henry Clark, esq. Thomas Way, keeper of the Marshalsea, Philip Andrew, under marshal, William Holingworth, fishmonger, William Gellard, William Walton, chandler, Richard Longman, merchant-tailor, Philip Britten, John Burton, brewer, Thomas Smith, sergeant. Then he was for an heretic condemned, and so committed to the secular power, namely, to the sheriffs of London, which with the like diligence went about to execute their charge. Therefore receiving the man, being suspended, excommunicated, condemned as an heretic, and, besides that, dead, they laid him on the fire to be burned, namely, *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*, for a continual remembrance thereof. This was done the 4th day of June.

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*Here followeth the History and Martyrdom of the worthy Servant of Christ, THOMAS HAUKEs, Gentleman, with his Examination and Answers had with Bishop Bonner, recorded and penned with his own hand.*

Immediately after the story of Dr. Taylor, mention before was made of six men brought before bishop Bonner upon the 8th day of February. The names of which martyrs were Stephen Knight, W. Pigot, Thos. Tomkins, J. Lawrence, and W. Hunter. In which number was also *Thomas Haukes*, and condemned likewise with them the 9th day of the aforesaid month of February. But because his execution did not so shortly follow with theirs, but was prolonged to this present 10th day of the month of June, wherewith we are now in hand; first we will begin briefly with his godly conversation, then shew his troubles, also his examinations and conflicts with the bishop and other adversaries.

He was of the county of Essex, born of an honest stock, by profession a courtier, brought up daintily from his childhood like a gentleman. Besides that, he was of such comeliness and stature, so well endued with excellent qualities, that he might seem on every side a man, as it were, made for the purpose. But his gentle behaviour towards others, and especially his fervent study and singular love unto true religion and godliness, did surmount all the rest. ~~Wherein~~ as God did singularly adorn him, even so he, being such a valiant martyr of God, may seem to nobilitate the whole company of other holy martyrs, and as a bright star to make the church of God and his truth (of themselves bright and clear) more gloriously to shine by his example.

For if the conquests of martyrs are the triumphs of Christ, as St. Ambrose writes, undoubtedly Christ in few men hath either conquered more notably, or triumphed more gloriously, than in this young man: he stood so wisely in his cause, so godly in his life, and so firm in his death.

As he grew in years, he entered into the service of the lord of Oxford, where he remained a good space, being right well esteemed and loved of all the household, so long as Edward VI. lived. But he dying, all things began to go backward, religion to decay, godliness not only to wax cold, but to be in danger every where, and chiefly in the houses of good men. Haukes misliking the state of things, and especially in such men's houses, rather than he would change the profession of true godliness which he had tasted, thought to change the place; and so forsaking the nobleman's house, departed thence to his own home, where more freely he might give himself to God, and use his own conscience.

But what place in this world shall a man find so secret for himself, whither the old serpent cannot creep, whereby he may have some matter to overthrow the quietness of the godly? Now in the mean season Haukes keeping his house at home, had born unto him a young son, whose baptism was deferred to the third week, for that he would not suffer him to be baptized after the papistical manner, which thing the adversaries, not able to suffer, laying hands upon him, did bring him to the earl of Oxford, there to be reasoned with, as not sound in religion, in that he seemed to condemn the sacraments of the church.

The earl, either intending not to trouble himself in such matters, or else seeing himself not able to weigh with him in such cases of religion, sent him up to London with a messenger and letters, and so, willing to clear his own hands, put him in the hands of Bonner, bishop of London; the contents of which letter sent to Bonner, are these:

*A Letter of the Earl of Oxford to Bonner.*

"Most reverend father in God, be it known unto you, that I have sent you one Thomas Haukes, dwelling in the county of Essex, who hath a child that hath remained unchristened more than three weeks; who, being upon the same examined, hath denied to have it baptized, as it is now used in the church; whereupon I have sent him to your good lordship, to use as ye think best, by your good discretion."

When the bishop had perused this letter, and afterwards read it to Mr. Haukes, he hearing the same, thought with himself that he should not be very well used, seeing he was put to his discretion. Then wrote the bishop a letter again to him that sent the prisoner, with many great thanks for his diligence in setting forth the queen's proceedings.

Then began the bishop to enter communication with Mr. Haukes, first asking, what should move him to leave his child unchristened so long? To whom Mr. Haukes answered thus again as followeth:

*Haukes.* Because we be bound to do nothing contrary to the word of God.

*Bonner.* Why, baptism is commanded by the word of God.

*Haukes.* His institution therein I do not deny.

*Bonner.* What deny ye then?

*Haukes.* I deny all things invented and devised by man.

*Bonner.* What things be those that be devised by man, that ye be so offended withal?

*Haukes.* Your oil, cream, salt, spittle, candles, and conjuring of water, &c.

*Bonner.* Will you deny that which all the whole world, and your father, hath been contented withal?

*Haukes.* What my father and all the whole world hath done, I have nothing to do withal; but what God hath commanded me to do, to that stand I.

*Bonner.* The Catholic church hath taught it.

*Haukes.* What is the Catholic church?

*Bonner.* It is the faithful congregation, wheresoever it be dispersed throughout the whole world.

*Haukes.* Who is the head thereof?

*Bonner.* Christ is the head thereof.

*Haukes.* Are we taught in Christ, or in the Church, now?

*Bonner.* Have ye not read in the eighth of John, where he saith he would send his Comforter, which should teach you all things?

*Haukes.* I grant you it is so, that he would send his Comforter: but to what end? Forsooth to this end, that he should lead you into all truth; and that is not to teach a new doctrine.

*Bonner.* Ah, sir, ye are a right scripture man. For ye will have nothing but the scripture. There is a great number of your countrymen of your opinion. Do you know one Knight and Pygot?

*Haukes.* Knight I know, but Pygot I do not know.

*Bonner.* I thought ye were acquainted with him: it seemeth so by your judgment. What preachers do ye know in Essex?

*Haukes.* I know none.

*Bonner.* Do ye not know one Baget there?

*Haukes.* Yes, forsooth, I know him.

*Bonner.* What manner of man is he?

*Haukes.* An honest man, so far as I know.

*Bonner.* Do you know him if you see him?

*Haukes.* Yea, that I do.

(Then said he to one of his servants, Go call me Baget hither.)

*Bonner.* Ye seem to be a very proud man, and stubborn. (He that brought me up stood all this while by.)

*Haukes.* What should move you lordship so to say?

*Bonner.* Because I see in a man that came with you much humility and lowliness.

*Haukes.* It seemeth your lordship speaketh that to me, because I made no courtesy to you.

And with that came Baget. Then the bishop said to Baget, How say ye, sir, know ye this man?

*Baget.* Yea, forsooth my lord; (with that Baget and I shook hands.)

Then said the bishop to Baget, Sir, this man hath a child which hath lien three weeks unchristened, as I have letters to shew, who refuseth to have it baptized as it is now used in the church: how say you thereto?

*Baget.* Forsooth, my lord, I say nothing thereto (with low courtesy to the hard ground.)

*Bonner.* Say you nothing thereto! I will make you tell me whether it be laudable, and to be frequented and used in the church, or not.

*Baget.* I beseech your lordship to pardon me: he is old enough, let him answer for himself.

*Bonner.* Ah, sir knave, are ye at that point with me? Go call me the Porter, (said he to one of his men.) Thou shalt sit in the stocks, and have nothing but bread and water. I perceive I have kept you too well. Have I made thus much of you, and have I you at this point!

Then came the bishop's man, and said, The porter is gone to London. Then said the bishop to Baget, Come with me. And he went away with him, and commanded me away, and bade one of his gentlemen to talk with me, who was one of his own teaching: who desired, amongst other things, to

knew of me with whom I was acquainted in Essex, and what men they were that were my teachers?

*Haukes.* When I see your commission, I will make you answer. And then immediately came the bishop again: but ere he came, his man and I had much talk. Then the bishop sat down under a vine in his orchard, and called Baget to him, (whom he carried away, and brought again,) and called me also, and said to Baget, How say you now, sir, unto baptism? Say whether it be to be frequented and used in the church, as it is now, or no?

*Baget.* Forsooth, my lord, I say it is good.

*Bonner.* I befool your heart; could ye not have said so before? Ye have wounded this man's conscience. Then the bishop turned to me, and said, How say ye now, sir, this man is turned and converted.

*Haukes.* I build my faith neither upon this man, neither upon you, but only upon Christ Jesus, who (as St. Paul saith) is the founder and author of all men's faith.

*Bonner.* I perceive ye are a stubborn fellow. I must be glad to work another way with you, to win ye.

*Haukes.* Whatsoever ye do, I am ready to suffer it: for I am in your hands to abide it.

*Bonner.* Well, ye are so, come on your ways, ye shall go in, and I will use you christian-like: you shall have meat and drink, such as I have in my house: but in any wise talk not.

*Haukes.* I propose to talk nothing but the word of God and truth.

*Bonner.* I will have no heresy talked on in my house.

*Haukes.* Why, is the truth become heresy? God hath commanded that we should have none other talk in our houses, in our beds, at our meat, and by the way, but all truth.

*Bonner.* If ye will have my favour, be ruled by my counsel.

*Haukes.* Then I trust you will grant me my request.—

*Bonner.* What is that?

*Haukes.* That your doctors and servants give me none occasion: for if they do, I will surely utter my conscience. Then commanded he his men to take in Baget, and let not Haukes and him talk together. And so thus we departed, and went to dinner, and I dined at the steward's table.

After dinner, his chaplains and his men began to talk with me. But amongst all other, there was one Darbshire, principal of Broadgates in Oxford, and the bishop's kinsman, who said to me, That I was too curious: for ye will have, said he, nothing but your little pretty God's books. And is it not sufficient for my salvation? said I.—Yea, said he, it is sufficient for our salvation, but not for our instruction.—God send me the salvation, and you the instruction, returned I.

And as we thus reasoned, came the bishop, who said unto me, I gave you a commandment that you should not talk.

*Haukes.* And I desired you that your doctors and servants should give me none occasion. Then went we into his orchard again, he and his doctors and I.

*Bonner.* Would not ye be contented to have that your child should be christened after the book that was set out by king Edward?

*Haukes.* Yes, with a good will: it is a thing that I desire.

*Bonner.* I thought so; ye would have the same thing. The principal is in the name of the Father, the Son, and of the Holy Ghost? and in the necessity it may serve.

*Haukes.* Christ did use it without any such necessity: and yet we lack the chiefest point.

*Bonner.* What is that?

*Haukes.* Go teach all nations, baptizing them, &c.

*Bonner.* Thou speakest that because I am no preacher.

*Haukes.* I speak the text; I do not mean you. Thou spake all the doctors, and his men that were with him, He spake it of you, my lord: with a great noise that they made.

*Bonner.* Will ye be content to tarry here, and your child shall be baptized, and you shall not know of it, so that you will agree to it!

*Haukes.* If I would so have done, I needed not to have come to you: for I had the same counsel given before.

*Bonner.* You seem to be a lusty young man; you will not give your head for the washing; you will not stand in the defence of it for the honour of your country. Do ye think that the queen and I cannot command it to be done in spite of your teeth?

*Haukes.* What the queen and you can do, I will not stand in it: but ye get my consent never the sooner.

*Bonner.* Well, you are a stubborn young man: I perceive I must work another way with you.

*Haukes.* Ye are in the hands of God, and so am I.

*Bonner.* Whatsoever you think, I will not have you speak such words unto me.

And so he departed until even-song time: and ere even-song was begun, my lord called for me to come to him into the chapel, and said, Haukes, thou art a proper young man, and God hath done his part unto thee: I would be glad to do thee good. Thou knowest that I am thy pastor, and one that should answer for thee. If I would not teach thee well, I should answer for thy soul.

*Haukes.* That I have said, I will stand to it, God willing; there is no way to remove it.

*Bonner.* Nay, nay, Haukes, thou shalt not be so wilful. Remember, Christ bade two go into his vineyard: the one said he would, and went not; the other said he would not, and went.

*Haukes.* The last went.

*Bonner.* Do thou likewise, and I will talk friendly with thee. How sayest thou? It is in the 6th of St. John, "I am the bread of life, and the bread that I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world. And whosoever eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath everlasting life. My flesh is very meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. And he that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him." Do ye believe this?

*Haukes.* Yea, I must needs believe the scriptures.

*Bonner.* Why then, I trust that you be sound in the blessed sacrament.

*Haukes.* I beseech your lordship to feel my conscience no farther than in that that I was accused in unto you.

*Bonner.* Well, well, let us go unto even-song.—(With that I turned my back to go out of the chapel.)

*Bonner.* Why, will you not tarry even-song?

*Haukes.* No, forsooth.

*Bonner.* And why?—*Haukes.* For I will not.

*Bonner.* And why will ye not?

*Haukes.* Because I have no edifying thereby, for I understand no Latin.

*Bonner.* Why, you may pray by yourself. What books have ye?

*Haukes.* I have the New Testament, the books of Solomon, and the Psalter.

*Bonner.* Why, I pray you tarry here, and pray you on your Psalter.

*Haukes.* I will not pray in this place, nor in any such.—Then said one of his chaplains, Let him go, my lord, and he shall be no partaker with us in our prayers.

*Haukes.* I think myself best at ease when I am farthest from you.—And so the bishop went to even-song, and I came down and walked between the hall and the chapel in the court, and tarried there till even-song was done; and within an hour after that even-song was done, the bishop sent for me into his chamber where he lay himself; and when I came, there was he and three of his chaplains.

*Bonner.* You know of the talk that was between you and me, as concerning the sacrament. You would not have your conscience sought any farther than in that ye were accused of.

*Haukes.* I thought you would not be both mine accuser and judge.

*Bonner.* Well, ye shall answer me to the sacrament of the altar, the sacrament of baptism, the sacrament of penance, and the sacrament of matrimony.

*Haukes.* There is none of these but I dare speak my conscience in them.

*Bonner.* The sacrament of the altar ye seem to be sound in.

*Haukes.* In the sacrament of the altar? why, sir, I do not know it.

*Bonner.* Well, we will make you know it, and believe in it too, ere we have done with you.

*Haukes.* No, that shall ye never do.

*Bonner.* Yes, a faggot will make you do it.

*Haukes.* No, no, a point for your faggot! What God thinketh meet to be done, that shall ye do, and more ye shall not do.

*Bonner.* Do ye not believe that there remaineth in the blessed sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration be spoken, no more bread, but the very body and blood of Christ? (and at that word he put off his cap.)

*Haukes.* I do believe as Christ hath taught me.

*Bonner.* Why, did not Christ say, "Take, eat, this is my body?"

*Haukes.* Christ said so; but therefore it followeth not that the sacrament of the altar is so as you teach, neither did Christ ever teach it so to be.

*Bonner.* Why, the Catholic church taught it so, and they were of Christ's church.

*Haukes.* How prove you it? the apostles never taught it so. Read Acts the 2d and the 20th. Neither Peter nor Paul ever taught it, neither instituted it so.

*Bonner.* Ah, sir, you will have no more than the scripture teacheth, but even as Christ hath left it bare.

*Haukes.* He that teacheth me any otherwise, I will not believe him.

*Bonner.* Why? then ye must eat a lamb, if ye will have but Christ's institution only.

*Haukes.* Nay, that is not so; before that Christ did institute the sacrament, that ceremony ceased, and then began the sacrament.

*Bonner.* Alas, you know not how it began, neither of the institution thereof.

*Haukes.* Then I would be glad to learn.

*Bonner.* Marry! we will teach you: but you are so stubborn that you will not learn.

*Haukes.* Except ye learn me by the word of God, I will never credit you, nor believe you.

And thus we concluded. Then the bishop and his chaplains laughed, and said, Jesu, Jesu, what a stubbornness and arrogantness is this! and this was in his chamber where he lay.—Then said the bishop to me, Go ye down and drink, for it is fasting day; it is Midsummer even: but I think ye love neither fasting nor praying.

*Haukes.* I will never deny fasting, neither praying, so that it be done as it ought to be done, and without hypocrisy or vain glory.

*Bonner.* I like you the better for that: and so we left for that night.

The next day the bishop went to London: for Fecknam was made dean that day, and I tarried still at Fulham. Then did the bishop's men desire me to come to mass; but I did utterly refuse it, answering them as I did their master. That night the bishop came home to Fulham again.

#### *Talk between Harpsfield and Thomas Haukes.*

Then upon the Monday morning very early the bishop did call for me. There was with him Harpsfield, archdeacon of London, to whom the bishop said, This is the man which I told you of, who would not have his child christened, nor will have any ceremonies.

*Harpsfield.* Christ used ceremonies: did he not take clay from the ground, and took spittle, and made the blind man to see?

*Haukes.* I wot well that, but Christ did never use it in baptism. If ye will needs have it, put it to the use that Christ put it unto.

*Harpsfield.* Admit your child die unchristened, what a heavy case stand you in!

*Haukes.* I admit that if it do, what then?

*Harpsfield.* Marry, then are you damned, and your child both.

*Haukes.* Judge you no farther than ye may by the scriptures.

*Harpsfield.* Do ye not know that your child is born in original sin?

*Haukes.* Yes, that I do.

*Harpsfield.* How is original sin washed away?

*Haukes.* By true faith and belief of Christ Jesus.

*Harpsfield.* How can your child, being an infant, believe?

*Haukes.* The deliverance of it from sin standeth in the faith of his parents.

*Harpsfield.* How prove you that?

*Haukes.* By St. Paul, in the 7th and 1st to the Corinthians, saying, "The unbelieving man is sanctified by the believing woman, and the unbelieving woman is sanctified by the believing man, or else were your children unclean."

*Harpsfield.* I will prove that they whom thou puttest thy trust in, will be against thee in this opinion.

*Haukes.* Who be those?

*Harpsfield.* Your great learned men in Oxford.

*Haukes.* If they do it by the scriptures, I will believe them.

*Bonner.* Recant, recant: do ye not know that Christ said, "Except ye be baptized, ye cannot be saved?"

*Haukes.* Doth Christianity stand in outward ceremonies, or no?

*Bonner.* Partly it doth: what say you to that?

*Haukes.* I say as St. Peter saith, "Not the washing of water purgeth the filthiness of the flesh, but a good conscience consenting unto God."

*Harpsfield.* Beware of pride, brother; beware of pride.

*Haukes.* It is written, "Pride serveth not for men, nor yet for the sons of men."

*Bonner.* Let us make an end here. How say you to the mass, sirrah?

*Haukes.* I say it is detestable, abominable, and profitable for nothing.

*Bonner.* What, nothing profitable in it! what say you to the epistle and gospel?

*Haukes.* It is good, if it be used as Christ left it to be used.

**Bonner.** Well, I am glad that ye somewhat recant; recant all, recant all.

**Haukes.** I have recanted nothing, nor will do.

**Bonner.** How say you to *Confiteor*?

**Haukes.** I say it is abominable and detestable, yea, and a blasphemy against God and his Son Christ, to call upon any, to trust to any, or to pray to any, save only to Christ Jesus.

**Bonner.** To trust to any, we bid you not: but to call upon them, and to pray to them, we bid you. Do ye not know when ye come into the court, ye cannot speak with the king and the queen, unless ye call to some of the privy council, that are next to the king and queen?

**Haukes.** They that list, let them receive your doctrine. You teach me that I should not believe nor trust in any, but to call on them: and St. Paul saith, "How shall I call upon him, on whom I believe not?"

**Bonner.** Will you have nobody to pray for you when you be dead?

**Haukes.** No, surely, except you can prove it by the scriptures.—Then the bishop pointed unto Harpsfield, and said unto me, Is it not well done to desire this man to pray for me?—Yes surely, said I; so long as we live, prayer of the righteous man is available: but this man's prayers, you being dead, profiteth nothing at all.

**Bonner.** Will you grant the prayer of the righteous man to prevail?

**Haukes.** I grant it doth for the living, but not for the dead.—**Bonner.** Not for the dead?

No, forsooth, (said I,) for David saith, "No man can deliver his brother from death, nor make an agreement unto God for him: for it cost more to redeem their souls, so that ye must let that alone for ever." Also, Ezekiel saith, "Though Noah, Daniel, or Job, dwelt among them, yet can they in their righteousness exceed no further than themselves."

Then the bishop said to Harpsfield, Sir, ye see this man hath no need of our Lady, neither of any of the blessed saints! Well, I will trouble you no longer; I did call you, hoping that you should do some good on him: but it will not be. And he said to me, Sir, it is time to begin with you: we will rid you away, and then we shall have one heretic less.

**Harpsfield.** What books have you?—**Haukes.** The New Testament, Solomon's books, and the Psalter.—**Harpsfield.** Will you read any other books?—**Haukes.** Yea, if you will give me such books as I will require?—**Harpsfield.** What books do you require?—**Haukes.** Latimer's books, my lord of Canterbury's books, Bradford's sermons, Ridley's books.

**Bonner.** Away, away! he will have no books but such as maintain his heresies. And so they departed; for Harpsfield was booted to ride unto Oxford, and I went to the porter's lodge again.

#### *The next Day's Talk.*

The next day came thither an old bishop, who had a pearl in his eye, and he brought with him to my lord a dish of apples and a bottle of wine: for he had lost his living, because he had a wife. Then the bishop called me again into the orchard, and said to the old bishop, This young man hath a child, and will not have it christened.

**Haukes.** I deny not baptism.

**Bonner.** Thou art a fool, thou canst not tell what thou wouldest have, (and that he spake with much anger.)

**Haukes.** A bishop must be blameless or faultless, sober, discreet, no chider, nor given to anger.—**Bonner.** Thou judgest me to be angry: no, by my faith, am I not; and stroked himself upon the breast.

Then said the old bishop, Alas, good young man, you must be taught by the church, and by your ancients, and do as your forefathers have done before you.

**Bonner.** No, no, he will have nothing but the scriptures; and God wot he doth not understand them. He will have no ceremonies in the church, no, not one. What say you to holy water?—**Haukes.** I say to it as to the rest, and to all that be of his making that made them.—**Bonner.** Why, the scriptures do allow it.—**Haukes.** Where prove you that?—**Bonner.** In the book of Kings, where Elizeus threw salt into the water.—**Haukes.** Ye say truth: that it is written in the fourth book of Kings, the second chapter. The children of the prophets came to Elizeus, saying, "The dwelling of the city is pleasant, but the waters be corrupted." This was the cause that Elizeus threw salt into the water, and it became sweet and good: and so, when our waters be corrupted, if ye can by putting in of salt make them sweet, clear, and wholesome, we will the better believe your ceremonies.

**Bonner.** How say you to holy bread?

**Haukes.** Even as I said to the other: What scriptures have you to defend it?—**Bonner.** Have ye not read where Christ fed five thousand men with five loaves and three fishes?—**Haukes.** Will ye make that holy bread? There Christ dealt fish with his holy bread.—**Bonner.** Look, I pray you, how captious this man is!—**Haukes.** Christ did not this miracle, or other, because we should do the like miracle, but because we should believe and credit his doctrine thereby.

**Bonner.** Ye believe no doctrine, but that which is wrought by miracles.

**Haukes.** No, forsooth: for Christ saith, "These tokens shall follow them that believe in me: they shall speak with new tongues, they shall cast out devils, and if they drink any deadly poison, it shall not hurt them."

**Bonner.** With what new tongues do ye speak?

**Haukes.** Forsooth, where before that I came to the knowledge of God's word I was a foul blasphemer and filthy talker; since I came to the knowledge thereof I have lauded God, praised God, and given thanks unto God, even with the same tongue: and is not this a new tongue?

**Bonner.** How do you cast out devils?

**Haukes.** Christ did cast them out by his word; and he hath left the same word, that whosoever doth credit and believe it, shall cast out devils.

**Bonner.** Did you ever drink any deadly poison?—**H.** Yea, forsooth, that I have: for I have drunken of the pestilent traditions and ceremonies of the bishop of Rome.

**Bonner.** Now you shew yourself to be a right heretic.—**H.** I pray you, what is heresy?—**Bon.** All things that are contrary to God's word.

**Haukes.** If I stand in any thing contrary thereto, then am I worthy to be so called.

**Bonner.** Thou art one, and thou shalt be burned, if thou stand and continue in this opinion. Ye think we are afraid to put one of you to death. Yes, yes, there is a brotherhood of you: but I will break it, I warrant you.

**Haukes.** Where prove you that Christ or his apostles did kill any man for his faith?

**Bonner.** Did not Paul excommunicate?—Yes, my lord, said I: but there is a great difference between excommunicating and burning.

**Bonner.** Have ye not read of the man and the woman, in the Acts of the Apostles, whom Peter destroyed?

**Haukes.** Yes, forsooth, I have read of one Ananias, and Sapphira his wife, which were destroyed for lying against the Holy Ghost; which serveth nothing to your purpose.



*Bonner.* Well, you will grant one yet.

*Haukes.* Well, if you will have us to grant you be of God, then shew mercy; for that God requireth.

*Bonner.* We will shew such mercy unto you as ye shewed unto us: for my benefice or bishopric was taken away from me, so that I had not one penny to live upon.

I pray ye, my lord, (said I,) what do you give him now that was in the bishopric or benefice before that ye came again to it? Whereunto he answered me never a word; for he turned his back unto me, and talked with other men, saying, that he was very sorry for me; but he trusted that I would turn with St. Paul, because I was so earnest. And so he departed and went to dinner, and I to the porter's lodge again. After dinner I was called into the hall again, and the bishop desired the old bishop to take me into his chamber: For I would be glad, said he, if ye would convert him.

So he took me into his chamber, and sat him down in a chair, and said to me: I would to God I could do you some good; ye are a young man, and I would not wish you to go too far, but learn of your elders to bear somewhat.—I will bear, said I, with nothing that is contrary to the word of God. And I looked that the old bishop should have made me an answer, and he was fast asleep!

Then I departed out of the chamber alone, and went to the porter's lodge again.

*Talk between Fecknam and Haukes.*

The next day came Fecknam unto me, and said, Are ye he that will have no ceremonies?

What mean you by that? said I.

*Fecknam.* Ye will not have your child christened, but in English, and you will have no ceremonies.

*Haukes.* Whatsoever the scripture commandeth to be done, I refuse not.

*Fecknam.* Ceremonies are to be used by the scriptures.—

*H.* Which be those?—*F.* How say you by Paul's breeches?—*H.* I have read no such thing.—*F.* Have ye not read in the Acts of the Apostles, how things went from Paul's body, and they received health thereby?—*H.* I have read in the 19th of the Acts, how there went partlets and napkins from Paul's body; is it that you mean?—*F.* Yea, the same is it: what say you to those ceremonies?

*Haukes.* I say nothing to the ceremonies: for the text saith, that God did so work by the hands of Paul, that there went partlets and napkins from him, &c. So that it seemeth by the text, that it was God that wrought, and not the ceremonies.

*Fecknam.* How say ye to the woman that came behind Christ, and touched the hem of his vesture: did not her disease depart from her by that ceremony?

*Haukes.* No, forsooth: for Christ turned back, and said to Peter, "Who is it that toucheth me? And Peter said, Thou seest the people thrust thee, and askest thou, Who touched me? Somebody hath touched me, (saith Christ,) for virtue hath gone out of me." I pray you whether was it the virtue that healed this woman, or his vesture?—*F.* Both.—Then (said I) is not Christ true: for he said, "Go thy way, thy faith hath made thee whole."

*Bonner.* Away, away to the sacrament, for these are but mere trifles to that.

*Fecknam.* How say ye, sirrah? Christ took bread, and brake it, and said, "Take, eat, this is my body."

*Haukes.* I grant Christ said so.

*Fecknam.* And is it not so?—*H.* No, forsooth, I do not understand it so.

*Fecknam.* Why, then is Christ a liar?—*H.* I think ye will so prove him.

*Fecknam.* Will I? why, I have spoken the words that Christ spake.

*Haukes.* Is every word to be understood as Christ spake it? Christ said, I am a door, a vine, I am a king, a way, &c.

*Fecknam.* Christ spake these words in parables.

*Haukes.* And why speaketh he this in parables when he said, I am a door, a vine, a king, a way, &c. more than this when he said, This is my body? For after the same phrase as he saith, This is my body, so saith he, I am a door, a vine, a king, a way; he saith not, like a door, like a vine, &c.

Then Fecknam stood up, and said, I had such an one before me this other day. Alas, these places serve nothing for your purposes. But I perceive ye hang and build on them that be at Oxford.

*Haukes.* What mean you by that?

*Fecknam.* I mean Latimer, Cranmer, and Ridley.

*Haukes.* I know nothing else by them, but that they be both godly and learned.

*Fecknam.* Wilt thou trust to such dolts? One of them hath written a book, wherein he affirmeth a real presence in the sacrament.

*Haukes.* What he hath done I know not, but what he doth I know.

*Fecknam.* Ridley hath preached at Paul's cross openly, that the devil believeth better than you: for he believeth that Christ is able of stones to make bread; and ye will not believe Christ's body in the sacrament, and yet thou buildest thy faith upon them.

*Haukes.* I build my faith upon no man, and that ye well know: for if those men, and as many more as they be, should recant, and deny that they have said or done, yet will I stand to it, and by this shall ye know that I build my faith upon no man.

*Bonner.* If any of those recant, what will ye say to it? When they recant (said I) I will make you an answer.

*Bonner.* Then thou wilt say as thou dost now, for all that. Yea, indeed will I, (returned I,) and trust to it, by God's grace.

Bonner said, I dare say Cranmer would recant, so that he might have his living. And so the bishop and Fecknam departed from me with great laughing, and I went again to the porter's lodge.

*Talk between Haukes and Chadsey.*

The next day came Dr. Chadsey to the bishop and me. The bishop declared unto him, that I had stood stubbornly in the defence against the christening of my child, and against the ceremonies of the church, and that I would not have it christened but in English.

Then said Dr. Chadsey, Then he denieth the order of the Catholic church.

*Bonner.* Yea, he thinketh that there is no church but in England and in Germany.

*Haukes.* And ye think that there is no church but the church of Rome?

*Chadsey.* What say ye to the church of Rome?

*Haukes.* I say it is a church of a sort of vicious cardinals, priests, monks, and friars, which I will never credit.

*Chadsey.* What say ye to the bishop of Rome?

*Haukes.* From him and all his detestable enormities, good Lord deliver us.

*Chadsey.* Marry, so may we say, From Henry the Eighth, and all his detestable enormities, good Lord deliver us.

**Haukes.** Where were ye whiles that he lived, that ye would not say so?—**C.** I was not far.—**H.** Where were ye in his son's days?—**C.** In prison.—**H.** It was for your well doing.

**Bonner.** He will by no means come within my chapel, nor hear mass: for neither the mass, neither the sacrament of the altar, can he abide, neither will he have any service but in English.

**Chadsey.** Christ never spake in English.

**Haukes.** Neither spake he ever any Latin, but always in such a tongue, as the people might be edified thereby. And Paul saith, that tongues profit us nothing. He maketh a similitude between the pipe and the harp, and except it be understood what the trumpet meaneth, who can prepare himself to the battle? so if I hear the tongue which I do not understand, what profit have I thereby? no more than he hath by the trumpet, that knoweth not what it meaneth.

**Chadsey.** If ye understand Paul's saying, he speaketh it under a prophesy, If one prophesy to you in tongues, &c.

**Haukes.** Forsooth Paul speaketh plainly of tongues: for tongues serve not for them that believe.

**Chadsey.** I tell you Paul speaketh altogether upon prophesy.

**Haukes.** Paul maketh a distinction between prophesying and tongues, saying, That if any man speak with tongues, let it be by two or three at the most, and let another interpret it. But if there be no interpreter, let them keep silence in the congregation, and let himself pray unto God; and then let the prophets speak two or three, and that by course, and let the other judge, and if any revelation be made to him that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace. So that it seemeth that Paul maketh a distinction between tongues and prophesying.

**Bonner.** The order was taken in the Catholic church, that the Latin tongue should serve through the whole world, because that they should pray all generally together in one tongue, and that to avoid all contention and strife, and to have one universal order through the whole world.—**Haukes.** This did your councils of Rome conclude.

**Bonner.** Understand ye what the general councils of Rome meant?

**Haukes.** Indeed, all your general councils of Rome be in Latin, and I am an Englishman: therefore I have nothing to do with them.

**Chadsey.** Ye are to blame, being an unlearned man, to reprove all the councils throughout all the whole world.

**Haukes.** I reprove them not, but Paul rebuketh them, saying, If any man preach any other doctrine than that which I have taught, do you hold him accursed.

**Chadsey.** Hath any man preached any other doctrine unto you?

**Haukes.** Yea, I have been taught another gospel since I came into this house.

**Chadsey.** What gospel have ye been taught?

**Haukes.** Praying to saints and to our Lady, and trust in the mass, holy bread, holy water, and in idols.

**Chadsey.** He that teaches you so, teaches you not amiss.

**Haukes.** Cursed be he that teacheth me so; for I will not trust him nor believe him.

**Bonner.** You speak of idols, and you know not what they mean.

**Haukes.** God hath taught us what they be: for whatsoever is made, graven, or devised, by man's hand, contrary to God's word, the same is an idol. What say you to that?

**Chadsey.** What be those that ye are so offended withal?

**Haukes.** The cross of wood, silver, copper, or gold, &c.

**Bonner.** What say ye to that?—**Haukes.** I say it is an idol: what say you to it?

**Bonner.** I say every idol is an image, but every image is not an idol.

**Haukes.** I say, what difference is there between an idol and an image?

**Bonner.** If it be a false god, and an image made of him, that is an idol: but if an image be made of God himself, it is no idol, but an image, because he is a true God.

**Haukes.** Lay your image of your true God and of your false god together, and ye shall see the difference. Have not your images feet and go not, eyes and see not, ears and hear not, hands and feel not, mouths and speak not? and even so have your idols.

**Chadsey.** God forbid, saith St. Paul, that I should rejoice in any thing else, but in the cross of Christ Jesus.

**Haukes.** Do ye understand Paul so? Do ye understand Paul?—(Unto the which he answered me never a word.)

**Bonner.** Where can we have a godlier remembrance when we ride by the way, than to see the cross?

**Haukes.** If the cross were such a profit unto us, why did not Christ's disciples take it up, and set it on a pole, and carry it in procession, with *Salve, festa dies!*

**Chadsey.** It was taken up.

**Haukes.** Who took it up? Helen, as ye say: for she sent a piece of it to a place of religion, where I was with the visitors when that house was suppressed, and the piece of the holy cross (which the religious had in such estimation, and had robbed many a soul committing idolatry to it) was called for, and when it was proved, and all came to all, it was but a piece of lath covered over with copper, double gilded, as it had been clean gold.

**Bonner.** Fie, fie! I dare say thou slanderest it.

**Haukes.** I know it to be true, and do not believe the contrary.—And thus did the bishop and the doctor depart in a great fume: and Chadsey said unto me as he was about to depart, It is a pity that thou shouldst live, or any such as thou art. I answered, In this case I desire not to live, but rather to die.

**Chadsey.** Ye die boldly, because ye would glory in your death as Joan Boucher did.—**Haukes.** What Joan Boucher did, I have nothing to do withal: but I would my part might be to-morrow.—God make you in a better mind, said they both; and so they departed, and I went to the porter's lodge with my keeper.

The next day Dr. Chadsey preached in the bishop's chapel, and did not begin his sermon until all the service was done; and then came the porter for me; and said, My lord would have you come to the sermon; and so I went to the chapel door, and stood without the door.

**Bonner.** Is not this fellow come?

**Haukes.** Yes, I am here.

**Bonner.** Come in, man.—**Haukes.** No, that I will not.—He called again, and I answered, I will come no nearer, and so I stood at the door. Then said the bishop, Go to your sermon.

Then Dr. Chadsey put the stole about his neck, and carried the holy-water sprinkle unto the bishop, who blessed him, and gave him holy water; and so he went to his sermon.

The text that he treated on was the 16th of Matthew, "Whom do men say that I, the Son of man, am? Peter said, Some say that thou art Elias, some say that thou art John Baptist, and some say that thou art one of the prophets. But whom say ye that I am? Then said Peter, Thou art Christ, the Son of the ever-living God. Then left he the text there, and

said, Whose sins soever ye bind, are bound; which authority, said he, is left to the heads of the church, as my lord here is one, and so unto all the rest that be underneath him. But the church hath been much kicked at sith the beginning: yet kick the hereticks, spurn the hereticks, never so much, the church doth stand and flourish. And then he went straightway to the sacrament, and said his mind on it, exalting it above heaven, (as the most of them do,) and so returned to his place again, saying, Whose sins ye do remit, are remitted and forgiven: and so he applied it to the bishops and the priests to forgive sins, and said, all that be of the church will come and receive the same. And this he proved by St. John in the 11th chapter, saying, that Christ came to raise Lazarus, which when he was risen, was bound in bands: then said Christ to them that were in authority, (who were his disciples,) Go ye and loose him: Loose him, you. And this was the effect of his sermon, applying all to them, that they have the same authority that Christ spake of to his apostles; and so ended his sermon, and they went to dinner.

*Another Communication between Thomas Haukes and the Bishop.*

And after dinner I was called into the chapel, where were certain of the queen's servants and other strangers whom I did not know.

*Bonner.* Haukes, how like you the sermon?

*Haukes.* As I like all the rest of his doctrine.

*Bonner.* What! are ye not edified thereby?

*Haukes.* No, surely.

*Bonner.* It was made only because of you.

*Haukes.* Why, then am I sorry that ye had no more heretics here, as ye call them: I am sorry that ye have bestowed so much labour on one, and so little regarded.

*Bonner.* Well, I will leave you here, for I have business; I pray you talk with him: for if ye could do him good (said he) I would be glad.—This the bishop spake to the queen's men; who said unto me, Alas, what mean you to trouble yourself about such matters against the queen's proceedings?

*Haukes.* Those matters have I answered before them that be in authority; and unless I see you have a farther commission, I will answer you nothing at all.

Then said the bishop's men, (which were many,) My lord hath commanded you to talk with them. I answered, If my lord will talk with me himself, I will answer him.

They cried, Faggots! burn him! hang him! to prison with him! it is pity that he liveth! lay irons upon him! and with a great noise they spake these words. Then in the midst of all their rage I departed from them, and went to the porter's lodge again.

*The next Day's Talk.*

The next day the bishop called me into his chamber, and said, Ye have been with me a great while, and ye are never the better, but worse and worse: and therefore I will delay the time no longer, but send you to Newgate.

*Haukes.* My lord, you can do me no better pleasure.

*Bonner.* Why, would you fain go to prison?

*Haukes.* Truly, I did look for none other, when I came to your hand.

*Bonner.* Come on your ways, ye shall see what I have written.

Then did he shew me certain articles, and these are the contents of them: Whether the Catholic church do teach and believe, that Christ's real presence doth remain in the sacrament or no, after the words of consecration, according to the words of St. Paul, which are these, "Is not the bread

which we break the partaking of the body of Christ, and the cup which we bless the partaking of the blood of Christ?" which if it were not so, Paul would never have said it.

*Haukes.* What your church doth, I cannot tell: but I am sure that the holy Catholic church doth never so take it, nor believe it.

*Bonner.* Whether doth the Catholic church teach and believe the baptism that now is used in the church, or no?

I answered to it, as I did to the other question before.—Then did the bishop with much flattery counsel me to be persuaded, and to keep me out of prison; which I utterly refused, and so we departed. And I supposed that the next day I should have gone to prison; and so I had, save for the archdeacon of Canterbury, whose name is Harpsfield, whom the bishop had desired to talk with me, and began to persuade me concerning the sacrament, and the ceremonies: and after much talk he said, that the sacrament of the altar was the same body that was born of the Virgin Mary, which did hang upon the cross.

*Haukes.* He was upon the cross both alive and dead: which of them was the sacrament?

The archdeacon answered, Alive.

*Haukes.* How do you prove that?

*Harpsfield.* You must believe: doth not St. John say, "He is condemned already that believeth not?"

*Haukes.* St. John saith, "He that believeth not in the Son of God is already condemned;" but he saith not, He that believeth not in the sacrament is already condemned.

*Harpsfield.* There is no talk with you: for ye are without faith and learning, and therefore I will talk no more with you in scripture.

Then two that stood by bade me enter further in talk with him; and then said I unto him, Why is the rood-loft set betwixt the body of the church and the chancel?

*Harpsfield.* I cannot tell: for ye have asked a question which you cannot assail yourself.

*Haukes.* Yes, that I can: for this saith one of your own doctors, That the body of the church doth represent the church militant, and the chancel the church triumphant: and so because we cannot go from the church militant to the church triumphant, but that we must bear the cross of Christ, this is the cause of the rood-loft being between the body of the church and the chancel.

*Harpsfield.* This is well and clerkly concluded.

*Haukes.* As all the rest of your doctrine is. And so with many persuasions on his part we ended, and so departed, and I to the porter's lodge again.

*Another Day's Talk.*

The next day in the morning, which was the first day of July, the bishop did call me himself from the porter's lodge, commanding me to make myself ready to go to prison, and to take such things with me as I had of mine own. And I said, I do neither intend to bribe, neither to steal, God willing. Then he did write my warrant to the keeper of the gate-house at Westminster, and delivered it to Harpsfield, who, with his own man and one of the bishop's men, brought me to prison, and delivered the warrant and me both to the keeper. And this was contained therein:

"I will and command you, that you receive him who cometh named in this warrant, and that he be kept as a safe prisoner, and that no man speak with him, and that ye deliver him to no man, except it be the council, or to a justice: for he is a sacramentary, and one that speaketh against baptism, a seditious man, a perilous man to be abroad in these perilous days."

And thus was I received, and they departed; and there I remained thirteen days, and then the bishop sent two of his men unto me, saying, My lord would be glad to know how ye do. I answered them, I do like a poor prisoner. They said, My lord would know whether ye be the same man that ye were when ye departed. I said, if my lord will me any good, I pray you desire him to suffer my friends to come to me. So they said they would speak for me; but I heard no more of them.

This is the first examination of me, Thomas Haukes, being examined before Edmund Bonner, then bishop of London, and by his chaplains and doctors at Fulham, four miles from London, where I lay till I came to prison at Westminster; and after his two men had been with me, I heard no more of him till the 3d day of September.

#### *The public Examination of Thomas Haukes.*

After these private conferences, persuasions, and long debates, had with Thomas Haukes in the bishop's house, as hitherto hath been declared, the bishop, seeing no way to win him to his wicked ways, was fully set to proceed openly against him after the ordinary course of his popish law. Whereupon Thomas Haukes shortly after was cited, with the rest of his fellows above specified, (to wit, Thos. Tomkins, S. Knight, W. Pygot, J. Lawrence, and W. Hunter,) to appear in the bishop's consistory the 8th day of February, 1555. Upon which appearance was laid against him, in like order as to the others, first the bill of his confession, written with Bonner's hand, to which bill the blessed servant of God denied to subscribe.

After which bill of confession being read, and he firmly standing to the said confession, the bishop then assigned him, with the other five, the next day following, which was the ninth of February, to appear before him again, to give a resolute answer what they would stick unto. Which day being come, and these aforesaid six prisoners being severally called before the bishop; at the coming of Thomas Haukes the bishop willed him to remember what was said to him yesterday, and now, while he had time and space, to advise with himself what he would answer, for he stood upon life and death. Well, (quoth Mr. Haukes again,) I will willingly receive whatsoever shall be put upon me. Then were certain other interrogatories or articles commenced against him by the said bishop, (in like manner as to the others,) to the number of four, with another bill also which Bonner brought out of his bosom, containing private matters against the said Thomas Haukes, which the bishop called heresies and errors; but we may better call them Christian verities. The which matter being read, the said Haukes answered openly again, saying, that it was true, and that he was glad it was so true as it was, with more words to the like effect. And this was in the forenoon of the 9th day of February.

In the afternoon again the said Haukes appearing, and hearing the aforesaid bill of his confession, with the articles and interrogatories read unto him, with like constancy in answering again to the bishop: My lord, (said he,) as you being my friend have caused these my sayings to be written, so do you cause them to be read; and yet I will never go from them. And then being exhorted by the bishop, with many fair words, to return again to the bosom of the mother church: No, my lord, (said he,) that will I not; for if I had an hundred bodies, I would suffer them all to be torn in pieces, rather than I will abjure or recant. And so continuing in the same song, notwithstanding that the doctors and lawyers were ever calling upon him to come again to the unity of the church, he ever kept them off with this answer,

That he would never go from the belief he was in, so long as he lived.

Whereupon Bonner at the last read the sentence of death upon him; and so was he condemned the same day with the residue of his fellows, which was the 9th of February. Nevertheless, his execution was prolonged, and he remained in prison till the 10th day of June. Then was he committed to the hands and charge of the lord Rich, who being assisted with power sufficient of the worshipful of the shire, had the aforesaid Thomas Haukes down into Essex, with six other fellow-prisoners, there to suffer martyrdom, Haukes at Coxhall, the others in several other places.

Thomas Haukes by the way used much exhortation to his friends, and whensoever opportunity served to talk with them, he would familiarly admonish them.

A little before his death certain there were of his familiar acquaintance and friends, who frequented his company more familiarly, who seemed not a little to be confirmed both by the example of his constancy and by his talk: yet, notwithstanding the same again being scared with the sharpness of the punishment which he was going to, privily desired that in the midst of the flame he would shew them some token, if he could, whereby they might be more certain whether the pain of such burning were so great, that a man might not therein keep his mind quiet and patient. Which thing he promised them to do: and so secretly between them it was agreed, that if the rage of the pain were tolerable and might be suffered, then he should lift up his hands above his head towards heaven, before he gave up the ghost.

Not long after, when the hour was come, Thomas Haukes was led to the place appointed for the slaughter, by the lord Rich and his assistants; who being now come unto the stake, there mildly and patiently addressed himself to the fire, having a strait chain cast about his middle, with no small multitude of people on every side encompassing him about. Unto whom, after he had spoken many things, especially unto the lord Rich, reasoning with him of the innocent blood of saints, at length, after his fervent prayers first made and poured out unto God, the fire was set unto him.

In which when he continued long, and when his speech was taken away by the violence of the flame, his skin also drawn together, and his fingers consumed with the fire, so that now all men thought certainly he had been gone, suddenly and contrary to all expectation the blessed servant of God, being mindful of his promise before made, reached up his hands burning on a light fire, which was marvellous to behold, over his head to the living God, and with great rejoicing, as seemed, clapped them three times together.

At the sight whereof there followed such applause and outcry of the people, and especially of them which understood the matter, that the like had not commonly been heard; and so the blessed martyr of Christ, straightway sinking down into the fire, gave up his spirit, anno 1555, June 10.

#### *The History of THOMAS WATS, Examined, Tried, and Burnt, for the Truth of the Gospel.*

Thomas Wats, of Billericay, within the county of Essex, of the diocese of London, was by his occupation a linen-draper; who before he was apprehended had sold and made away his cloth in his shop, and disposed his thiags, being set in order, to his wife and children, and gave away much of his cloth unto the poor. For he looked always to be taken by God's adversaries, as shortly after came indeed to pass. So that upon the 20th day of April he was appre-

hended and brought before the lord Rich and other commissioners at Chelmsford, and there being accused for not coming to the church, was upon the same examined before the lord Rich, Henry Tyrel, sir Anthony Brown, Edmund Tyrel, Thomas Mildman, John Wiseman, Roger Appleton, Richard Weston, justice Gaudy, &c. The sum and principal effect of which examination hereunder followeth briefly expressed.

*The Examination of Thomas Wats.*

When this Thomas Wats came before the lord Rich, and the other justices whose names are before specified, at the sessions at Chelmsford, the lord Rich spoke to this effect unto him: Wats, ye be brought hither, as I understand, because of disobedience to the king and the queen's laws: ye will not come to the church, ye will not hear mass, &c. but have your conventicles a number of you in corners, contrary to the king's and queen's proceedings.

Unto which, Wats answered, My lord, if I have offended a law, I am subject here to the law. Then Anthony Brown, justice, said unto him, Wats, I pray thee tell me who hath been thy schoolmaster, to teach thee this geet, or where didst thou first learn this religion?

Forsooth, (quoth Wats,) even of you, sir; you taught it me, and none more than you: for in king Edward's days in open sessions you spake against this religion now used, no preacher more. You then said the mass was abominable, and all their trumpery besides; wishing and earnestly exhorting that none should believe therein, and that our belief should be only in Christ; and you said then, whosoever should bring in any strange nation to rule here, it were treason, and not to be suffered.

Then said Brown to my lord Rich, He belies me, my lord; what a knave is this! he will soon belie me behind my back, when he doth it before my face. And my lord Rich said again, I dare say he doth so.

After these words, Wats took occasion to speak somewhat of king Philip, and of his coming in; but what it was I could not justly learn. But thus much was heard, that after those words spoken, the bench among themselves stood up, and said one to another, Treason! saying one good man called justice Gaudy, who a little before was about to speak; but when he heard them cry treason, he held down his head as one grieved and troubled at their doings.

In conclusion, the commissioners being weary of him, or else not willing to meddle further in such matters, sent him up to the bishop of London, with their letter withal, importing the cause of his sending up.

Now when the bishop had received him, it is easy to judge how he used him, by his common practices with others. What his private conferences were, I know not, but what was publicly done in the consistory at Paul's (the common stage for these tragedies) you shall here see.

*The first Appearance of Thomas Wats, in the Bishop's Consistory.*

First, upon Thursday, being the second day of May, Thomas Wats was brought thither before the bishop of London, and there being examined upon his words before the lord Rich, and others, he did earnestly affirm the same to be true. Whereupon the bishop objected, and examined him upon these articles following, to which he answered as under may appear:

*Articles objected against Thomas Wats, by Bonner.*

1. First, That the said Thomas Wats was of Billericay, and so of the jurisdiction of the bishop of London.

2. Item, That he believeth not in the sacraments of the holy and Catholic church, as the Catholic church of Rome, and all other churches members of the same, ever hitherto have believed, and is taught of all good and faithful people; nor hath allowed the sacraments, rites, usages, or ceremonies, of the said church, but hath despised the same.

3. Item, That he believeth, and also hath taught others, that the substance of material bread and wine do remain in the sacrament of the altar after the consecration, and that the said material bread and wine are the signs and tokens of Christ's body hanged upon the cross, and of his blood there shed, and that in the said sacrament there is only a memorial or remembrance of Christ's body and blood, and nothing else.

4. Item, That he believeth and doth precisely affirm, that the very true presence of Christ's body and blood in substance, is not in the sacrament of the altar, but only in heaven, and no where else.

5. Item, That he believeth, affirmeth, and saith, that the mass now used in the church of Rome, here in England and in other places, is full of idolatry, abomination, and wickedness, and that Christ never did institute it, nor ordain it, nor yet allow it, as a good and laudable thing to be used in his church.

6. Item, That he believeth and affirmeth, that auricular confession to be made unto the priest is not necessary, but superfluous; and that it is enough for a man to believe only, and to confess himself unto God, without any priest or minister at any time, though he may have the priest to confess him unto.

7. Item, That he believeth that Luther, Wickliffe, Dr. Barnes, and all other that have holden against the sacrament of the altar, and suffered death by fire or otherwise for the maintenance of the said opinion, were good men, and faithful servants and martyrs of Christ, in so believing and dying.

8. Item, That he hath and doth believe, that to fast, pray, or to do alms-deeds, is a thing utterly unprofitable; for if a man shall be saved, he shall be saved without doing of them; and if he shall be damned, they shall not help him, or do him any good at all.

9. Item, That the said Wats of late coming into open court at the sessions before the lord Rich, sir Henry Tyrel, knight, Anthony Brown, esq. and others, and being then and there examined, did openly confess that he had refused to come to the church, and to hear there the divine service, and to receive the sacrament of the altar, according to the order of the church. And that he did then also utter before the said commissioners, other erroneous and arrogant words, to the hurt of his soul, and to the evil example of the people there present.

10. Item, That he the said Thomas, by reason of the premises, was and is to be taken, had, reputed, and judged, as a manifest and open heretic, and for the same by the order of ecclesiastical laws is to be declared accursed: and being obstinate and incorrigible, is to be delivered to the secular power, there to be punished as an heretic.

11. Item, That he, over and besides all these offences and trespasses aforesaid, had also added this trespass, that is to wit, That he had believed, and deliberately spoken, that the church of Rome in her rites, ceremonies, sacraments, constitutions, and traditions, is the synagogue of Satan; and therefore that he had consented and agreed in opinion and belief with one John Tooley, of late hanged at Charing-Cross, who at the time of his executing desired the people to pray to be delivered from the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, with



all his enormities ; as who should say, that his authority and doings were tyranny, and had all enormities and iniquities in them.

12. Item, That the premises and every part thereof be true, notorious, manifest, and openly spoken and talked of amongst the honest and credible persons in great multitude, and that of all and singular the same within Bellericay aforesaid, and other places thereabout, being of the diocese of London, there is a common voice and fame thereof.

*The Answer of the said Thomas Wats to the aforesaid Articles.*

To the first, he said and confessed the same to be true in every part thereof.

To the second article he answered, that he believeth in all the sacraments according to Christ's institution and the Catholic church ; but not according to the bishop of Rome's church.

To the third he answered, that he hath and doth believe that Christ's body is in heaven, and no where else ; and further, that he will never believe that Christ's body is in the sacrament.

To the fourth he answered, confessing and firmly believing the same to be true.

To the fifth, that he did believe that the mass is abominable, and that he will not go one jot from that his belief.

To the sixth, that he neither did nor yet doth believe that the priest can absolve him of his sins : howbeit, he denieth not it is good to ask counsel at the priest's mouth.

To the seventh he said, that he knew not what the opinions of the said persons named in the said article were ; and in case the said persons did believe that the body and blood of Christ were really and in very deed in the sacrament of the altar, then that they were not good men. But in case they did believe that the body and blood of Christ was not in the sacrament of the altar, really and truly, then he believed that they were good Christian men.

To the eighth, that he had not spoken as is contained in this article, but said, that he hath and doth believe that fasting, prayers, and alms-deeds, be works of a lively faith.

To the ninth he confessed, that he did utter and speak as in this article is contained ; and further, he desired God that he might die in that faith and belief wherein he now is.

To the tenth he answered and said, that he will submit himself herein to the order of the law : and further said, that he trusteth that with God he shall be blessed, although with men he be accursed.

To the eleventh he said, that he believeth that the bishop of Rome is a mortal enemy to Christ and his church. And as for Tooley, he said, he did never see or know him ; but in case the said Tooley did wish and pray as is contained in the article, then he did likewise wish and consent with him therein.

To the twelfth he answered, that all which before he confessed to be true, is also true ; and all that he hath denied to be true, he denieth again to be true, and believeth the same to be according to such things as he hath confessed.

By me, THOMAS WATS.

*Another Appearance of Thomas Wats in the Consistory.*

These articles thus propounded and answered, the bishop commanded him to appear again in the same place at three of the clock in the afternoon, upon the same day. At which hour being brought thither by his keeper, the bishop began with him in this wise : Wats, you know what I said unto you to-day, and what I appointed unto you at this time. The

time is now come : weigh and consider with yourself that you are but a man ; and albeit that you will wilfully cast away your body, yet cast not so away your soul, but, while ye have-time, return and confess the truth.

Whereunto Thomas Wats answered and said, I am weary to live in such idolatry as ye would have me to live in.

Upon which answer, the bishop caused his articles again to be read. He thereunto answered as before, and further subscribed the same with his own hand.

*Another Appearance, before Dr. Harpsfield.*

The bishop, after many persuasions to cause him to recant, willed him to depart as then, and to come again on Saturday at eight o'clock in the morning. Where the bishop being absent, Dr. Nicholas Harpsfield, as then being his deputy, did sit, and earnestly exhorted him to deny his opinions.

To whom in the end he answered : Well, ye have a law to condemn me, and I submit myself to the law ; but not to the laws of the church, as ye call it. And, further, I do affirm and still stand to mine answers that I have made.

Whereupon Dr. Harpsfield willed him to appear there again upon Friday, being the 10th day of the same month of May. Upon which day the bishop privately sent for the said Thomas Wats into his chamber, and there with many fair promises tempted and tried him, whether he would revoke his errors, as he then termed them. But Wats answered him in this sort : I will not believe your church, neither the Romish church, and therefore you do but labour in vain thus to travel with me.

He was hereupon again dismissed for that time, until Friday the 17th day of May, and then commanded to appear in the consistory ; which commandment he obeyed, and having the accustomed former articles ministered unto him, made the same answer as before.

Thus being tossed to and fro from day to day, and hour to hour, he was at the last, the 18th day of the month of May, brought into the consistory, where first was made a brief recital of all the former process ; and there the said Wats being by the bishop and others desired to deny his profession, made this final answer : God keep me from the doctrine that ye would have me to come unto, which ye have now declared. And I beseech God that I may persevere in what I have done : for I will stand to mine answers.

The bishop perceiving his fair flattering promises nothing to prevail, and having no great store of other reasons to persuade with, put forth his last and strongest argument of condemnation. Which being ended, he was delivered to the sheriffs of London, and by them was sent to Newgate, where he remained until the 9th day of June, or, as some record, to the 22d of May : at what time he was carried unto Chelmsford, and there was brought to Scot's house, keeping then an inn, in Chelmsford, where, as they were eating meat with Haukes and the rest that came down to their burning, they prayed together both before and after their meat.

Then Wats went and prayed privately by himself, and afterward came to his wife and his six children, (being there,) and said these words : Wife, and my good children, I must now depart from you : therefore henceforth know I you no more, but as the Lord hath given you unto me, so I give you again unto the Lord, whom I charge you see you do obey, and fear him ; and beware ye turn not to this abominable Papistry, against the which I shall anon, by God's grace, give my blood. Let not the murdering of God's saints cause you to relent, but take occasion thereby to be

the stronger in the Lord's quarrel, and I doubt not but he will be a merciful Father unto you. All these and such like words spake he unto them; of whom two, as it is said, offered to be burnt with him: In the end, he bade them farewell, and kissed them all, and was carried to the fire.

At the stake, after he had kissed it, he spake to my lord Rich these or the like words: My lord, (saith he,) beware, beware: for you do against your own conscience herein; and unless you repent, the Lord will revenge it; for you are the cause of this my death.

*Concerning the Childbed of Queen Mary, as it was rumoured among the People.*

Long persuasion had been in England, with great expectation, for the space of half a year or more, that the queen was with child. This report was made by the queen's physicians and other nigh about the court; so that divers were punished for saying the contrary. And commandment was given that in all the churches supplication and prayer should be made for the queen's good delivery. And also the same appears by provision made before in act of parliament for the child.

And now, forsomuch as in the beginning of this month of June, about Whitsuntide, the time was thought to be nigh that this young master should come into the world, and that midwives, rockers, nurses, with the cradle and all, were prepared and in readiness; suddenly, upon what cause or occasion it is uncertain, a certain vain rumour was blown in London, of the prosperous deliverance of the queen, and the birth of the child; insomuch, that the bells were rung, bonfires and processions made, not only in the city of London, and in most other parts of the realm, but also in the town of Antwerp guns were shot off upon the river by the English ships, and the mariners thereof rewarded with an hundred pistoles or Italian crowns by the lady regent, who was the queen of Hungary; such great rejoicing and triumph was for the queen's delivery, and that there was a prince born. Yea, divers preachers, namely, one, the parson of St. Anne, within Aldersgate, after procession and *Te Deum* sung, took upon him to describe the proportion of the child, how fair, how beautiful, and great a prince it was, as the like had not been seen.

In the midst of this great ado, there was a simple man (this I speak but upon information) dwelling within four miles of Berwick, that never had been before half way to London, which said concerning the bonfires made for queen Mary's child, Here is a joyful triumph, but at length all will not prove worth a mess of pottage; as indeed it came to pass. For in the end all proved clean contrary, and the joy and expectations of men were much deceived. For the people were certified, that the queen neither was as then delivered, nor after was in hope to have any child.

At this time many talked diversely: some said this rumour of the queen's conception was spread for a policy; others affirmed that she was deceived by a tympany, or some other like disease, to think herself with child, and was not; some thought she was with child, and that it did by some chance miscarry, or else that she was bewitched: but what was the truth thereof, the Lord knoweth, to whom nothing is secret. One thing, of mine own hearing and seeing, I cannot pass over unwitnessed.

There came to me one Isabel Malt, a woman dwelling in Aldersgate-street, in Horn-alley, who before witness made this declaration unto us: That she being delivered of a man-child upon Whitsunday in the morning, which was the 11th

day of June, anno 1555, there came to her lord North, and another lord to her unknown, dwelling then about Old Fish-street, demanding of her if she would part with her child, and would swear that she never knew nor had any such child; which, if she would, her son they said should be well provided for, she should take no care for it, with many fair offers if she would part with the child. After that came other women also, of whom one they said should have been the rocker. But she in no wise would let go her son, who at the writing hereof being alive, and called Timothy Malt, was of the age of thirteen years and upward.

Thus much, I say, I heard of the woman herself. What credit is to be given to her relation, I know not; but leave it to the liberty of the reader, to believe it they that list; to them that list not, I have no further warrant to assure them.

Among many other great preparations made for the queen's deliverance of child, there was a cradle very sumptuously and gorgeously trimmed, upon which cradle for the child appointed, these verses were written both in Latin and English:

*Quam Maria sobolem, Deus optime, summe dedisti,  
Anglis incolumem reddere, tuere, Rege.*

The child which thou to Mary, O Lord of might, hast send,  
To England's joy in health preserve, keep, and defend.

About this time there came over into England a certain English book, giving warning to Englishmen of the Spaniards, and disclosing certain close practices for recovery of abbeylands; which book was called, A Warning for England. So that by the occasion of this book, upon the 13th day of this month, came out a certain proclamation, set forth in the name of the king and queen, repealing and disannulling all manner of books written or printed, whatsoever should touch any thing the impairing of the pope's dignity; whereby not only much godly edification was hindered, but also great peril grew among the people. The copy of which proclamation here followeth.

*A Proclamation set out by the King and Queen, for the restraining of all Books and Writings, tending against the Doctrine of the Pope and his Church.*

"Whereas by the statute made in the second year of king Henry IV. concerning the repressing of heresy, there is ordained and provided a great punishment, not only for the authors, makers, and writers of books, containing wicked doctrine and erroneous and heretical opinions, contrary to the Catholic faith and determination of the holy church, and likewise for their fautors and supporters; but also for such as shall have or keep any such books or writings, and not make delivery of them to the ordinary of the diocese or his ministers, within a certain time limited in the said statute, which act or statute being by authority of parliament of late revived, was also openly proclaimed, to the intent the subjects of the realm upon such proclamation should the rather eschew the danger and penalty of the said statute; and as yet nevertheless in most parts of the realm the same is neglected, and little regarded: The king and queen, our sovereign lord and lady, therefore, &c. straitly charge and command, that no person or persons, of what estate, degree, or condition soever he or they be, from henceforth presume to bring or convey, or cause to be brought or conveyed, into this realm, any books, writings, or works, hereafter mentioned; that is to say, any book or books, writings or works,

made and set forth by, or in the name of, Martin Luther; or any book or books, writings or works, made or set forth by, or in the name of, Oecolampadius, Zuinglius, John Calvin, Pomerane, John Alasco, Bullinger, Bucer, Melancthon, Bernardino, Ochinus, Erasmus, Sarserius, Peter Martyr, Hugh Latimer, Robert Barnes, (otherwise called Friar Barnes,) John Bale, (otherwise called Friar Bale,) Justus Jonas, John Hooper, Miles Coverdale, William Tindal, Thomas Cranmer late archbishop of Canterbury, William Turner, Theodore Basil, (otherwise called Thomas Beacon,) John Frith, Roy, and the book commonly called Hall's Chronicle, or any of them, in the Latin, Dutch, English, Italian, or French tongue; or any other like book, paper, writing, or work, made, printed, or set forth by any other person or persons, containing false doctrine contrary and against the Catholic faith, and the doctrine of the Catholic church. And also that no person or persons presume to write, print, utter, sell, read, or keep any, or cause to be written, printed, uttered, or kept, any of the said books, papers, works, or writings, or any book or books written or printed in the Latin or English tongue, concerning the common service and administration set forth in English to be used in the churches of this realm in the time of king Edward the VIth, commonly called the Communion Book, or Book of Common Service and ordering of Ministers, otherwise called, The Book set forth by Authority of Parliament, for Common Prayer and administration of the Sacrament, or to be used in the mother tongue within the Church of England; but shall, within the space of fifteen days next after the publication of this Proclamation, bring or deliver, or cause the said books, writings, and works, and every of them remaining in their custody and keeping, to be brought and delivered to the ordinary of the diocese, where such books, works, or writings, be or remain, or to his chancellor or commissaries, without fraud, colour or deceit, at the said ordinaries' will and disposition to be burnt, or otherwise to be used or ordered by the said ordinaries, as by the canons or spiritual laws it is in that case limited and appointed, upon pain that every offender contrary to this proclamation shall incur the danger and penalties contained in the said statute, and as they will avoid their majesties' high indignation and displeasure, and further answer at their uttermost perils.

"And their majesties by this proclamation give full power and authority to all bishops and ordinaries, and all justices of the peace, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs of cities and towns corporate, and other head officers within this realm and the dominions thereof, and expressly commandeth and willet the same and every of them, that they and every of them within their several limits and jurisdictions, shall, in the default and negligence of the said subjects, after the said fifteen days expired, inquire and search out the said books, writings, and works, and for this purpose enter into the house or houses, closets, and secret places, of every person, of whatsoever degree, being negligent in this behalf, and suspected to keep any such book, writing, or works, contrary to this proclamation: And that the said justices, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, and other head officers above specified, and every of them, within their said limits and jurisdictions finding any of the said subjects negligent and faulty in this behalf, shall commit every such offender to ward, there to remain without bail or mainprize, till the same offender or offenders have received such punishment as the said statute doth limit and appoint in this behalf. Given under our sign manual, at our honour of Hampton Court, the 13th day of June, the first and second years of our reigns."

Imprinted by John Cawood, anno 1556.

*Articles to be inquired upon by the Wardens of every Company, touching Seditious Books, especially touching the Book called, "A Warning for England."*

1. Whether they have seen any of the aforesaid books.
2. Whether they have heard of any of the said books.
3. Where they were, and in what place they have seen them.
4. Whom they know to have lately come from beyond the sea, especially from Zurich, Strasbourg, Frankfort, Wesel, Embden, and Disburge.
5. Whom they know or vehemently suspect to be common carriers of letters, or money, thither from hence.
6. That they bring to my lord mayor all such seditious books as they have, or shall have found hereafter.

In this proclamation thou hast heard, Christian reader, the profound and learned censure of the Catholic church of England, what books they dislike and reject as heretical, schismatical, and pernicious. Against which Catholic censure of these learned fathers, it may please the reader to grant me to set before him here a pair of balances, wherein to weigh the books on the one side condemned, with the books on the other side allowed, to the end that we weighing the one with the other, may discern the better between them, which part weigheth best with God's holy truth and true catholic church, against manifest idolatry and palpable abomination. And now, therefore, as they have in this present proclamation given their condemnation upon these books above recited; so I desire thee to give thy censure upon their books by them allowed, and upon the matter in them contained, and mark well what good stuff it is.

And first to begin with the Primer in English, for children, after the use of Salisbury, imprinted with a privilege according to the king and queen's majesties' letters patent in the reign of queen Mary. Let us survey some part of the said Primer, (for to express it all were too long,) beginning with the first lesson of our Lady, in these words:

"Holy Mary, mother most pure of Virgins all,  
Mother and daughter of the King celestial,  
So comfort us in our desolation,  
That by thy prayer and special meditation,  
We enjoy the reward of thy heavenly reign," &c.

Confer this with the scriptures, good reader, and judge uprightly whether this doctrine be tolerable in the church or not. It followeth more in the second lesson:

"Holy Mary, of all godly the godliest,  
Pray for us, of all holy the holiest,  
That he our prayers accept may in good wise,  
Which of thee was born, and reigneth above the skies," &c.

*In the third Lesson.*

"Thy Son beseech with humble intercession,  
To purge us clean of our transgression;  
That so being redeemed, we may the place ascend,  
Where thou dwellest with him world without end."

*The Versicle.*

"Pray for the people, entreat for the clergy, make intercession for the devout woman-kind; let all feel thy help, that worthily solemnize thy memorial," &c.

*Another Versicle.*

"Holy Mother of God, make thy petition,  
That we may deserve Christ's promise," &c.

And in the anthem after *Benedictus*, thus it followeth :

"We beseech thee of thy pity to have us in remembrance, and to make means for us unto Christ, that we, being supported by thy help, may deserve to attain the kingdom of heaven."

Furthermore in the Collect after it followeth :

"And grant that through the gracious intercession of the Virgin thy Mother, we may be delivered from this present heaviness, and have the fruition of eternal gladness."

It followeth moreover, in the said Primer, thus concerning the material cross :

"O God, which hast ascended thy most holy cross, and hast given light to the darkness of the world, vouchsafe by the virtue of thy cross to illumine, visit, and comfort, both our hearts and bodies," &c.

Moreover, in the name of St. John Baptist thus it prayeth :

"O Lord, defend us always through the continual succours of St. John Baptist. For the more frail we be, the more need we have to be relieved with necessary prayers," &c.

In which words, note, good reader, not only the absurdity of doctrine, but also the foolishness of the reason. For where their doctrine pretendeth that St. John Baptist should pray for us, here we pray to God for St. John Baptist, that he will hear his prayer praying for us. It followeth furthermore in the name of Peter and Paul :

"Hear us mercifully, and grant that, through the merits of them both, we may obtain the glory everlasting," &c.

*Of St. Andrew.*

"So let him, O Lord, be a continual petitioner for us to thee," &c.

*Of St. Lawrence thus :*

"St. Lawrence the deacon did work a great work : for by the virtue of the holy cross he gave sight to the blind," &c.

And how can this be true, when the holy cross was not yet found in the time of St. Lawrence ? For Helen, which first found the cross, as they say, came after St. Lawrence more than forty years.

*To Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury.*

"By the blood of Thomas, which he for thee did spend, —make us, Christ, to climb whither Thomas did ascend."

*Of St. Nicholas.*

"O God, which hast glorified blessed Nicholas, thy holy bishop, with innumerable miracles, grant, we beseech thee, that by his merits and prayers we may be delivered from the fire of hell.

*Of Mary Magdalen.*

"Grant, we beseech thee, through thy mercy, to let her purchase for us the bliss everlasting," &c.

*Another Prayer to our Lady.*

"The dolorous compassion of God's sweet Mother, brings us to the bliss of Almighty God the Father," &c.

*Another Prayer in the said Primer to our Lady.*

"Establish us in peace and tranquillity,

And change the name of sinful Eva :

Loose thy prisoners from captivity,

Unto the blind give sight again :

Deliver us from malignity,

To the end we may some grace attain.

Shew thyself to be a mother,

So that he accept our petition.

Deliver us from bondage of sin," &c

*Idoltrous Invocation of the Virgin Mary.*

"Holy Mother, succour the miserable, comfort the weak spirited, give courage to the desperate, pray for the people, make intercession for the clergy, and be a mean for the devout woman-kind," &c.

*Item.*

"O thou meek Mother, have mercy therefore  
On wretches, for whom thou hadst these pains all,  
Seeing thy Son that vine cluster pressed sore ;  
And from the pestilence of death eternal,  
Keep us by 'voiding the fiend infernal,  
And join us with them which rewarded be  
With eternal life, seeing the Deity."

*Item.*

"Hail Queen, mother of mercy, our life, our sweetness, our hope. Unto thee do we cry and sigh, weeping and wailing. Come off therefore, our patroness, cast upon us thy pitiful eyes, and after this our banishment shew to us the blessed fruit of thy womb. O gate of glory, be for us a reconciliation unto the Father and the Son. From the wretched their faults expel : wipe the spots of sins unclean," &c.

*Item.*

"The fruit of the womb everlasting,  
We may behold through thy deserving," &c.

*Item.*

"Grant, we beseech thee, that by her merits and prayers we may attain to that unspeakable joy, whereas she being assumpt, doth now rejoice with thee in heaven for ever."

And thus much hitherto of this Catholic Primer, called our *Lady's Matins*. Whereunto, if it were not tedious for the reader, we would also adjoin our *Lady's Psalter*, to the intent that all indifferent readers, as they have seen what books these Catholic fathers have condemned and do condemn for heretical ; so the same also may see and judge what books on the other side they approve as lawful and catholic. And forasmuch as it is not known peradventure to all men what our Lady's Psalter is, or what it meaneth, yea, and some peradventure will deny any such book of our Lady's Psalter to be written or approved, here therefore we will first produce the name of the author ; who was Bonaventure, a seraphical doctor, bishop also and cardinal, canonized moreover by pope Sixtus IV. anno 1482, for a saint in the calendar, who in his book thus entitled in Latin "Incipit Psalterium beatæ Virginis, compilatum per Seraphicum Doctorem Sanctum Bonaventuram Episcopum Albanensem, necnon sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Presbyterum Cardinalem, in honorem genetricis," &c. fol. 84. In the second part of his whole works, (which were imprinted at Strasburg, anno 1495,) to shew himself a devout servant to his Lady, hath taken every psalm of David's Psalter, (which he peculiarly made and referred to Almighty God,) and hath in divers of the said psalms and verses put out the name of the Lord, and hath placed in the name of our Lady. This being done through the whole psalms and every one of them, it is now called our Lady's Psalter, used to be sung and said in the praise and service of our Lady. A brief taste whereof, for example's sake, we thought here proper to exhibit unto the reader in order, as follows,—that he may see, from the most unexceptionable evidence, that the worship due only to the living and true God, is here idoltrously given to a creature !

*The Title in English of the Psalter.*

¶ Here beginneth the Psalter of the blessed Virgin, made by the seraphical doctor, St. Bonaventure, the bishop of Alban, and cardinal of the holy church of Rome.

PSAL. 1. "Beatus vir, qui intelligit nomen tuum, Maria Virgo, gratia tua animam ejus comfortabit. Tanquam aquarum fontibus irrigatum uberrimum in eo fructum justitiæ propagabis, &c. Universas enim fœminas vincis pulchritudine carnis; superas angelos et archangelos excellentia sanctitatis. Misericordia tua et gratia ubique prædicatur, &c. Gloria Patri."

That is to say:

Blessed is the man which understandeth thy name, O Virgin Mary; thy grace shall comfort his soul. Thou shalt bring forth in him the most plentiful fruit of justice, being watered as it were with fountains of water. All women thou passest in the beauty of thy body; all angels and archangels in the excellency of thy holiness. Thy mercy and thy grace is proclaimed every where, &c. Glory be to the Father, &c.

PSAL. 2. "Quare fremuerunt inimici nostri, et adversum nos meditati sunt inania? Protegat nos dextera tua, Mater Dei, ut acies terribiliter confundens et destruens eos. Venite ad eam, qui laboratis et tribulati estis, et dabit refrigerium animabus vestris. Accedite ad eam in temptationibus vestris, et stabilitet vos serenitas vultus ejus. Benedicite illam in toto corde vestro, misericordia enim illius plena est terra, &c. Gloria Patri."

Why do our enemies fret and imagine vain things against us? Let thy right hand defend us, O mother of God, terribly confounding and destroying them as a sword. Come unto her, all ye that labour and are troubled, and she will give rest unto your souls. Come unto her in your temptations, and her loving countenance shall stablish and comfort you. Bless her with all your heart; for the earth is full of her mercy. Glory be to the Father, &c.

PSAL. 3. "Domina quid multiplicati sunt qui tribulant me? In tempestate tua persequeris et dissipabis eos. Dissolve colligationes impietatis nostræ: tolle fasciculos peccatorum nostrorum. Miserere mei, Domina, et sana infirmitatem meam; tolle dolorem et angustiam cordis mei. Ne tradas me manibus inimicorum meorum, et in die mortis meæ comforta animam meam. Deduc me ad portum salutis, et spiritum meum redde factori meo."

Why are they so many, O Lady, that trouble me? In thy fury thou shalt persecute and destroy them. Loose the bonds of our impiety, and take away the burden of our sins. Have mercy upon me, O Lady, and heal my infirmity. Take away my sorrow, and the anguish of my heart. Deliver me not into the hands of mine enemies, and in the day of my death comfort my soul. Bring me into the heaven of salvation, and restore my spirit unto my Maker and Creator. Glory be to the Father, &c.

PSAL. 4. "Cum invocarem, exaudisti me, Domina, et e sublimi solio tuo mei dignata es recordari. A rugientibus præparatis ad escam et de manibus quærentium me liberabit gratia tua. Quoniam benigna est misericordia et pietas tua in omnes qui invocant nomen sanctum tuum. Benedicta sit Domina in æternum, et majestas tua in seculum. Glorificate eam omnes gentes," &c.

When I called to thee, thou heardest me, O my Lady, and out of thy high throne thou didst vouchsafe to think upon me. From the roaring of them that prepare themselves to devour me, and out of the hands of such as seek after my life, thy grace shall deliver me: because thy mercy and thy pity are great towards all them that call upon thy holy

name. Blessed be thou, O Lady, for ever, and thy majesty for ever and ever. Glorify her, all nations of the earth, &c.

PSAL. 5. "Verba mea auribus percipe Domina, &c. Convertite luctum nostrum in gaudium, et tribulationem nostram in jubilationem. Corrumpant ante pedes nostros inimici nostri; virtute tua eorum capita conterantur," &c.

Hear my words, O Lady, &c. Turn our mourning into gladness, and our trouble into rejoicing. Let our enemies fall before our feet, and with thy power dash their heads in pieces.

PSAL. 6. "Domina ne in furore Dei sinas corripere me, neque in ira ejus judicari, &c. De porta inferi, et de ventre abyssi, tuis sanctis precibus libera nos. Aperiantur nobis januæ sempiternæ, ut enarremus in æternum mirabilia tua. Quia non mortui, neque qui inferno sunt, laudabunt te, Domina, sed qui tua gratia vitam æternam obtinebunt."

O Lady, suffer me not to be rebuked in God's anger, nor to be chastened in his heavy displeasure, &c. From the gate and deep pit of hell, with thy holy prayers deliver us, Let the everlasting gates be opened, that we may shew forth thy marvellous works for ever. Because the dead, nor they that be in hell, shall not praise thee, O Lady, but they which shall obtain by thy grace life everlasting.

PSAL. 7. "Domina mea, in te speravi; de inimicis meis libera me, Domina. Conclude ora leonis, et labia persequentium constringe. Non moreris propter nomen tuum facere nobis misericordiam tuam. Splendor vultus tui fulgeat super nos, ut servetur conscientia nostra apud altissimum. Si persequitur inimicus animam meam, Domina, adjutorio tuo comforter, ne vibret gladium suum contra me."

O my Lady, in thee will I put my trust; deliver me from mine enemies, O Lady. Stop the mouth of the lion, and bind the lips of the persecutors. Make no tarrying, for thy name's sake, to shew thy mercy upon me. Let the brightness of thy countenance shine upon us, that our conscience may be saved before the most Highest. If the enemy do persecute my soul, O Lady, help me, that he destroy me not.

PSAL. 9. "Confitebor tibi, Domina, in toto corde meo, et narrabo in populis laudem et gloriam tuam, &c. Invenient gratiam per te inventricem gratiæ et salutis; respirant ad indulgentiam humiles pœnitentes; sana contritiones cordis eorum," &c.

I will give thanks to thee, O Lady, with my whole heart, and will shew forth among the nations thy praise and glory, &c. They shall find grace through thee, the finder out of grace and salvation. The humble and penitent groan for pardon and forgiveness; heal thou the sores of their heart, &c.

PSAL. 15. "In te Domina confido, &c. Exquirite illam a juventute vestra, et glorificabit vos, &c. Misericordia illius nostrorum auferat multitudinem peccatorum, et sæcunditatem nobis conferat meritum," &c.

In thee, O Lady, do I put my trust, &c. Seek her even from your youth, and she shall glorify you, &c. Her mercy take from us the multitude of our sins, and give unto us plenteousness of merits, &c.

PSAL. 12. "Salvum me fac, mater pulchræ dilectionis, fons clementiæ, &c. Gyrum terræ sola circuis, ut subvenias invocantibus te," &c.

Save me, O Mother of Love, and Fountain of Mercy, &c. Thou thyself alone hast gone about the compass of the earth, to help them that call upon thee, &c.

PSAL. 13. "Usque quo Domina oblivisceris me, et nonne liberas me in die tribulationis? Usque quo exaltabitur inimicus meus super me? Potentia virtutis tuæ contere ipsum, &c. Magnificamus te gratiæ inventricem, per quam sæcula reparantur," &c.



How long dost thou forget me, O Lady, and dost not deliver me in the day of my trouble? How long shall mine enemy triumph over me? With thy mighty power destroy him, &c. We magnify thee the finder and the author of grace, by whom the world is repaired, &c.

PSAL. 16. "Conserva me, Domina, quoniam speravi in te, &c. Benedicta sunt ubera tua, quibus lacte deifico Salvatore enutriste," &c.

Preserve me, O Lady, for in thee have I put my trust, &c. Blessed be thy breasts, which with thy deifying milk didst nourish the Saviour, &c.

PSAL. 18. "Diligam te, Domina cœli et terræ; in gentibus nomen tuum invocabo. Confitemini illi tribulati corde, et roborabit vos contra inimicos vestros, &c. Religiosi omnes honorate illam, quia ipsa est adjutrix vestra et specialis advocata. Esto refrigerium nostrum, gloriosa mater Christi, quia tu es totius religionis mirabile firmamentum."

I will love thee, O Lady of heaven and earth; I will call upon thy name among the nations. Confess yourselves unto her, ye that are troubled in heart, and she shall strengthen you against your enemies, &c. All ye cloisterers, honour her, for she is your helper and special advocate. Be thou our refreshing and rest, for thou art the marvellous foundation of all religion.

PSAL. 20. "Exaudi, nos Domina, in die tribulationis, &c. Ne projicias nos in tempore mortis nostræ, sed succurre animæ, cum deseruerit corpus suum. Mitte angelum in occursum ejus per quem ab hostibus defendatur, &c. Sentiat in pœnis refrigerium tuum, et concede ei locum inter electos Dei."

Hear us, O Lady, in the day of trouble, &c. Cast us not away in the time of our death, but succour our soul when it forsaketh the body; send an angel to meet it, that it may be defended from the enemies, &c. In torments and pain let it feel thy comfort, and grant to it a place among the elect of God.

PSAL. 25. "Ad te, Domina, levavi animam, &c. Non prævaleant adversum me laquei mortis, &c. Ductrix mea esto ad patriam, et me cœtui angelorum digneris aggregare."

To thee, O Lady, do I lift up my soul, &c. Let not the snares of death prevail against me, &c. Be thou my guide to the heavenly rest, and to the company of angels associate me.

Ps. 26. "Judica me, Domina, quoniam ab innocentia mea digressus sum: sed quia speravi in te, non infirmabor," &c.

Judge thou me, O Lady, for I am fallen from mine innocence: but because I put my trust in thee, therefore I shall not fall, &c.

PSAL. 27. "Domina, illuminatio mea sit splendor faciei tuæ, &c. Serenitas gratiæ tuæ refulgeat menti meæ," &c.

O Lady, let the brightness of thy face be my sight, and let the clearness of thy grace shine unto my mind, &c.

PSAL. 28. "Ad te, Domina, clamabo, &c. Miserere mei in die angustiarum, et in luce veritatis tuæ libera me."

To thee, O Lady, I will call, &c. Have mercy upon me in day of my trouble, and in the light of thy truth deliver me.

PSAL. 31. "In te, Domina, speravi, non confundar in æternum, in gloria tua suscipe me. Tu es fortitudo mea et refugium meum, consolatio mea et protectio mea, &c. Educas ne laqueo quem absconderunt mihi, quoniam tu es adjutrix mea. In manus tuas, Domina, commendo spiritum meum."

In thee, O Lady, do I put my trust, let me not be confounded for ever; in thy glory receive me. Thou art my strength and my refuge, my consolation and protection, &c. Deliver me from the snare that they have laid for me, because thou art my helper. Into thy hands O Lady I commend my spirit.

PSAL. 34. "Benedicam Dominam in omni tempore, &c. In periculis, in rebus dubiis, invocate eam, et in necessitatibus invenietis auxilium, &c. Sumite exemplum conversationis ejus et æmulemini studia humilitatis ejus. Quia ergo, Domina, humilima fuisti, Verbum increatum ex te carnem suscipere coegisti."

I will always praise our Lady, &c. In perils, in adversity, call upon her, and in time of need ye shall find succour. Let her conversation be an example unto you, and follow the virtue of her humility. Because therefore, O Lady, thou wast humble and lowly, thou didst compel the Word increate to take flesh of thee.

PSAL. 36. "Dixit injustus, &c. A malo proposito decedat; Mater Dei, inclina vultum Dei super nos: Coge illum peccatoribus misereri, &c. Benedictum sit imperium tuum super cœlos, benedicta sit magnificentia tua super terram."

The wicked man said, &c. Let him depart from his evil purpose; O Mother of God, turn the countenance of God towards us: compel him to be merciful unto sinners. Blessed be thy empire and dominion in heaven, and blessed be thy magnificence upon the earth.

PSAL. 45. "Eructavit cor meum verbum bonum, Domina, &c. Per tuam sanctitatem peccata mea purgantur: per tuam integritatem mihi incorruptibilitas condonetur," &c.

My heart is inditing a good matter, O Lady, &c. By thy holiness let my sins be purged, by thy integrity let me obtain incorruption, &c.

PSAL. 47. "Omnes gentes, plaudite manibus, &c. Quoniam ipsa est porta vitæ, janua salutis, et vitæ nostræ reconciliatrix; spes pœnitentium, pax beata cordium atque salus. Miserere mei, Domina, miserere mei, quia tu es lux et spes omnium confidentium in te," &c.

Clap your hands, all ye people, &c. For she is the gate of life, the door of salvation, the reconciler of our life, the hope of the penitent, the comfort of the sorrowful, the blessed peace of hearts, and salvation. Have mercy upon me, O Lady, have mercy upon me; for thou art the light and hope of all that put their trust in thee, &c.

PSAL. 51. "Miserere mei, Domina, quæ mater misericordia nuncupatis. Et secundum viscera miserationum tuarum munda me ab omnibus iniquitatibus meis," &c.

Have mercy upon me, O Lady, which art called the mother of mercy, and in the bowels of thy great compassion cleanse me from mine iniquities.

PSAL. 54. "Domina, in nomine tuo saluum me fac, et ab injustitiis meis libera me," &c.

O Lady, in thy name save me, and from mine unrighteousness deliver me, &c.

PSAL. 70. "Domina, in adjutorium meum intende, &c. Miserere servorum tuorum, super quos invocatum est nomen tuum," &c.

Make haste, O Lady, to help me, &c. Have mercy on thy servants, upon whom thy name is invoked, &c.

PSAL. 71. "In te, Domina, speravi, non confundar in æternum; in tua misericordia libera me, &c."

In thee, Lady, have I put my trust: let me not be confounded for ever: in thy mercy deliver me, &c.

PSAL. 79. "Domina, venerunt Gentes in hæreditatem Dei, quas tu meritis tuis Christo confederasti," &c.

O Lady, the Gentiles are come into the inheritance of God, whom thou didst join unto Christ by thy merits, &c.

PSAL. 89. "Qui regis Israel, &c. Odor vitæ de illa progreditur, et omnis salus de corde illius scaturit."

Thou that rulest Israel, &c. The savour of life cometh from her, and all health floweth out of her heart, &c.

PSAL. 91. "Qui habitat in adiutorio matris Dei, in protectione ipsius commorabitur, &c. Clamate ad illam in periculis vestris, et flagellum non appropinquabit tabernaculo vestro. Fructus gratiæ inveniet qui speraverit in illa. Porta Paradisi reserabitur ei."

Whoso dwelleth in the help of the Mother of God, shall dwell in the shadow of her protection, &c. Cry unto her in your dangers, and the scourge shall not come near your tabernacle. The fruit of grace shall be to him whoso trusteth in her, and the gate of Paradise shall be open unto her.

PSAL. 95. "Venite exultemus Domini nostræ, &c. Suscipe in fine animas nostras, et introduce nos in requiem æternam," &c.

Come, let us rejoice to our Lady, &c. Receive our souls at our last end, and bring them into everlasting rest, &c.

PSAL. 105. "Confitemini Domini nostræ, et invocate nomen ejus, &c. Salus sempiterna in manu tua, Domina, &c.

Praise our Lady, and call upon her name, &c. Everlasting salvation is in thy hand, O Lady, &c.

PSAL. 110. "Dixit Dominus Domini nostræ, Sede mater mea a dextris meis," &c.

The Lord said unto our Lady, Sit here my mother on my right hand, &c.

PSAL. 114. "In exitu animæ meæ ex hoc mundo occurre ei Domina, et suscipe eam, &c. Esto illi scala ad regnum cœlorum, et iter rectum ad Paradisum Dei, &c.

In the passing of my soul out of this world, come and meet it, O Lady, and receive it, &c. Be to it a ladder to the kingdom of heaven, and a right way to the paradise of God, &c.

PSAL. 119. "Miserationibus tuis plena est terra, ideo viam justificationum tuarum exquisivi, &c. Concupiscam in æternum laudare te Domina, cum docueris me justificationes tuas," &c.

The whole earth is full of thy mercies, and therefore I will search out the way of thy justifications, &c. I will covet for ever to praise thee, O Lady, when thou shalt teach me thy justifications, &c.

PSAL. 125. "Qui confidunt in te, Mater Dei, non timebunt à facie inimici," &c.

They that put their trust in thee, O Mother of God, shall not be afraid of the face of their enemy, &c.

PSAL. 127. "Nisi Domina ædificaverit domum cordis nostri, non permanebit ædificium ejus."

Except our Lady shall build the house of our heart, the building thereof shall not continue.

PSAL. 128. "Beati omnes qui timeant Dominam nostram, et beati omnes qui sciunt facere voluntatem suam," &c.

Blessed is every one that feareth our Lady, and blessed be all they which know to do her will, &c.

PSAL. 130. "De profundis clamavi ad te Domina; Domina exaudi vocem meam: Fiant aures tuæ intendentes," &c.

Out of the deep I have called unto thee, O Lady; O Lady, hear my voice, &c.

PSAL. 132. "Memento, Domina, David, et omnium invocantium nomen tuum," &c.

O Lady, remember David, and all them that call upon thy name, &c.

PSAL. 134. "Ecce nunc benedicite Dominam, omnes qui speratis in nomine sancto ejus," &c.

Behold and bless now our Lady, all ye that put your trust in her holy name.

PSAL. 136. "Super flumina Babylonis, &c. Non invenietur propitiatio sine illa."

At the floods of Babylon, &c. There is no propitiation to be found without her.

PSAL. 140. "Eripe me, Domina, ab omni malo, et ab hoste inferno defende me," &c.

Deliver me, O Lady, from all evil, and from the infernal enemy defend me, &c.

PSAL. 145. "Oculi nostri sperant in te, Domina. Mitte nobis cibum et escam delectantem. Laudationem tuam loquetur lingua mea, et benedicam te in seculum seculi."

Our eyes look up and trust in thee. Do thou send us meat and food convenient, &c. My tongue shall speak thy praise, and shall bless thee for ever.

PSAL. 148. "Lauda, Jerusalem, Dominam, glorifica illam etiam, O Sion. Ipsa enim construit muros tuos, et filios tuos benedicit. Gratia sua te impinguat, pacemque donat terminis tuis."

Praise thou our Lady, O Jerusalem, and glorify her also, O thou Sion: for she buildeth up thy walls, and blesseth thy children. Her grace maketh thee fat, and giveth peace unto thy coasts.

Such consummate barefaced blasphemy never appeared before in the most degenerate ages of the world. God is robbed of all his glory, and a good woman, clothed in all his attributes, is audaciously seated on the eternal throne!

I could recite also more of like blasphemy, following immediately after this Psalter of our Lady, in the seraphical doctor aforesaid, as these:

"Ecce Domina Salvatrix mea, fiducialiter agam in te, et non timebo, &c. Quia fortitudo mea es tu. Et facta es mihi in salutem."—Behold my Lady my Saviour, I will be bold in thee, and will not fear, &c. Because thou art my strength, &c. And art become my salvation, &c.

"Exulta totum genus humanum, quia talem dedit tibi Mediatrix Domini Deus tuus."—Rejoice, O all mankind, because the Lord thy God hath given unto thee such a Mediatrix, &c.

"Confitebor tibi, Domina, quia abscondisti hæc a sapientibus, et revelasti ea parvulis."—I will confess to thee, O Lady, because thou hast hid these things from the wise, and hast revealed them to the little ones.

"Generatio prava atque perversa, agnosce Dominam nostram Salvatricem tuam. Nunquid ipsa est mater tua quæ possedit te, et in fide generavit te."—O thou wicked and peevish generation, acknowledge our Lady thy Saviour. Is not she the mother that hath possessed thee, and in faith hath begotten thee?

"O benedicta, in manibus tuis reposita est nostra salus."—O thou blessed, in thy hands is laid up our salvation, &c.

"In nomine tuo omne genu flectatur, cœlestium," &c. In thy name let every knee bend in heaven, and earth, and in hell.

"Quemadmodum infans sine nutrice non potest vivere; ita nec sine Domina nostra posses habere salutem."—Like as an infant cannot live without the nurse, so neither canst thou have salvation without our Lady.

"Quicumque vult salvus esse, ante omnia opus est ille tenet de Maria firmam fidem. Quam nisi quisque integram inviolatamque servaverit, absque dubio in æternum peribit."—Whoso will be saved, before all things he must needs hold this belief of our Lady; which belief, unless every one shall hold perfect and sound, he shall perish without doubt for ever.

After these so horrible things, in the next tract followeth the Rosary or Garland of our Lady, compiled by the said Bonaventure; wherein these words are to be read: 'O Mediatrix between God and Man, the Lord hath worthily magnified thee, that thou only shouldst conceive his Son:

'Wherefore, O good Mary our Mediatrix, mother of grace, and mother of mercy,' &c. And again, 'Therefore, O our Empress and Lady most bountiful, by the authority of a mother, command, command, I say, thy well-beloved Son, that he will stir up our minds from the love of worldly things to heavenly desires, &c.'

Item, 'O the Advocate of the miserable, the eyes of thy servants be directed to thee,' &c.

To these premises, I might also adjoin the horrible and most blasphemous words of the said Bonaventure in the said book, fol. 100. page 2. col. 1. which I beseech thee to read and note. *Quæ major bonitas quam quod Christus*, &c.—What greater goodness can be, than that Christ is content to be captive upon the altar?

Whereupon he speaketh in the person of Jeremiah, saying, 'Behold, I am in your hands; do with me as you see good, &c. Where note (saith he) that when any duke or prince is taken prisoner for his subjects, he is not let go before he pay some great sum of money for his ransom. Even so neither we ought to let Christ go out of our hands, being our prisoner and captive, except he grant to us remission of our sins and his heavenly kingdom. The priest therefore lifteth up the body of Christ upon the altar, as though he said thus: Behold him whom the whole world is not able to comprehend, he is holden here our captive; wherefore let us hold him fast, and not let him go before we obtain of him our requests,' &c.

## NOTES.

Is not here good Catholic stuff, Christian reader, think you?—Confer, I beseech you, this doctrine with the doctrine of the apostles, which teach us that we are fully complete in Christ, and I will refer me to no better judge than your own conscience. And now, therefore, if any man have been in doubt in times past of the doctrine and proceeding of the church of Rome, whether it be rightly charged with blind errors, with blasphemy intolerable, and idolatry abominable, or not, here now he may be fully certified and resolved: for where was ever idolatry or blasphemy to be found, if it be not here in these Matins and this Psalter of our Lady? If idolatry be to make an idol to be worshipped as God, which is no god, what do we here but make an idol of our Lady, to be worshipped with no less dignity, glory, authority, reverence, and service, than is the Lord God himself? And as he is called our Lord, so she is called our Lady; and if he be King, yet she is the Queen of heaven; and though he have the name of God, yet she beareth so the title of the Mother of God, that as mothers have authority over their children, so she is willed to shew herself to be his mother, to cause him to grant our petition. Finally, if he be our Patron, yet she is our Patroness.—The commandment saith, "Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve." And what worship or service can we give to God, more than is here ascribed unto her? and what benefit is to be asked at the hands of Christ our Saviour, which is not equally asked of her? To save our souls, to give us peace, to grant grace, to comfort the desperate, to loose our captivity, to release our sins, to deliver from the fiend, to bring to heaven, &c. To her they pray, cry, weep, sigh, groan, knock, and kneel; to her they trust; and if we believe not also in our Lady, we are heretics *ipso facto*.

Furthermore, as Christ our only Lord and Saviour hath his church and congregation which profess his name, of whom we are called Christians; so neither is she likewise without her chapels, her cloisters, her chapters, and fraternities, which professing her name in like sort, are called our

Lady's brethren, or white friars, besides multitudes of other patrons of churches, of whom every one hath his peculiar church and religion by himself; yet all these together are included under this general devotion of our Lady, their supreme patroness and governess.

Now to proceed further to the other part of the commandment, which saith, "Him only shalt thou serve." What service hath the Lord in all the church, but our Lady also jointly with him hath the like? Her mass, her matins, her even-song, her hours and complin, her rosaries, her anthems, her collects, her primer, her psalter, her holidays likewise, yea, five to one.—Finally, as the Lord hath his prayer called the Lord's Prayer, so hath she her Ave-Marias, yea, ten Aves to one Pater-noster; yea, and read further in the said Bonaventure, and ye shall also see her to have her *Tu Deum*, her *Benedictus*, her *Magnificat*, and her *Quicunque vult*.

If the Lord our God had not expressed unto us his own will by plain words, limiting unto us by express injunction what to believe, what to follow, and how to worship and serve him, and how to receive from him our salvation, but had left us the imagination of our own inventions, every man to shift for himself after his own policy, then peradventure, this way taken by the pope's church, to make friends and mediators between God and us, for reconciliation, remission, and salvation, might have some rhyme or reason; but now God's word doth bind us, doth prescribe and limit us precisely, in every point touching salvation, what to believe and what to do, shewing us plainly that we cannot be saved but by the blood of his Son only, neither can be justified but by faith only in the same Christ his Son: wherefore not to believe that which he hath promised, is infidelity, and to follow any other belief than he hath set us, is plain idolatry. The which two special errors most commonly follow the doctrine of the Romish church, as not only in this Primer and Psalter of our Lady aforesaid, but also in all their proceedings, teachings, and preachings besides, may well appear. For where the scripture doth perfectly promise and pronounce us to be justified through our faith in Christ, and willeth us to seek our salvation no where else, but only in the merits of Jesus; the institution of the church of Rome neither will receive that God hath freely given, (wherein standeth infidelity,) neither yet will seek the same there where as they should, but in the merits and prayers of our Lady, of St. John Baptist, St. Peter and Paul, St. Andrew, St. Nicholas, St. Thomas of Canterbury, and by the worthiness of the material Cross, and such other unlawful means: which is plain idolatry. And yet such books as these can be suffered among the Catholics to be current, good, wholesome, and lawful books; whereas the others, which lead us the true way from infidelity and idolatry to true Christianity, in no wise can be suffered. Wherefore to pass from this Proclamation, let us proceed, God willing, in the course of our history.

But from this horrible blasphemy and idolatry, God has in his infinite mercy delivered these lands. And from such doctrine, government, tyranny, and cruelty, may God for ever preserve these nations! Amen.

#### *The Story of* THOMAS OSMOND, WILLIAM BAMFORD, and NICHOLAS CHAMBERLAIN, *Martyrs.*

Mention was made before in the story of Thomas Haukes, of six prisoners besides, which were sent down with him to Essex, the time he went to execution. Of which six prisoners, three went to be burned, the other three, to recant, and to do penance: the names of which six were these, Thomas

*Osmond*, fuller, *William Bamford*, (alias *Butler*,) weaver, *Thomas Osborne*, fuller, *Nicholas Chamberlain*, weaver, *Thomas Brodehill*, weaver, and *Richard Web*, weaver, being all of the town of Coxhall. All which six Coxhall men, next after the examinations of Thomas Haukes and Thomas Wats, were sent up to Bonner to be examined, by the earl of Oxford, and Sir Philip Paris, knight.

The said prisoners being sent up the first day of May, were brought before the bishop the 17th of the said month, to be examined upon divers and sundry articles objected against them; whereunto they were compelled to answer, and to put their hands to the same; the copy of which their articles and answers, being all one in form, (if the registers say true,) is the following:

*The Copy of the Articles objected against Thomas Osmond, William Bamford, and Nicholas Chamberlain, of Coxhall.*

First, That thou Thomas Osmond, fuller, was and art of the parish of Coxhall, within the diocese of London, and thou hast not believed, nor dost believe, that there is here in the earth one Catholic and Universal whole Church, which doth hold and believe all the faith and religion of Christ, and all the necessary articles and sacraments of the same.

2. Item, That thou hast not believed, nor dost believe, that thou art necessarily bounden, under the pain of the damnation of thy soul, to give full faith and credence unto the said Catholic and Universal Church, and to the faith and religion of the same in all necessary points of the said faith and religion, without doubting or wavering in the said faith and religion, or in any part thereof.

3. Item, Thou hast not believed, that the faith and religion which both the church of Rome, Italy, Spain, England, France, Ireland, Scotland, and all other churches in Europe, being true members and parts of the said Catholic and Universal Church, do believe and teach, is both agreeing with the faith and religion of Christ, and also is the very true faith and religion which all Christian people ought to believe, observe, follow, and keep; but contrariwise thou hast believed, and dost believe, that that faith and religion which the said church of Rome, and all the other churches aforesaid, have heretofore believed, and do believe, is false, erroneous, and naught, and in no wise ought to be believed, observed, kept, and followed, of any Christian person.

4. Item, That although it be true that in the sacrament of the altar there is in substance the very body and blood of our Saviour Christ under the forms of bread and wine, and although that it be so believed, taught, and preached, undoubtedly in the said church of Rome, and all other churches aforesaid, yet thou hast not so believed, nor dost so believe; but contrariwise thou hast believed, and dost believe firmly and steadfastly, that there is not in the said sacrament of the altar, under the said forms of bread and wine, the very substance of Christ's body and blood, but that there is only the substance of material and common bread and wine, with the forms thereof, and that the said material and common bread and wine are only the signs and tokens of Christ's body and blood, and are by faith to be received only for a remembrance of Christ's passion and death, without any such substance of Christ's body and blood at all.

5. Item, That thou hast believed and taught, and hast openly spoken and defended, and so dost believe, think, maintain, and defend, that the very true receiving and eating of Christ's body and blood, is only to take material and common bread and to break it and distribute it among the people, remembering thereby the passion and death of Christ only.

6. Item, That thou hast likewise believed, thought, and spoken, that the mass now used in the realm of England, and other the churches aforesaid, is abominable and naught, and full of idolatry, and is of the ordinance of the pope, and not of the institution of Christ.

7. Item, That thou hast in times past believed, and yet dost now believe, that auricular confession is not necessary to be made unto the priest, but is a thing superfluous, void, and naught, only to be made to God, and to none other person.

8. Item, Thou being notoriously and openly suspected for an heretic, and a person culpable in the premises, wast of late called before the earl of Oxford and Sir Philip Paris, and there wast charged with the said heresies, especially against the sacrament of the altar. And because thou didst maintain and stand to thy said heresies, and wouldest not come to the church, and be confessed, and receive the said sacrament as other Christian people did, thou wast by the said earl of Oxford and Sir Philip Paris sent up by a constable unto me, bishop of London, and wast by them denounced, detected, and put up to me as an heretic and misbelieving person.

9. Item, That thou hast known and believed, thou dost know and believe, or at least thou hast credibly heard reported, spoken, and said, that all and all manner of persons which do teach, preach, or hold, any thing concerning the sacraments of the church, or any the articles of the faith, otherwise than is found already discussed and determined by our mother the holy church, or doth call into doubt or question that thing which is already decided or determined by the church, or that willingly and wittingly do utter, openly or privily, any slanderous or blasphemous words concerning the said sacraments or any of them, or that do preach, teach, or keep, any sect or kind of heresy against the wholesome doctrine of the church, and do wittingly, willingly, or obstinately, defend the sect or kind of heresy, are by the canons of the whole and universal Catholic church, and also by the ecclesiastical laws of this church of England, by their so doing, accursed with that curse which doth separate them from the entry into the church, from the receiving of the sacraments, and from the company of faithful people, and are to be pronounced, declared, and taken for heretics, and to be delivered to the secular power, and by the laws temporal of this realm of England, and the custom of the same, to be by the said secular power put to death and burnt for this said sect and heresy.

10. Item, That thou by reason of the premises wast and art to be pronounced, taken, had, reputed, and judged, for a manifest and open, wilful and obstinate, heretic, for a wicked and cursed person, and to be punished accordingly for the same, according to the said canon laws, usages, and customs.

*The Answers which the said Thomas Osmond, William Bamford, and Nicholas Chamberlain, severally made unto these Articles.*

The first they confessed to be true, except that they do believe that there is here in the earth one Catholic and whole church, and that the same church doth hold and believe as is contained in this article.

To the second they answer, and believe the said article not to be true; for they say that they have and do believe that they are necessarily bounden, under pain of damnation of their soul, to give full faith and credence unto the said Catholic church, and to the faith and religion of the same, in all necessary points of the same faith and religion, without wavering or doubting in any part thereof.







'To the third they answer, that the church of Rome, and other churches mentioned in this article, be not true members and parts (as they be used in faith and religion) of the Catholic church of Christ, and that the faith and religion used in the said churches is not agreeable with the church of Christ, but are false and erroneous.

To the fourth they answer and say, that howsoever the said churches of Rome, and others of Christendom, have and do believe touching the sacrament of the altar, yet they do believe that in the sacrament, under the forms of bread and wine, there is not the very substance of Christ's body and blood, but that there is only the substance of material bread and wine, and that the same material bread and wine be only the signs and tokens of Christ's body and blood, and are to be received only for a remembrance of Christ's passion and death, without any substance of Christ's body and blood at all.

To the fifth article they answer, that the true receiving and eating of Christ's body, according to Christ's institution, is to take, distribute, and eat material bread, and thereby to remember the passion and death of Christ, and so receive by faith (as they believe) Christ's body and blood, and not otherwise.

To the sixth they answer, the same to be true in every part thereof.

To the seventh they answer and confess, that auricular confession is not necessary to be made to the priest; nevertheless they think that it is necessary to go to such a priest as is able to give good counsel, and that for the counsel only, and not otherwise. And as concerning the ceremonies of the church, they answer the same to be vain and unprofitable. No service in the church ought to be said but only in the English tongue.

To the eighth, they answer and believe the same to be true in every part thereof, except they do not believe that they be heretics, or suspected of heresy.

To the ninth Osmond and Bamford answered, that they referred themselves to the said laws mentioned in that article; but Chamberlain made no answer at all to this article.

To the tenth the said Osmond and Bamford answered and said, that by reason of their belief before by them confessed, they are not to be reputed, taken, or adjudged, for wilful and obstinate heretics, nor to be punished therefore, as is declared in that article. The other answered nothing.

#### *Scholia upon the aforesaid Articles.*

These articles in the same form and manner of words are commonly objected to all others that follow after, with the same answers also thereunto annexed. In which articles thou mayest note, reader, the crafty and subtle conduct of these lawyers and registers, who so deceitfully framed their articles and positions, that unless a man do advisedly consider them, it is hard for a simple man to answer to them, but he shall be snared and entangled. So they paint their church with such a visage of universal, whole, holy, catholic, as who should say, He that denieth Rome, denieth the holy church of Christ here on earth. Likewise in examining them, and especially the simple sort, in the matter of the sacrament, to the material bread in the sacrament they put their word, only, very captiously and fraudulently, to take them at the worst advantage, making the people believe that they take the holy sacrament to be no better than only common bread; when they do not so, but make a difference between the same, both in the use, honour, and name thereof. Again, when the examiners hold but only against the

erroneous points of Romish religion, these bishops in their interrogatories give out the matter so generally, as though the said examiners in general spake against all the articles of faith taught in Rome, Spain, England, France, Scotland, &c.

Moreover, concerning Latin service, in such crafty form of words they propound their articles, that it might appear to the people these men do deny any service to be lawful in any place, country, or language, but only in English.

And as these articles are craftily, captiously, and deceitfully in form of words devised by the bishops and their notaries; so the answers again to the same be no less subtly framed, and after the most odious manner put down in the name of the examiners; which being read unto them, thus without further advice they are constrained upon a sudden to subscribe the same with their hands, Whereby if any word escape their hand, peradventure not considerably subscribed, there the papists take their advantage against them, to defame them, and to bring them into hatred with the people.

These articles thus propounded and answered, they were until the afternoon dismissed: at which time they did again appear, and there were examined and counselled with by fair and flattering speeches, as well of the bishop as of others his assistants, to recant and revoke their opinions, who notwithstanding remained constant and firm, and therefore, after the common usage of the ecclesiastical laws, were sent away again until the next day, being Saturday the 18th day of May. Then in the forenoon, the bishop, using his accustomed manner of proceeding, did likewise dismiss them, and at last in the afternoon condemned them as heretics, and so delivered them to the sheriffs, in whose custody they remained until they were delivered unto the sheriff of Essex, and by him were executed; Chamberlain at Colchester, the 14th of June; Thomas Osmond at Maningtree, the 15th of June and William Bamford, alias Butler, at Harwich, the same 15th day in the month of June.

*The History of the worthy Martyr and Servant of God, Mr. JOHN BRADFORD, with his Life, Acts, and sundry Conflicts with his Adversaries, and Martyrdom at length, most constantly suffered for the Testimony of Christ and his Truth.*

John Bradford was born at Manchester, in Lancashire his parents did bring him up in learning from his infancy until he attained such knowledge in the Latin tongue, as skill in writing, that he was able to gain his own living in some honest condition. Then he became servant to sir John Harrington, knight, who in the great affairs of king Henry VIII. and king Edward VI. which he had in hand when he was treasurer of the king's camps and buildings, at divers times at Boulogne had such experience of Bradford's activity in writing, his expertness in the art of auditors, as also of his faithful trustiness, that not only in those affairs, but in many other of his private business, he trusted Bradford in such sort, that above all other he used his faithful service.

Thus continued Bradford certain years in a right honest and good trade of life, after the course and order of that world like to come forward (as they say) if his heart could have so liked, or had been given to the world as some other be. But the Lord, which had called him unto a better vocation, and pre-ordained him to preach the gospel of Christ in that hour of grace which in his secret counsel he had appointed, called this his chosen child to the understanding

and partaking of the same gospel of life. In which call he was so truly taught, that forthwith his effectual call was perceived by the fruits. For then Bradford did forsake his worldly affairs and forwardness in worldly wealth, and, after the just account given to his master of all his doings, he departed from him: and with marvellous fervour, to further the kingdom of God by the ministry of his holy word, he gave himself wholly to the study of the scriptures; which purpose to accomplish the better, he departed from the Temple at London, where the temporal law is studied, and went to the university of Cambridge, to learn by God's law how to further the building of the Lord's temple. In Cambridge, his diligence in study, his profiting in knowledge and godly conversation, so pleased all men, that within one whole year after that he had been there, the university did give him a degree of master of arts.

Immediately after, the master and fellows of Pembroke-hall gave him a fellowship in their college; yea, that man of God, Martin Bucer, so liked him, that he had him not only most dear unto him, but also oftentimes exhorted him to bestow his talent in preaching. Unto which Bradford answered always, that he was unable to serve in that office through want of learning. To which Bucer was wont to reply, saying, If thou have not fine manchet bread, yet give the poor people barley bread, or whatsoever else the Lord hath committed unto thee. And whilst Bradford was thus persuaded to enter into the ministry, Dr. Ridley, (that worthy bishop of London, and glorious martyr of Christ,) according to the order that then was in the church of England, called him to take the degree of a deacon. Which order, because it was not without some such abuse to which Bradford would not consent, the bishop yet perceiving that Bradford was willing to enter into the ministry, was content to order him deacon without any abuse, even as he desired. This being done, he obtained for him a license to preach, and gave him a prebend in his cathedral church of St. Paul.

In this preaching office, by the space of three years, how faithfully Bradford walked, how diligently he laboured, many parts of England can testify. Sharply he opened and re-proved sin, sweetly he preached Christ crucified, pithily he opposed heresies and errors, earnestly he persuaded to godly life. After the death of blessed young king Edward VI. when queen Mary had gotten the crown, still continued he diligently in preaching, until he was unjustly deprived both of his office and liberty by the queen and her council. To the doing whereof, because they had no just cause, they took occasion to do this injury for such an act as among the Turks and infidels would have been with thankfulness rewarded, and with great favour accepted; as indeed it did no less deserve.

The fact was this: the 13th of August, in the first year of the reign of queen Mary, Mr. Bourne, then bishop of Bath, made a seditious sermon at Paul's cross in London, as partly is declared before, to set Popery abroad, in such sort that it moved the people to no small indignation, being almost ready to pull him out of the pulpit. Neither could the reverence of the place, nor the presence of bishop Bonner, who then was his master, nor yet the commandment of the mayor of London, whom the people ought to have obeyed, stay their rage; but the more they spake, the more the people were incensed. At length, Bourne, seeing the people in such a mood, and himself in such peril, (whereof he was sufficiently warned by the hurling of a dagger at him as he stood in the pulpit,) and that he was put from ending his sermon, fearing lest, against his will, he should there end his wretched life, desired Bradford, who stood in the pulpit

behind him, to come forth, and to stand in his place, and speak to the people. Good Bradford at his request was content, and there spake to the people of godly and quiet obedience. Whom as soon as the people saw to begin to speak unto them, so glad they were to hear him, they cried with a great shout, "Bradford! Bradford! God save thy life, Bradford!" well declaring not only what affection they bare unto him, but also what regard they gave unto his words. For after that he had entered a little to preach unto them, and to exhort them to quiet and patience, soon all the raging ceased, and in the end quietly departed each man to his house. Yet in the mean season, (for it was a long time before that so great a multitude could all depart,) Bourne thought himself not yet full sure of his life till he was safely housed, notwithstanding that the mayor and sheriffs of London were there at hand to help him. Wherefore he desired Bradford not to depart from him till he were in safety: which Bradford according to his promise performed; for while the mayor and sheriffs did lead Bourne to the school-master's house, which is next to the pulpit, Bradford went at his back, shadowing him from the people with his gown, and so to set him safe.

Let the reader now consider the peril of Bourne, the charity of Bradford, and the headiness of the multitude, and also the grudging minds of certain which yet still there remained behind, grieved not a little in their minds to see that so good a man should save the life of such a popish priest, so impudently and openly railing against king Edward. Among whom one gentleman said these words: Ah, Bradford, Bradford, thou savest him that wills to burn thee: I give thee his life: if it were not for thee, I would, I assure thee, run him through with my sword. Thus Bourne for that time, through Bradford's means, escaped bodily death: but God hath his judgment to be shewed in the time appointed.

The same Sunday in the afternoon Bradford preached at the Bow church in Cheapside, and reprov'd the people sharply for their seditious misdemeanour. After this he did still abide in London with an innocent conscience, to try what should become of his just doing.

Within three days after, he was sent for to the Tower of London, where the queen then was, to appear there before the council. There was he charged with this act of saving Bourne, which act they there called seditious, and also objected against him for preaching; and so by them he was committed first to the Tower, then unto other prisons, out of which neither his innocency, godliness, nor charitable dealing, could purchase to him liberty of body, till by death (which he suffered for Christ's cause) he obtained the heavenly liberty, of which neither pope nor papist shall ever deprive him.

From the Tower he came to the King's Bench in Southwark; and after his condemnation, he was sent to the Compter in the Poultry, in London; in which two places, for the time he did remain prisoner, he preached twice a day continually, unless sickness hindered him; where also the sacrament was often administered, and through his means such resort of good folks was daily to his lecture and to the administration of the sacrament, that commonly his chamber was well night filled therewith. Preaching, reading, and praying, was his whole life. He did not eat above one meal a day, which was but very little when he took it; and his continual study was upon his knees. In the midst of dinner he used often to muse with himself, having his hand over his eyes, from whence came commonly plenty of tears. Very gentle he was to man and child, and in so good credit

with his keeper, that at his desire in an evening (being prisoner in the King's Bench in Southwark) he had license, upon his promise to return again that night, to go into London without any keeper, to visit one that was sick, lying by the Still-yard. Neither did he fail his promise, but returned to his prison again, rather preventing his hour than breaking his fidelity; so constant was he in word and in deed.

Of personage he was somewhat tall and slender, spare of body, of a faint sanguine colour, with an auburn beard. He slept not commonly above four hours in the night; and in bed, till sleep came, his book went not out of his hand. His chief recreation was in honest company and comely talk, wherein he would spend a little time after dinner at the board, and so to prayer and his book again. He counted that hour not well spent wherein he did not some good, either with his pen, study, or in exhorting of others, &c. He was no niggard of his purse, but would liberally participate what he had to his fellow-prisoners; and commonly once a week he visited the thieves, pick-purses, and such others that were with him in prison, where he lay on the other side; unto whom he would give godly exhortation, to learn the amendment of their lives by their trouble, and, after that so done, distribute among them some portion of money to their comfort.

While he was in the King's Bench, and Mr. Saunders in the Marshalsea, both prisoners, on the back side of those two prisons they met many times, and conferred together when they would; so mercifully did the Lord work for them, even in the midst of their troubles; and the said Bradford was so trusted with his keeper, and had such liberty on the back side, that there was no day but that he might have easily escaped away if he would, but that the Lord had another work to do for him. In the summer time, while he was in the said King's Bench, he had liberty of his keeper to ride into Oxfordshire, to a merchant's house of his acquaintance, and horse and all things prepared for him for that journey, and the party in readiness that should ride with him; but God prevented him by sickness, that he went not at all.

One of his old friends and acquaintance came unto him whilst he was prisoner, and asked him, if he sued to get him out, what then he would do, or whither he would go? Unto whom he made answer, as not caring whether he went out or no: but if he did, he said, he would marry, and still abide in England secretly, teaching the people as the time would suffer him, and occupy himself that way.

He was had in so great reverence and admiration with all good men, that a multitude, which never knew him but by fame, greatly lamented his death; yea, and a number also of the papists themselves wished heartily his life. There were few days in which he was thought not to spend some tears before he went to bed, neither was there ever any prisoner with him but by his company he greatly profited, as all they will yet witness, and have confessed of him no less, to the glory of God, whose society he frequented; as among many, one special thing I thought to note, which is this:

Bishop Farrar, being in the King's Bench prisoner, as before you have heard, was counselled by the papists in the end of Lent, to receive the sacrament at Easter in one kind; who after much persuading yielded to them, and promised so to do. Then (so it happened by God's providence) the Easter even, the day before he should have done it, was Bradford brought to the King's Bench a prisoner, where the Lord making him his instrument, Bradford only was the man that the said bishop Farrar revoked his promise and word, and would never after yield to be spotted with that papistical pitch; so effectually the Lord wrought by this

worthy servant of his. Such an instrument was he in God's church, that few or none there were that knew him, but esteemed him as a precious jewel, and God's true messenger.

The night before he was had to Newgate, which was the Saturday night, he was sore troubled divers times in his sleep by dreams; how the chain for his burning was brought to the Compter gate, and how the next day, being Sunday, he should be had to Newgate, and on the Monday after burned in Smithfield; as indeed it came to pass. Now he being vexed so oftentimes in this sort with these dreams, about three of the clock in the morning, he waked him that lay with him, and told him his unquiet sleep, and what he was troubled withal. Then, after a little talk, Mr. Bradford rose out of bed, and gave himself to his old exercise of reading and prayer, as always he had used before; and at dinner, according to his accustomed manner, he did eat his meat, and was very merry, nobody being with him from morning to night but he that lay with him, with whom he had many times that day communication of death, and of the kingdom of heaven.

In the afternoon, they two walking together in the keeper's chamber, suddenly the keeper's wife came up, as one half amazed and seeming much troubled, being almost breathless, and said, O Mr. Bradford, I come to bring you heavy news. What is that? said he. Marry, quoth she, to-morrow you must be burned; and your chain is now a burying, and soon you must go to Newgate. With that Mr. Bradford put off his cap, and, lifting up his eyes to heaven, said, I thank God for it: I have looked for the same a long time, and therefore it cometh not now to me suddenly, but as a thing waited for every day and hour; the Lord make me worthy thereof. And so thanking her for her gentleness, departed up into his chamber, and called his friend with him; who when he came thither, he went secretly himself alone a long time, and prayed; which done, he came again to him that was in his chamber, and took him divers writings and papers, and shewed him his mind in those things that he would have done; and after they had spent the afternoon till night in many and sundry such things, at last came to him half a dozen of his friends more, with whom all the evening he spent in prayer and other good exercise.

A little before he went out of the Compter he made a notable prayer of his farewell, with plenty of tears. Also, when he shifted himself with a clean shirt that was made for his burning, by one Mr. Walter Marlar's wife, (who was a good nurse unto him, and his very good friend,) he made such a prayer of the wedding garment, that some of those that were present were in such great admiration, that their eyes were as thoroughly occupied in looking on him, as their ears gave place to hear his prayer. At his departing out of the chamber, he made likewise a prayer, and gave money to every servant and officer of the house, with exhortation to them to serve and fear God, continually labouring to eschew all manner of evil. That done, he turned him to the wall, and prayed vehemently that his words might not be spoken in vain, but that the Lord would work the same in them effectually, for his Christ's sake. Then being beneath in the court, all the prisoners cried out to him, and bade him farewell, as the rest of the house had done before with weeping.

The time they carried him to Newgate was about 11 or 12 o'clock in the night, when it was thought none would be stirring abroad; and yet, contrary to their expectation in that behalf, was there in Cheapside and other places between the Compter and Newgate, a great multitude of people that came to see him, who most gently bade him farewell, praying for him with lamentations and tears; and he again as gently

bade them farewell, praying most heartily for them and their welfare.

Now whether it were a commandment from the queen and her council, or from Bonner and his adherents, or whether it were devised by the lord mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs, of London, or no, I cannot tell; but a great noise there was over-night about the city by divers, that Bradford should be burned the next day in Smithfield, by four of the clock in the morning, before it should be much known to any. In which rumour many heads had divers minds, some thinking the fear of the people to be the cause thereof; others thought nay, that it was rather because the Papists judged his death would convert many to the truth, and give a great overthrow to their kingdom; so some thought one thing, and some another, that no just conjecture of the cause could be known. But this was certain, the people prevented the device suspected: for the next day, at the said hour of four o'clock in the morning, there was in Smithfield such a multitude of men and women, that many being in admiration thereof, thought it was not possible that they could have warning of his death, being so great a number in such a short time, unless it were by the singular providence of Almighty God.

Well, this took not effect as the people thought; for that morning it was nine o'clock of the day before Mr. Bradford was brought into Smithfield; who, in going through Newgate thitherward, spied a friend of his whom he loved, standing on the one side the way to the keeper's housewards, unto whom he reached his hand over the people, and plucked him to him, and delivered to him from his head his velvet night-cap, and also his handkerchief, with other things besides. And after a little secret talk with him, and each of them parting from other, immediately came to him a brother-in-law of his, called Roger Beswick, which as soon as he had taken the said Bradford by the hand, one of the sheriffs of London (called Woodrofe) came with his staff, and brake the said Roger's head, that the blood ran about his shoulders. Which sight Bradford beholding with grief, bade his brother farewell, willing him to commend him to his mother and the rest of his friends, and to get him to some surgeon betimes. So they departing, had little or no talk at all together.

Then was he led forth to Smithfield with a great company of armed men, to conduct him thither, as the like was not seen at any man's burning; for in every corner of Smithfield there were some, besides those that stood about the stake. Bradford then being come to the place, fell flat to the ground, secretly making his prayers to Almighty God. Then rising again, and putting off his clothes unto his shirt, he went to the stake, and there suffered with a young man of twenty years of age, joyfully and constantly, whose name was *John Leaf*.

It was before declared, that John Bradford, within three days after the sermon of Mr. Bourne, was by the council committed to the Tower, where he remained from the month of August, 1553, to the 22d of January, 1555, upon which day he was called out to examination before Stephen Winchester, and other of the commissioners. The examination and communication which passed between him and them, proceeded as followeth:

*The Communication between John Bradford and the Lord Chancellor, and others in commission with him, the 22d day of January, 1555.*

After the lord chancellor, and the residue of the queen's council in commission with him, had ended their talk with

Mr. Farrar, late bishop of St. David's, the under-marshal of the King's Bench was commanded to bring in John Bradford; who being come into the presence of the council, sitting at a table, kneeled down on his knee, but immediately by the lord chancellor was bidden to stand up.

When he was risen, the lord chancellor earnestly looked upon him; but he ceased not in like manner to look on the lord chancellor still continually, save that once he cast up his eyes to heaven-ward, sighed for God's grace, and so over-faced them.

Then the lord chancellor, as it were amazed and somewhat troubled, spake thus to him in effect: That of long time he had been imprisoned justly for his seditious behaviour at Paul's cross the 13th of August, in the year 1553, for his false preaching and arrogancy, taking upon him to preach without authority. But now (quoth he) the time of mercy is come, and therefore the queen's highness, minding to offer unto you mercy, hath by us sent for you, to declare and give the same, if so be ye will with us return; and if you will do as we have done, you shall find as we have found, I warrant you.

*Bradford.* My lord, and lords all, I confess that I have been long imprisoned, and (with humble reverence be it spoken) unjustly, for that I did nothing seditiously, falsely, or arrogantly, in word or fact, by preaching or otherwise; but rather sought truth, peace, and all godly quietness, as an obedient and faithful subject, both in going about to save the bishop of Bath now, (then Mr. Bourne, the preacher at the cross,) and in preaching for quietness accordingly.

At these words, or rather before he had fully finished, the lord chancellor said, That it was a loud lie: for the fact was seditious, as you my lord of London can bear witness.

*Bonner.* You say true, my lord; I saw him with mine own eyes, when he took upon him to rule and lead the people malapertly, thereby declaring that he was the author of the sedition.

*Brad.* My lords, notwithstanding my lord bishop's seeing and saying, yet the truth I have told, as one day my Lord God Almighty shall reveal to all the world, when we shall all come and appear before him; in the mean season, because I cannot be believed of you, I must and am ready to suffer, as now your sayings be, whatsoever God shall license you to do unto me.

*L. Chan.* I know thou hast a glorious tongue, and goodly shows thou makest; but all is lies thou speakest. And again, I have not forgot how stubborn thou wast when thou wast before us in the Tower; whereupon thou wast committed to prison concerning religion. I have not forgotten thy behaviour and talk, where-through worthily thou hast been kept in prison, as one that would have done more hurt than I will speak of.

*Brad.* My lord, as I said, I say again, that I stand as before you, so before God, and one day we shall all stand before him: the truth then will be the truth, though now ye will not so take it. Yea, my lord, I dare say that my lord of Bath, Mr. Bourne, will witness with me, that I sought his safeguard with the peril of mine own life; I thank God therefore.

*Bonner.* That is not true: for I myself did see thee take upon thee too much.

*Brad.* No, I took nothing upon me undesired, and that of Mr. Bourne himself, as, if he were here present, I dare say he would affirm. For he desired me both to help him to pacify the people, and also not to leave him till he was in safety. And as for my behaviour in the Tower, and talk before your honours, if I did or said any thing that did not



beseem me, if your lordships would tell me wherein it was, I should and would shortly make you answer.

*Chan.* Well, to leave this matter: How sayest thou now, wilt thou return again, and do as we have done, and thou shalt receive the queen's mercy and pardon?

*Brad.* My lord, I desire mercy with God's mercy, but mercy with God's wrath, God keep me from; although, I thank God therefore, my conscience doth not accuse me that I did speak any thing wherefore I should need to receive the queen's mercy or pardon. For all that ever I did or spake, was both agreeable to God's laws, and the laws of the realm at that present, and did make much to quietness.

*Chan.* Well, if thou make this babbling rolling in thy eloquent tongue, and yet being altogether ignorant and vain-glorious, and wilt not receive mercy offered to thee, know for truth, that the queen is minded to make a purgation of all such as thou art.

*Brad.* The Lord before whom I stand, as well as before you, knoweth what vain-glory I have sought, and seek in this behalf: his mercy I desire, and also would be glad of the queen's favour, to live as a subject without a clog of conscience. But otherwise, the Lord's mercy is better to me than life: and I know to whom I have committed my life, even into his hands which will keep it, so that no man may take it away before it be his pleasure. There are twelve hours in the day, and as long as they last, so long shall no man have power thereon. Therefore his good will be done: life in his displeasure is worse than death, and death with his favour is true life.

*Chan.* I know well enough, that we shall have glorious talk enough of thee; be sure therefore, that as thou hast deceived the people with false and devilish doctrine, so shalt thou receive.

*Brad.* I have not deceived the people, nor taught any other doctrine than by God's grace I am, and hope shall be, ready to confirm with my life. And as for the devilishness and falseness in the doctrine, I would be sorry you could so prove it.

*Durham.* Why, tell me, what say you by the ministration of the communion, as now you know it is?

*Brad.* My lord, here I must desire of your lordship, and of all your honours, a question, before I dare make you an answer to any interrogatory or question wherewith you now begin. I have been six times sworn that I shall in no case consent to the practising of any jurisdiction, or any authority, on the bishop of Rome's behalf, within this realm of England. Now, before God, I humbly pray your honours to tell me, whether you ask me this question by his authority, or no? If you do, I dare not, nor may answer you any thing in his authority, which you shall demand of me, except I would be forsworn; which God forbid.

*Sec. Bourne.* Hast thou been sworn six times? what office hast thou borne?

*Brad.* Forsooth, I was thrice sworn, in Cambridge, when I was admitted master of arts, when I was admitted fellow of Pembroke-hall, and when I was there the visitors came thither and sware the university; again, I was sworn when I entered into the ministry, when I had a prebend given me, and when I was sworn to serve the king a little before his death.

*Chan.* Tush, Herod's oaths a man should make no conscience at.

*Brad.* But, my lord, these were no Herod's oath, no unlawful oaths, but oaths according to God's word, as you yourself have well affirmed in your book, *De vera obedientia*.

*Mr. Rochester.* My lords (quoth another of the council that stood by the table, Mr. Rochester I ween,) I never knew wherefore this man was in prison before now: but I see well that it had not been good that this man had been abroad: what the cause was that he was put in prison, I know not; but I now well know, that not without a cause he was and is to be kept in prison.

*Bourne.* Yea, it was reported this parliament time by the earl of Derby, that he hath done more hurt by letters, and exhorting those that have come to him, in religion, than ever he did when he was abroad by preaching. In his letters he cuspeth all that teach any false doctrine (for so he calleth that which is not according to that he taught,) and most heartily exhorteth them to whom he writeth, to continue still in that they have received by him, and such like as he is. All which words divers of the council affirmed. Whereunto the said Mr. Bourne added, saying, How say you, sir, have you not thus seditiously written and exhorted the people?

*Brad.* I have not written nor spoken any thing seditiously, neither, I thank God, have I admitted any seditious cogitation, nor I trust ever shall.

*Bourne.* Yea, thou hast written letters.

*Chan.* Why speakest thou not? Hast thou not written as he saith?

*Brad.* That I have written, I have written.

*Southwell.* Lord God, what an arrogant and stubborn boy is this, that thus stoutly and dallyingly beavest himself before the queen's council?

*Brad.* My lords and masters, the Lord God, which is and will be judge to us all, knoweth, that as I am certain I stand now before his Majesty; so with reverence in his sight I stand before you, and unto you accordingly in words and gesture I desire to behave myself. If you otherwise take it, I doubt not but God in his time will reveal it: in the mean season, I shall suffer with all due obedience your sayings and doings too, I hope.

*Chan.* These be gay and glorious words of reverence; but as in all other things, so herein also thou dost nothing but lie.

*Brad.* Well, I am willing that God, the author of truth and abhorrer of lies, would pull my tongue out of my head before you all, and shew a terrible judgment on me here present, if I have purposed or do purpose to lie before you, whatsoever you shall ask me.

*Chan.* Why then dost thou not answer? Hast thou written such letters as here is objected against thee?

*Brad.* As I said, my lord, that I have writtē I have written; I stand now before you, which either can lay my letters to my charge, or no; if you lay any thing to my charge that I have written, if I deny it, I am then a liar.

*Chan.* We shall never have done with thee, I perceive now: be short, be short. Wilt thou have mercy?

*Brad.* I pray God give me his mercy, and if therewith you will extend yours, I will not refuse it; but otherwise I will none.

Here now was much ado, one speaking this, and another that, of his arrogancy, in refusing the queen's pardon, which she so lovingly did offer unto him; whereto Bradford answered thus:

*Brad.* My lords, if I may live as a quiet subject without clog of conscience, I shall heartily thank you for your pardon; if otherwise I behave myself, then I am in danger of the law; in the mean season, I ask no more but the benefit of a subject, till I be convinced of transgression. If I cannot have this, as hitherto I have not had, God's good will be done.

**Chan.** Upon these words my lord chancellor began a long process of the false doctrine wherewith the people were deceived in the days of king Edward, and so turned the end of his talk to Bradford, saying, How sayest thou?

**Brad.** My lord, the doctrine taught in king Edward's days was God's pure religion; the which as I then believed, so do I now more believe it than ever I did, and therein I am more confirmed and ready to declare it, by God's grace, even as he will, to the world, than I was when I first came into prison.

**Durham.** What religion mean you in king Edward's days? What year of his reign?

**Brad.** Forsooth, even the same year, my lord, that the king died, and I was a preacher.

Now, after a little pausing, my lord chancellor beginneth again to declare, that the doctrine taught in king Edward's days was heresy, using for demonstration thereof no scripture nor reason, but this, that it ended with treason and rebellion; so that (quoth he) the very end were enough to prove that doctrine to be naughty.

**Brad.** Ah, my lord, that you could enter into God's sanctuary, and mark the end of this present doctrine that you now so magnify!

**Chan.** What meapest thou by that? I ween we shall have a snatch of rebellion even now.

**Brad.** My lord, I mean no such end as you would gather; I mean an end which no man seeth, but such as enter into God's sanctuary. If a man look on present things, he will soon deceive himself.

Here now did my lord chancellor offer again mercy; and Bradford answered as before, Mercy with God's mercy should be welcome, but otherwise he would none. Whereupon the lord chancellor did ring a little bell, belike to call in somebody; for there was present none in manner, but only those before named, and the bishop of Worcester. Now when one was come in, it is best (quoth Mr. Sec. Bourne) that you give the keeper a charge of this fellow. So was the under-marshal called in.

**Chan.** Ye shall take this man to you, and keep him close without conference with any man, but by your knowledge, and suffer him not to write any letters, &c. for he is of another manner of charge unto you now than he was before.— And so they departed, Bradford looking as cheerfully as any man could do, declaring thereby even a desire to give his life for confirmation of that he had taught and written.

*The second Examination of John Bradford, in St. Mary Overy's church, before the Lord Chancellor and divers other Bishops, the 29th of January, anno 1555.*

After the excommunication of John Rogers, John Bradford was called in, and standing before the lord chancellor, and other bishops set with him, the lord chancellor spake thus in effect: Where before the 22d of January the said Bradford was called before them; and they offered unto him the queen's pardon, although he had contemned the same, and further said that he would stiffly and stoutly maintain and defend the erroneous doctrine taught in the days of king Edward VI. yet in consideration that the queen's highness was wonderful merciful, they thought good erstwhiles to offer the same mercy again, before it were too late: therefore advise you well, (said he;) there is yet space and grace before we so proceed that you be committed to the secular power, as we must do, and will do, if you will not recant.

After the lord chancellor's long talk, Bradford began on this sort to speak: My lord, and my lords all, as now I stand in your sight before you, so I humbly beseech your

honours to consider, that you sit in the seat of the Lord, who, as David doth witness, is in the congregation of judges, and sitteth in the midst of them judging: and as you would your place to be now of us taken as God's place, so demonstrate yourselves to follow him in your sitting, that is, seek no guiltless blood, nor hunt not by questions to bring into the snare them which are out of the same. At this present I stand before you guilty or guiltless, then proceed and give sentence accordingly: if guiltless, then give me the benefit of a subject, which hitherto I could not have.

Here the lord chancellor replied, and said, that the said Bradford began with a true sentence; but (quoth he) this and all thy gesture declareth but hypocrisy and vain-glory. And further he made much ado to purge himself, that he sought not guiltless blood; and so began a long process, how that Bradford's fact at Paul's cross was presumptuous, arrogant, and declared a taking upon him to lead the people, which could not but turn to much disquietness, in that thou (speaking to Bradford) was so refract and stout in religion at that present; for the which, as thou wast then committed to prison, so hitherto thou hast been kept in prison, where thou hast written letters to no little hurt to the queen's people, as by report of the earl of Derby in the parliament house was credibly declared. And to this he added, that the said Bradford did stubbornly behave himself the last time he was before them; and therefore not for any other thing now I demand of thee (quoth he) but of and for thy doctrine and religion.

**Brad.** My lord, where you accuse me of hypocrisy and vain-glory, I must and will leave it to the Lord's declaration, which one day will open yours and my truth and hearty meanings. In the mean season, I will content myself with the testimony of mine own conscience, which if it yield to hypocrisy, could not but have God to be my foe also, and so both God and man were against me. And as for my fact at Paul's cross, and behaviour before you at the Tower, I doubt not but God will reveal it to my comfort: for if ever I did thing which God used to public benefit, I think that my deed was one, and yet for it I have been and am kept a long time in prison. And as for letters and religion, I answer as I did the last time I was before you.

**Chan.** There didst thou say stubbornly and malapertly, that thou wouldest manly maintain the erroneous doctrine in king Edward's days.

**Brad.** My lord, I said, the last time I was before you, that I had six times taken an oath, that I should never consent to the practising of any jurisdiction on the bishop of Rome's behalf; and therefore durst I not answer to any thing that should be demanded so, lest I should be forsworn, which God forbid. Howbeit, saving mine oath, I said that I was more confirmed in the doctrine set forth publicly in the days of king Edward, than ever I was before I was put in prison; and so I thought I should be, and think yet still I shall be, found more ready to give my life as God will for the confirmation of the same.

**Chan.** I remember well that thou madest much ado about needless matter, as though the oath against the bishop of Rome were so great a matter. So others have done before thee, but yet not in such sort as thou hast done: for thou pretendest a conscience in it, which is nothing else but mere hypocrisy.

**Brad.** My conscience is known to the Lord, and whether I deal herein hypocritically, or no, he knoweth. As I said therefore then, my lord, so I say again now, That for fear lest I should be perjured, I dare not make answer to any thing you shall demand of me, if my answering should con-

sent to the confirming or practising of any jurisdiction for the bishop of Rome here in England.

*L. Chan.* Why didst thou begin to tell that we are gods, and sit in God's place, and now wilt thou not make us an answer?

*Brad.* My lord, I said you would have your place taken of us now as God's place; and therefore I brought forth that piece of scripture, that ye might the more be admonished to follow God and his ways at this present, who seeth us all, and well perceiveth whether of conscience I pretend this matter of the oath, or no.

*L. Chan.* No, all men may well see thine hypocrisy: for if for thine oath's sake thou didst not answer, then wouldest thou not have spoken as thou didst, and have answered me at the first: but now men will perceive that this is but a starting-hole to hide thyself in, because thou dardest not answer, and so wouldest escape, blinding the simple people's eyes, as though of conscience you did all you do.

*Brad.* That which I spake at the first, was not a replication or an answer to that you spake to me; and therefore I needed not to lay for me mine oath. For I thought you would have more weighed what I did speak than you did; but when I perceived you did not consider it, but came to ask matter, whereunto by answering I should consent to the practising of jurisdiction on the bishop of Rome's behalf here in England, and so be forsworn; then of conscience and simplicity I spake, as I do yet again speak, that I dare not for conscience sake answer you. And therefore I seek no starting-holes, nor go about to blind the people, as God knoweth. For if you of your honours shall tell me, that you do not ask me any thing whereby mine answering should consent to the practising of the bishop of Rome's jurisdiction, ask me wherein you will, and you shall hear that I will answer you as flatly as ever any did that came before you. I am not afraid of death, I thank God: for I look, and have looked, for nothing else at your hands for a long time; but I am afraid, when death cometh, I should have matter to trouble my conscience, by the guiltiness of perjury, and therefore do I answer as I do.

*L. Chan.* These be gay, glorious words, full of hypocrisy and vain-glory: and yet dost thou not know that I sit here as bishop of Winchester in mine own diocese, and therefore may do this which I do, and more too?

*Brad.* My lord, give me leave to ask you this question, that my conscience may be out of doubt in this matter. Tell me here before God, and this audience being witness, that you demand of me nothing whereby mine answering should consent to and confirm the practise of jurisdiction for the bishop of Rome here in England, and yet your honour shall hear me give you as flat and as plain answers briefly, to whatsoever you shall demand me, as ever any did.

Here the lord chancellor was wonderfully offended, and spake much how the bishop of Rome's authority needed no confirmation of Bradford's answering, nor no such as he was: and turned his talk to the people, how that Bradford followed crafty, covetous merchants, which because they would lend no money to their neighbours when they were in need, would say that they had sworn oft, that they would never lend any more money, because their debtors had so oft deceived them. Even so thou (quoth he to Bradford) dost at this present, to cast a mist in the people's eyes, to blear them with an heresy, (which is greater and more hurtful to the commonwealth than the other is,) pretend thine oath, whereby the people might make a conscience, whereas they should not. Why speakest thou not?

*Brad.* My lord, as I said, I say again, I dare not answer

you for fear of perjury, (from which God defend me,) or else I could tell you that there is a difference between oaths. Some be according to faith and charity, as the oath against the bishop of Rome; some be against faith and charity, as this, to deny by oath my help to my brother in his need.

Here my lord chancellor again was much offended, still saying that Bradford durst not answer, and further made much ado to prove, that the oath against the bishop of Rome was against charity. But Bradford answered, That howsoever his honour took him, yet he was assured of his meaning, that no fear but the fear of perjury made him unwilling to answer. For as for death, my lord, (quoth he,) as I know there are twelve hours in the day, so with the Lord my time is appointed; and when it shall be his good time, then I shall depart hence.—But in the mean season I am safe enough, though all the people had sworn my death. Into his hands have I committed it, and do; his good will be done: And saving mine oath, I will answer you in this behalf, that the oath against the bishop of Rome was not, nor is, against charity.

*L. Chan.* How prove you that?

*Brad.* Forsooth, I prove it thus: *Arg.* Nothing is against charity, which is with God's word, and not against it; the oath against the bishop of Rome's authority in England, is with God's word, and is not against it: *Ergo*, the oath against the bishop of Rome's authority in England, is not against charity.

*L. Chan.* Is it against God's word, that a man should take a king to be supreme head of the church in this realm?

*Brad.* No, saving still mine oath, it is not against God's word, but with it, being taken in such sense as it may well be taken; that is, attributing to the king's power the sovereignty in all his dominion.

*L. Chan.* I pray you, where find you that?

*Brad.* I find it in many places, but specially in the 13th to the Romans, where St. Paul writeth, Every soul to be subject to the superior power; but what power? *Quæ gladium gestat*, The power verily which beareth the sword; which is not the spiritual, but the temporal power. As Chrysostom full well noteth upon the same place, which your honour knoweth better than I. He (Chrysostom I mean) there plainly sheweth that bishops, prophets, and apostles, are obedient to the temporal magistrates.

Here yet more the lord chancellor was stirred, and said, how that Bradford went about to deny all obedience to the queen, for his oath: and so (quoth he) this man would make God's word a warrant of disobedience; for he will answer the queen on this sort, that when she saith, Now swear to the bishop of Rome, or obey his authority:—No, (will he say,) for I should be forsworn; and so he makes the queen no queen.

*Brad.* No, I go not about to deny all obedience to the queen's highness, but denying obedience in this part, if she should demand it. For I was sworn to king Edward, not simply, that is, not only concerning his own person, but also concerning his successors; and therefore in denying to do the queen's request, herein, I deny not her authority, nor become disobedient.

*L. Chan.* Yes, that thou dost. And so he began to tell a long tale, how if a man should make an oath to pay to me an hundred pounds by such a day, and the man to whom it was due would forget the debt, the debtor should say, No, you cannot do it; for I am forsworn then.

Here Bradford desired my lord chancellor not to trifle, saying, that he wondered his honour would make solemn oaths to God, trifles in that sort; and make so great a matter

concerning vows (as they call it) made to the bishop for marriage of priests.

At these words the lord chancellor was much offended, and said he did not trifle. But (quoth he) thou goest about to deny obedience to the queen, which now requireth obedience to the bishop of Rome.

*Brad.* No, my lord, I do not deny obedience to the queen, if you would discern between *genus* and *species*. Because I may not obey in this, *ergo*, I may not obey in the other, is no good reason. And if a man let or sell a piece of his inheritance, yet, this notwithstanding, all his inheritance is not let or sold: and so in this case, all obedience I deny not, because I deny obedience in this branch.

*Chan.* I will none of these similitudes.

*Brad.* I would not use them, if that you went not about to persuade the people that I meant that which I never meant: for I myself not only mean obedience, but will give ensample of all most humble obedience to the queen's highness, so long as she requireth not obedience against God.

*Chan.* No, no, all men may see your meaning well enough. There is no man, though he be sworn to the king, that doth therefore break his oath, if he afterwards be sworn to the French king, and to the emperor.

*Brad.* It is true, my lord; but the cases be not alike. For here is an exception: Thou shalt not swear to the bishop of Rome at any time. If we in like manner were sworn, Thou shalt not serve the emperor, &c. you see there were some alteration, and more doubt. But, I beseech your honour, remember what ye yourself have written, answering the objections here against in your book, *De vera obedientia. Vincat modo divini verbi veritas*, i. e. Let God's word, and the reason thereof, bear the bell away.

Here the lord chancellor was thoroughly moved, and said still, how that Bradford hath written seditious letters, and perverted the people thereby, and did stoutly stand as though he would defend the erroneous doctrine in king Edward's time, against all men; and now (quoth he) he saith he dare not answer.

*Brad.* I have written no seditious letters, I have not perverted the people; but that which I have written and spoken, that will I never deny, by God's grace. And where your lordship saith, that I dare not answer you: that all men may know that I am not afraid, saving mine oath, ask me what you will, and I will plainly make you answer, by God's grace, although I now see my life lieth thereon. But, O Lord, into thy hands I commit it, come what will; only sanctify thy name in me, as in an instrument of thy grace, Amen. Now ask what you will, and you shall see I am not afraid, by God's grace, flatly to answer.

*L. Chan.* Well then, how say you to the blessed sacrament? Do you not believe there Christ to be present concerning his natural body?

*Brad.* My lord, I do not believe that Christ is corporally present at and in the due administration of the sacrament. By this word *corporally*, I mean that Christ is there present corporally unto faith.

*L. Chan.* Unto faith! We must have many more words to make it plain.

*Brad.* You shall so; but first give me leave to speak two words.—*L. Chan.* Speak on.

*Brad.* I have been now a year and almost three-quarters in prison, and all this time you never questioned with me hereabout, when I might have spoken my conscience frankly without peril; but now you have a law to hang up and put to death, if a man answer freely, and not to your appetite, and so now you come to demand this question. Ah, my

lord, Christ used not this way to bring men to faith; no more did the prophets or apostles. Remember what Bernard writeth to Eugenius, the pope, I read that the apostles stood to be judged, but I read not that they sat to judge. This shall be, that was, &c.

Here the lord chancellor was appalled, as it seemed, and said most gently that he used not this means. It was not my doing, (quoth he,) although some there be that think this to be the best way; for I, for my part, have been challenged for being too gentle oftentimes.—Which thing the bishop of London confirmed, and so did almost all the audience, that he had been ever too mild and too gentle.

At which words Bradford spake thus: My lord, I pray you stretch out your gentleness, that I may feel it, for hitherto I never felt it.

As soon as he had spoken thus, the lord chancellor, thinking that Bradford would have had mercy and pardon, said, that with all his heart not only he, but the queen's highness, would stretch out mercy, if with them he would return.

*Brad.* Return, my lord! God save me from that going back: I mean it not so, but I mean that I was three-quarters of a year in the Tower; you forbade me paper, pen, and ink, and never in all that time, nor since, did I feel any gentleness from you. I have rather hitherto found, as I looked for, extremity. And I thank God that I perceive now ye have kept me in prison thus long, not for any matter ye had, but for matter ye would have: God's good will be done.

Here now were divers telling my lord it was dinner time: and so he rose up, leaving Bradford speaking, and saying, that in the afternoon they would speak more with him. And so he was had into the vestry, and was there all that day till dark night, and so was conveyed again to prison.

In the mean time, about four of the clock the same afternoon, a gentleman, called Mr. Thomas Hussey, of Lincolnshire, who was once an officer in the duke of Norfolk's house, did come into the vestry to inquire for one Stoning; and when it was answered him by the under marshal's officers of the King's Bench, that there was none such, he entered into the house, and took acquaintance of John Bradford, saying, that he would commune and speak with him the next morning for old acquaintance.

The next morning, about seven o'clock, this gentleman came into the chamber wherein John Bradford did lie, and being with him he began a long oration, how that of love and old acquaintance he came unto him to speak that which he would further utter. You did (said he) so wonderfully behave yourself before the lord chancellor and other bishops yesterday, that even the veriest enemies you have did see that they have no matter against you; and therefore I advise you, (speaking as though it came of his own good will, without making any other man privy, or any other procurer him, as he said,) this day, for anon you shall be called before them again, to desire a time, and men to confer withal; so shall all men think a wonderful wisdom, gravity, and godliness, in you; and by this means you shall escape present danger, which else is nearer than you be aware of. To this John Bradford answered, I neither can nor will make such request: for then shall I give occasion to the people, and to all others, to think that I doubt of the doctrine which I confess: the which thing I do not, for thereof I am most assured, and therefore I will give no such offence.

As they were thus talking, the chamber door was unlocked, and Dr. Seton came in, who when he saw Mr. Hussey, What, sir, (quoth Bradford in his heart to God,) goeth the matter thus! This man told me, no man knew of his coming: Lord, give me grace to remember thy lesson, "Beware of



those men, &c. Cast not your pearls before dogs." For I see these men be come to hunt for matter, that the one may bear witness with the other.

Dr. Seaton, after some by-talk of Bradford's age, of his country, and such like, began a gay and long sermon of my lord of Canterbury, Mr. Latimer, and Mr. Ridley, and how they at Oxford were not able to answer any thing at all; and that therefore my lord of Canterbury desired to confer with the bishop of Durham and others; all which talk tended to this end, that John Bradford should make the like suit, being in nothing to be compared in learning to my lord of Canterbury.

To this John Bradford briefly answered as he did before to Mr. Hussey.

With this answer neither the doctor nor gentleman being contented, after many persuasions, Mr. Doctor said, I have heard much good talk of you, and even yesternight a gentleman made report of you at the lord chancellor's table, that ye were able to persuade as much as any that he knew. And I, though I never heard you preach, and to my knowledge did never see you before yesterday, yet methought your modesty was such, your behaviour and talk so without malice and impatience, that I would be sorry you should do worse than myself. And I tell you further, I do perceive my lord chancellor hath a fancy towards you; wherefore be not so obstinate, but desire respite, and some learned man to confer withal, &c.—But John Bradford kept still one answer: I cannot, nor will I so offend the people. I doubt not, but am most certain of the doctrine I have taught.

Here Mr. Doctor waxed hot, and called Bradford arrogant, proud, vain-glorious, and spake like a prelate.

But Bradford answered, Beware of judging, lest you condemn yourself. But still Mr. Dr. Seton urged him, shewing him how merciful my lord chancellor was, and how charitably they entertained him.

I never saw any justice, much less love, I speak for my part, (quoth Bradford,) in my lord chancellor. Long have I been unjustly imprisoned, and handled in the same uncharitably; and now my lord hath no just matter against me.

This talk served not the doctor's purpose: wherefore he went from matter to matter, from this point to that point. Bradford still gave him the hearing, and answered not: for he perceived that they both did come but to fish for some things which might make a shew that my lord chancellor had justly kept him in prison. When all their talk had no such effect as they would or looked for, Mr. Hussey asked Bradford, Will ye not admit conference, if my lord chancellor should offer it publicly?

Brad. Conference, if it had been offered before the law had been made, or if it were offered so that I might be at liberty to confer, and as sure as he with whom I should confer, then it were something: but else I see not to what other purpose conference should be offered, but to defer that which will come at the length, and the lingering may give more offence than do good. Howbeit, if my lord shall make such an offer of his own motion, I will not refuse to confer with whomever he shall appoint.

Mr. Doctor hearing this, called Bradford arrogant, proud, and whatsoever it pleased him.

Then Bradford perceiving by them that he should shortly be called for, besought them both to give him leave to talk with God, and to beg wisdom and grace of him: for (quoth he) otherwise I am helpless. And so they with much ado departed. Then Bradford went to God, and made his prayers, which the Lord of his goodness did graciously accept in his need; praised therefore he his holy name.

Shortly after they were gone, Bradford was led to the aforesaid church, and there tarried uncalled for till eleven o'clock, that is, till Mr. Saunders was excommunicated.

*The Sum of the last Examination of John Bradford, in the Church of St. Mary Overy's.*

After the excommunication of L. Saunders, John Bradford was called in, and being brought in before the lord chancellor and other bishops there sitting, the lord chancellor began to speak thus: That if Bradford, being now soon to come before them, would answer with modesty and humility, and conform himself to the Catholic church with them, he yet might find mercy, because they would be loath to use extremity. Therefore he concluded with an exhortation, that Bradford would recant his doctrine.

After the lord chancellor had ended his long oration, Bradford began to speak thus: As yesterday I besought your honours to set in your sight the majesty and presence of God; who seeketh not to subvert the simple by subtle questions; so I humbly beseech every one of you to do this day: for that you know well enough, that guiltless blood will cry for vengeance. And this I pray not your lordships to do, as one that taketh upon me to condemn you utterly herein, but that ye might be more admonished to do that, which none doth so much as he should do: for our nature is so corrupt, that we are very forgetful of God. Again, as yesterday I pretended mine oath and oaths against the bishop of Rome, that I should never consent to the practising of any jurisdiction for him, or on his behalf, in the realm of England; so do I again at this day, lest I should be perjured. And, last of all, as yesterday the answers I made were by protestation and saving mine oaths; so I would your honours should know that mine answers shall be this day. And this I do, that when death (which I look for at your hands) shall come, I may not be troubled with the guiltiness of perjury.

At which words the lord chancellor was wrath, and said, that he had given him respite to deliberate till this day, whether he would recant his errors of the blessed sacrament, which yesterday (quoth he) before us you uttered.

Brad. My lord, you gave me no time for any such deliberation, neither did I speak any thing of the sacrament which you did disallow. For when I had declared a presence of Christ to be there to faith, you went from that matter to purge yourself that you were not cruel, and so went to dinner.

L. Chan. What! I perceive we must begin all again with thee. Did I not yesterday tell thee plainly, that thou madest a conscience where none should be? Did I not make it plain, that the oath against the bishop of Rome was an unlawful oath?

Brad. No indeed, my lord; you said so, but you proved it not yet, nor even can do.

L. Chan. O Lord God, what a fellow art thou! Thou wouldest go about to bring into the people's heads that we, all the lords of the parliament house, the knights and burgesses, and all the whole realm, be perjured. O what an heretic is this! Here, good people, you may see what a senseless heretic this fellow is. If I should make an oath I would never help my brother, nor lend him money in his need, were this a good answer, to tell my neighbour desiring my help, that I had made an oath to the contrary? or that I could not do it?

Brad. O my lord, discern betwixt oaths that be against charity and faith, and oaths that be according to faith and charity, as this is against the bishop of Rome.

Here the lord chancellor made such ado, and a long time,



was spent about oaths, which were good and which were evil, he captiously asking often of Bradford a direct answer concerning oaths; which Bradford would not give simply, but with a distinction. Whereat the chancellor was much offended: but Bradford still kept him at the bay, that the oath against the bishop of Rome was a lawful oath, using thereto the lord chancellor's own book, *De vera obedientia*, for confirmation.

At length they came to this issue, who should be judge of the lawfulness of the oath? and Bradford said the word of God, according to Christ's word, John xii. My word shall judge; and according to the testimony of Isaiah and Micah, That God's word coming out of Jerusalem shall give sentence among the Gentiles. By this word, (quoth Bradford,) my lord, I will prove the oath against the bishop of Rome's authority to be a good, a godly, and a lawful oath. So that the lord chancellor left his hold, and as the other day he pretended a denial of the queen's authority and obedience to her highness, so did he now.

But Bradford, as the day before, proved that obedience in this point to the queen's highness, if she should demand an oath to the bishop of Rome, being denied, was not a general denial of her authority, and of obedience to her; no more, quoth he, than the sale, gift, or lease of a piece of a man's inheritance, proveth it a sale, gift, or lease of the whole inheritance. Bradford said, that the queen's highness could do no more but remit her right; as for the oath made to God, she could never remit, forasmuch as it was made unto God.

At which words the lord chancellor chafed wonderfully, and said, that in plain sense I slandered the realm of perjury; and therefore (quoth he to the people) you may see how this fellow taketh upon him to have more knowledge and conscience than all the wise men of England, and yet he hath no conscience at all.

*Brad.* Well, my lord, let all the standers-by see who hath conscience: I have been a year and a half in prison; now before all this people declare wherefore I was imprisoned, or what cause you had to punish me. You said the other day in your own house, my lord of London witnessing with you, that I took upon me to speak to the people undesired. There he sitteth by you (I mean my lord of Bath) which desired me himself, for the passion of Christ, I would speak to the people. Upon whose words I coming into the pulpit, had like to have been slain with a dagger which was hurled at him, I think, for it touched my sleeve. He then prayed me I would not leave him, and I promised him as long as I lived I would take hurt before him that day: and so went out of the pulpit and entreated with the people, and at length brought him myself into an house. Besides this, in the afternoon I preached at Bow church, and there going up into the pulpit, one willed me not to reprove the people; for, quoth he, you shall never come down alive, if you do it. And yet, notwithstanding, I did in that sermon reprove their fact, and called it sedition at the least twenty times. For all which my doing, I have received this recompence,—prison for a year and a half more, and death now which you go about. Let all men be judges where conscience is.

In speaking of these words, there was endeavour to have letted it; but Bradford still spake on, and gave no place till he had made an end, speak what they would. And then the lord chancellor said, that for all that fair tale, his fact at the cross was naught.

*Brad.* No, my fact was good, as you yourself did bear witness with me. For when I was at the first before you in the Tower, you yourself did say, that my fact was good, but

(quoth you) thy mind was evil. Well, quoth I, then, my lord, in that you allow the fact, and condemn my mind; for so much as otherwise I cannot declare my mind to man but by saying and doing, God one day, I trust, will open it to my comfort, what my mind was, and yours is.

Here the lord chancellor was offended, and said that he never said so. I, quoth he, had not so little wit, I trow, as not to discern betwixt meaning and doing; and said, that Bradford was put in prison at the first because he would not yield, nor be conformable to the queen's religion.

*Brad.* Why, my lord, your honour knoweth that you would not reason with me in religion, but said a time should afterwards be found out when I should be talked withal. But if it were as your lordship saith, that I was put in prison for religion; in that my religion was then authorized by public laws of the realm, could conscience punish me, or cast me in prison therefore? Wherefore let all men be judges in whom conscience wanteth.

Here came forth Mr. Chamberlain, of Woodstock, and spake to my lord chancellor, how that Bradford had been a serving-man, and was with Mr. Harrington.

*L. Chan.* True, and did deceive his master of sevenscore pounds, and because of this he went to a gospeller and preacher, good people; and yet you see how he pretendeth conscience.

*Brad.* My lord, I set my foot by his, whosoever he be, that can come forth and justly vouch to my face, that ever I did deceive my master; and as you are chief justice by office in England, I desire justice upon them that so slander me, because they cannot prove it.

Here my lord chancellor and Mr. Chamberlain were smitten blank, and said they heard it. But, quoth my lord chancellor, we have another manner of matter than this against you, for you are an heretic.

Yea, quoth the bishop of London, he did write letters to Mr. Pendleton, which knoweth his hand as well as his own; your honour did see the letters.—*Brad.* This is not true, I never did write to Pendleton since I came to prison, and therefore I am not justly spoken of.—*Lond.* Yea, but you indited it.—*Brad.* I did not, nor know what you mean, and this I offer to prove.

Here came in Mr. Allen, one of the clerks of the council, putting the lord chancellor in remembrance of letters written into Lancashire.

*L. Chan.* You say true: for we have his hand to shew.

*Brad.* I deny that you have my hand to shew of letters sent into Lancashire, otherwise than before you all I will stand to, and prove them to be good and lawful.

Here was all answered, and then the lord chancellor began a new matter: Sir, (quoth he,) in my house the other day you did most contemptuously condemn the queen's mercy, and further said, that you would maintain the erroneous doctrine in king Edward's days against all men; and this you do most stoutly.

*Brad.* Well, I am glad that all men see now you have had no matter to imprison me before that day justly. Now say I, that I did not contemptuously condemn the queen's mercy, but would have had it, (though if justice might take place I need it not) so that I might have had it with God's mercy, that is, without doing or saying any thing against God and his truth. And as for maintenance of doctrine, because I cannot tell how you will stretch this word maintenance, I will repeat again that which I spake. I said I was more confirmed in the religion set forth in king Edward's days than ever I was: and if God so would, I trust I should declare it by giving my life for the confirmation and main-

cation thereof; so I said then, and so I say now. As for otherwise to maintain it, than pertaining to a private person by confession, I thought not, nor think not.

*L. Chan.* Well, yesterday thou didst maintain false heresy concerning the blessed sacrament, and therefore we gave thee respite till this day to deliberate.

*Brad.* My lord, as I said at the first, I spake nothing of the sacrament but that which you allowed, and therefore reprov'd it not, nor gave me any thing to deliberate.

*L. Chan.* Why, didst thou not deny Christ's presence in the sacrament?

*Brad.* No, I never denied nor taught, but that to faith whole Christ, body and blood, was as present at the bread and wine to the due receiver.

*L. Chan.* Yea, but dost thou not believe that Christ's body naturally and really is there, under the forms of bread and wine?

*Brad.* My lord, I believe Christ is present there to the faith of the due receiver: as for transubstantiation, I plainly and flatly tell you, I believe it not.

Here was Bradford called Diabolus, a slanderer: For we ask no question (quoth my lord chancellor) of transubstantiation, but of Christ's presence.

*Brad.* I deny not his presence to the faith of the receiver, but deny that he is included in the bread, or that the bread was transubstantiated.

*B. Worces.* If he be not included, how is he then present?

*Brad.* Forsooth, though my faith can tell how, yet my tongue cannot express it, nor you otherwise than by faith hear it, or understand it.

Here was much ado, now one doctor standing up and speaking thus, and others speaking that, and the lord chancellor talking much of Luther, Zuinglius, and Oecolampadius; but still Bradford kept him at that point, that Christ is present to faith, and that there is no transubstantiation nor including of Christ in the bread; but all this would not serve them.

Therefore another bishop asked this question, Whether the wicked man received Christ's very body, or no? And Bradford answered plainly, No. Whereat the lord chancellor made a long oration, how that it could not be that Christ was present, except that the evil man received it. But Bradford put away all his oration in few words, that grace was at that time offered to his lordship, although he received it not: so that (quoth he) the receiving maketh not the presence, as your lordship would infer; but God's grace, truth, and power, is the cause of the presence, which grace the wicked that lack faith cannot receive. And here Bradford prayed my lord not to divorce that which God had coupled together. He hath coupled all these together, "Take, eat, this is my body:" he saith not, See, peep, this is my body; but, "Take, eat." So that it appeareth this is a promise depending upon condition, If we take and eat.

Here the lord chancellor and other bishops made a great ado, that Bradford had found out a toy that no man else ever did, of the condition, and the lord chancellor made many words to the people thereabout.

But Bradford said thus, My lord, are not these words, "Take, eat," a commandment? and are not these words, "This is my body," a promise? If you will challenge the promise, and do not the commandment, may you not deceive yourself?

*L. Chan.* Here the lord chancellor denied Christ to have commanded the sacrament, and the use of it.

*Brad.* Why, my lord, I pray you tell the people what

mood *Accipite, Manducate*, is; is it not plain to children, that Christ, in so saying, commandeth?

At these words the lord chancellor made a great toying and trifling at the imperative mood, and fell to parsing or examining, as he should teach a child, and so concluded that it was no commandment, but such a phrase as this, "I pray you give me drink;" which (quoth he) is no commandment, I trow.

But Bradford prayed him to leave toying and trifling, and said thus, My lord, if it be not a commandment of Christ to take and eat the sacrament, why dare any take upon them to command and make that of necessity, which God leaveth free, as you do in making it a necessary commandment once a year, for all that be of discretion, to receive the sacrament?

Here the lord chancellor called him again Diabolus, or calumniator, and began out of these words, "Let a man prove himself, and so eat of the bread (yea, bread, quoth Bradford,) and drink of the cup," to prove that it was no commandment to receive the sacrament; for then, (quoth he,) if it were a commandment, it should bind all men in all places, and at all times.

*Brad.* O my lord, discern between commandments: some be general, as the Ten Commandments, that they bind always, in all places, and all persons; some be not so general, as this of the supper, the sacrament of baptism, of the thrice appearing before the Lord yearly at Jerusalem, of Abraham offering of Isaac, &c.

Here my lord chancellor denied the cup to be commanded of Christ: for then (quoth he) we should have eleven commandments.

*Brad.* Indeed, I think you think as you speak; for else would you not take the cup from the people, in that Christ saith, "Drink ye all of it." But how say you, my lords? Christ saith to you bishops especially, *Itc, predicate evangelium*: "Go, and preach the gospel: Feed Christ's flock," &c. Is this a commandment, or no?

Here was my lord chancellor in a chafe, and said as pleased him.

The bishop of Durham asked Bradford, when Christ began to be present in the sacrament? whether before the receiver received it, or no?

Bradford answered, that the question was curious, and not necessary; and further said, that as the cup was the new testament, so the bread was Christ's body to him that received it duly, but yet so that the bread is bread. For, (quoth he,) in all the scripture ye shall not find this proposition, *Non est panis*, "There is no bread." Much ado was hereabouts, the calling Bradford heretic, and he desiring them to proceed on in God's name, he looked for that which God appointed for them to do.

*L. Chan.* This fellow is now in another heresy of fatal necessity, as though all things were so tied together, that of mere necessity all must come to pass.

But Bradford prayed him to take things as they be spoken, and not wreat them into a contrary sense. Your lordship, quoth he, doth discern betwixt God and man. Things are not by fortune to God at any time, though to man they seem so sometimes. I speak but as the apostle said, Lord, quoth he, see how Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the prelates, are gathered together against thy Christ, to do that which thy hand and counsel hath before ordained for them to do.

Here began the lord chancellor to read the excommunication. And in the excommunication, when he came to the name of John Bradford, *laicus*, layman; Why, quoth he, art thou no priest?

*Erad.* No, nor never was, either priest, either beneficed, either married, either any preacher, afore public authority had established religion, or preacher after public authority had altered religion, and yet I am thus handled at your hand: but God, I doubt not, will give his blessing where you curse. And so he fell down on his knees, and heartily thanked God that he counted him worthy to suffer for his name's sake. And so praying God to give him repentance and a good mind, after the excommunication was read, he was delivered to the sheriff of London, and so had to the Clink, and afterwards to the Compter in the Poultry, in the same city of London, this being purposed of his murderers, that he should be delivered from thence to the earl of Derby, to be conveyed into Lancashire, and there to be burned in the town of Manchester, where he was born. But their purpose concerning the place was afterwards altered: for they burned him in London.

After the condemnation of Mr. Bradford, which was the last day of January, Mr. Bradford being sent into prison, did there remain until the first day of July, during all which time divers other conferences and conflicts he sustained with sundry adversaries, which repaired unto him in the prison.

Thus still in prison continued Bradford, until the month of July, in such labours and sufferings as he before always had sustained in prison. But when the time of his determined death was come, he was suddenly conveyed out of the Compter, where he was prisoner, in the night season, to Newgate, as is before declared, and from thence he was carried the next morning to Smithfield; where he constantly abiding in the same truth of God which before he had confessed, earnestly exhorting the people to repent and to return to Christ, and sweetly comforting the godly young man of nineteen or twenty years old, who was burned with him, cheerfully he ended his painful life, to live with Christ.

#### JOHN LEAF, burnt with BRADFORD.

With Mr. Bradford was burnt one *John Leaf*, an apprentice to Humphrey Gawdy, tallow-chandler, of the parish of Christ church, in London, of the age of nineteen years and above, born at Kirkby Moorside, in the county of York; who upon the Friday next before Palm-Sunday, was committed to the Compter in Bread-street, by an alderman of London, who had rule and charge of that ward, or part of the city, where the said Leaf did dwell.—After, he coming to examination before Bonner, gave a firm and christian testimony of his doctrine and profession, answering to such articles as were objected to him by the said bishop.

First, as touching his belief and faith in the said sacrament of the altar, he answered, that after the words of consecration, spoken by the priest over the bread and wine, there was not the very true and natural body and blood of Christ in substance; and further did hold and believe, that the said sacrament of the altar, as it is used in this realm of England, is idolatrous and abominable.

It is reported of the said *John Leaf*, by one that was in the Compter the same time, and saw the thing, that after his examinations before the bishop, when two bills were sent unto him in the compter in Bread-street, the one containing a recantation, the other his confessions, to know to which of them he would put his hand, first hearing the bill of recantation read unto him, (because he could not read nor write himself,) that he refused. And when the other was read unto him, which he well liked of, instead of a pen he took a pin, and so pricked his hand, sprinkled the blood upon the said bill, willing the reader thereof to shew the bishop, that he had sealed the same bill with his blood already.

*The Behaviour of Mr. Bradford, preacher, and a young man that suffered with him in Smithfield, named John Leaf, an Apprentice, who suffered for the testimony of Christ.*

First, when they came to the stake in Smithfield to be burned, Mr. Bradford lying prostrate on the one side of the stake, and the young man, John Leaf, on the other side, prayed to themselves the space of a minute. Then one of the sheriff's said to Mr. Bradford, Arise and make an end: for the press of the people is great.

At that word they both stood upon their feet, and then Mr. Bradford took a faggot in his hand and kissed it, and so likewise the stake. And when he had so done, he desired of the sheriff's, that his servant might have his raiment. For, said he, I have nothing else to give him: and besides that, he is a poor man. And the sheriff said he should have it. And so forthwith Mr. Bradford did put off his raiment, and went to the stake; and holding up his hands, and casting his countenance to heaven, he said thus, O England, England, repent thee of thy sins! repent thee of thy sins! Beware of idolatry, beware of Antichrists, take heed they do not deceive you.

As he was speaking these words the sheriff bid tie his hands, if he would not be quiet. O master sheriff, said Mr. Bradford, I am quiet. God forgive you this, master sheriff. And one of the officers which made the fire, hearing Mr. Bradford so speaking to the sheriff, said, If you have no better learning than that, you are but a fool, and were best hold your peace. To which words Mr. Bradford gave no answer; but asked all the world forgiveness, and forgave all the world, and prayed the people to pray for him, and turned his head unto the young man that suffered with him, and said, Be of good comfort, brother; for we shall have a merry supper with the Lord this night. And so spake no more words that any man did hear, but embracing the reeds said thus, Strait is the way, and narrow is the gate, that leadeth to eternal salvation, and few there be that find it.

And thus they both ended their mortal lives, most like two lambs, without any alteration of their countenance, being void of all fear, hoping to obtain the prize of the race that they had long run at; to which I beseech Almighty God happily to conduct us, through the merits of Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour. Amen.

Touching Mr. Woodrofe, the sheriff, mention is made a little before how ~~charitably~~ here he answered Mr. Bradford at the stake, not suffering him to speak, but commanding his hands to be tied, &c. The like extremity, or worse, he used also before to Mr. Rogers, whereof ye have heard before.

The said Woodrofe, sheriff, was joined in office with another called sir William Chester, for the year 1555. Between these two sheriffs such difference there was of judgment and religion, that the one (that is Mr. Woodrofe) was wont commonly to laugh, but the other to shed tears, at the death of Christ's people. And whereas the other was wont to restrain and to beat the people, which were desirous to take them by the hands that should be burned, the other sheriff contrariwise with much sorrow and mildness behaved himself.

Furthermore, here by the way to note the severe punishment of God's hand against the said Woodrofe, as against all such cruel persecutors: so it happened, that within half a year after the burning of this blessed martyr, the said sheriff was so stricken on the right side with such a palsy, or stroke of God's hand, whatsoever it was, that for the space of eight years after, till his dying day, he was not able to turn himself in his bed, but as two men with a staff were

fain to stir him; and withal such an insatiable devouring came upon him, that it was monstrous to see. And thus continued he the space of eight years together.

HERE FOLLOW THE LETTERS OF MR. BRADFORD.

And first, forsomuch as ye heard in the story before, how the earl of Derby complained in the parliament house of certain letters written by John Bradford out of prison, to Lancashire, and also he was charged both of the bishop of Winchester, and of Mr. Allen, with some letters; to the intent the reader more perfectly may understand what letters they were, (being written indeed to his mother, brethren, and sisters, out of the Tower, before his condemnation,) we will begin first with the same: the copy, with the contents whereof, is this as followeth:

*A comfortable Letter of Mr. Bradford to his Mother, a godly matron, dwelling in Manchester, and to his Brethren and Sisters, and other of his Friends there.*

"Our dear and sweet Saviour Jesus Christ, whose prisoner at this present (praised be his name) I am, preserve and keep you, my good mother, with my brothers and sisters, my father, John Traves, Thomas Sorrocold, Laurence and James Bradshaw, with their wives and families, &c. now and for ever, Amen.

"I am at this present in prison, sure enough for starting, to confirm that I have preached unto you; as I am ready, I thank God, with my life and blood to seal the same, if God vouchsafe me worthy of that honour. For, good mother and brethren, it is a most special benefit of God to suffer for his name's sake and gospel, as now I do: I heartily thank God for it, and am sure that with him I shall be partaker of his glory, as Paul saith, 'If we suffer with him, we shall reign with him.' Therefore be not faint-hearted, but rather rejoice, at the least for my sake, which now am in the right and high way to heaven, for by many afflictions we must enter into the kingdom of heaven. Now will God make known his children. When the wind doth not blow, then cannot a man know the wheat from the chaff; but when the blast cometh, then flieth away the chaff, but the wheat remaineth, and is so far from being hurt, that by the wind it is more cleared from the chaff, and known to be wheat. Gold, when it is cast into the fire, is the more precious; so are God's children by the cross of affliction. Always God beginneth his judgment at his house. Christ and the apostles were in most misery in the land of Jewry, but yet the whole land smarted for it after: so now God's children are first chastised in this world, that they should not be damned with the world; for surely great plagues of God hang over this realm.

"Ye all know there was never more knowledge of God, and less godly living and true serving of God. It was counted a foolish thing to serve God truly, and earnest prayer was not past upon. Preaching was but a pastime. The communion was counted too common. Fasting to subdue the flesh, was far out of use. Alms was almost nothing. Malice, covetousness, and uncleanness, were common every where, with swearing, drunkenness, and idleness. God, therefore, now is come, and you have heard me preach, and because he will not damn us with the world, he beginneth to punish us for carnal living. For, as for my preaching, I am most certain it is and was God's truth, and I trust to give my life for it by God's grace. And indeed I thank him more of this prison than of any parlour, yea, than of any pleasure that I had: for in it I find God my most sweet God always. The flesh is punished, first to admonish us now

heartily to live as we profess; secondly, to certify the wicked of their just damnation, if they repent not.

"Perchance you are weakened in that which I have preached, because God doth not defend it, as you think, but suffereth the popish doctrine to come again and prevail: but you must know, good mother, that God by this doth prove and try his children and people, whether they will unfeignedly and simply hang on him and his word. So did he with the Israelites, bringing them into a desert, after their coming out of Egypt, where (I mean the wilderness) was want of all things, in comparison of that which they had in Egypt. Christ, when he came into this world, brought no worldly wealth nor quietness with him, but rather war: 'The world (saith he) shall rejoice, but ye shall mourn and weep; but your weeping shall be turned into joy. And therefore happy are they that mourn and weep, for they shall be comforted.' They are marked then with God's mark in their foreheads, and not with the Beast's mark, I mean the pope's shaven crown, who now with his shavelings rejoice. But wo unto them: for they shall be cast down, they shall weep and mourn. The rich glutton had here his joy, and Lazarus sorrow, but afterwards the time was changed. The end of carnal joy is sorrow. Now let the whoremonger joy, with the drunkard, swearer, covetous, malicious, and blind: for the mass will not bite them, neither make them to blush, as preaching would. Now may they do what they will, come devils to the church, and go devils home: for no man must find fault. And they are glad of this: now they have their hearts' desire, as the Sodomites had when Lot was gone: but what followed? Forsooth, when they cried 'Peace, all shall be well,' then came God's vengeance, fire and brimstone from heaven, and burnt up every mother's child: even so, dear mother, will it do to our Papists.

"Wherefore fear God: stick to his word, though all the world swerve from it. Die you must once, and when or how you cannot tell. Die therefore with Christ, suffer for serving him truly and after his word: for sure may we be, that of all deaths it is most to be desired to die for God's sake. This is the most safe kind of dying: we cannot doubt but that we shall go to heaven, if we die for his name's sake. And that you shall die for his name's sake, God's word will warrant you, if you stick to that which God by me hath taught you. You shall see that I speak as I think; for by God's grace I will drink before you of this cup, if I be put to it. I am at a point, even when my Lord God will, to come to him. Death nor life, prison nor pleasure, I trust in God, shall be able to separate me from my Lord God and his gospel. In peace, when no persecution was, then were you content and glad to hear me, then did you believe me; and will ye not do so now, seeing I speak that which I trust, by God's grace, if need be, to verify with my life? Good mother, I write before God to you, as I have preached before him.

"It is God's truth I have taught: it is that same infallible word whereof he said, 'Heaven and earth shall pass, but my word shall not pass.' The mass, and such baggage as the false worshippers of God and the enemies of Christ's cross (the Papists I say) have brought in again to poison the church of God withal, displeaseth God highly, and is abominable in his sight. Happy may he be which of conscience suffereth loss of life or goods in disallowing it. Come not at it. If God be God, follow him: if the mass be God, let them that will see it, hear or be present at it, and go to the devil with it. What is there as God ordained? His supper was ordained to be received of us in the memorial of his death, for the confirmation of our faith, and his



body was broken for us, and his blood shed for pardon of our sins; but in the mass there is no receiving, but the priest keepeth all to himself alone. Christ saith, 'Take, eat.' No, saith the priest; Gape, peep. There is a sacrificing, yea, killing of Christ again as much as they may. There is idolatry, in worshipping the outward sign of bread and wine; there is all in Latin, you cannot tell what he saith. To conclude, there is nothing as God ordained. Wherefore, my good mother, come not at it.

"O, will some say, it will hinder you, if you refuse to come to mass, and to do as others do. But God will further you, be you assured, as you shall one day find; who hath promised to them that suffer hinderance or loss of any thing in this world, his great blessing here, and in the world to come life everlasting.

"You shall be counted an heretic: but not of others than of heretics, whose praise is a dispraise.

"You are not able to reason against the priests: but God will, that all they shall not be able to withstand you. Nobody will do so, but you only. Indeed, no matter, for few enter into the narrow gate which bringeth to salvation. Howbeit, you shall have with you, I doubt not, father Traves, and other my brothers and sisters, to go with you therein: but if they will not, I your son in God, I trust, shall not leave you an inch, but go before you: pray that I may, and give thanks for me. Rejoice in my suffering, for it is for your sakes, to confirm the truth I have taught. Howsoever you do, beware this letter come not abroad, but into father Traves' hands: for if it should be known that I have pen and ink in the prison, then would it be worse with me. Therefore to yourselves keep this letter, commending me to God and his mercy in Christ Jesus, who make me worthy for his name's sake to give my life for his gospel and church sake. Out of the Tower of London, the 6th day of October, 1555.

"My name I write not for causes; you know it well enough. Like the letter never the worse. Commend me to all our good brethren and sisters in the Lord. Howsoever you do, be obedient to the higher powers, that is, in no point either in hand or tongue rebel, but rather if they command that which with good conscience you cannot obey, lay your head on the block, and suffer whatsoever they shall do or say. By patience possess your souls."

After the time that Mr. Bradford was condemned, and sent to the Compter, it was purposed of his adversaries, as ye heard before, that he should be had to Manchester, where he was born, and there be burned. Whereupon he writeth to the city of London, thinking to take his last 'vale' of them in this letter.

*To the City of London.*

"To all that profess the gospel and true doctrine of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ in the city of London, John Bradford, a most unworthy servant of the Lord, now not only in prison, but also excommunicated and condemned to be burned for the same true doctrine, wisheth mercy, grace, and peace, with increase of all godly knowledge and piety from God the father of mercy, through the merits of our alone and omnisufficient Redeemer Jesus Christ, by the operation of the holy Spirit, for ever, Amen.

"My dearly beloved brethren in our Saviour Christ, although the time I have to live is very little, (for hourly I look when I should be had hence to be conveyed into Lancaster, there to be burned, and to render my life by the providence of God, where first I received it by the same providence,) and although the charge is great to keep me

from all things whereby I might signify any thing to the world of my state; yet having, as now I have, pen and ink, through God's working, maugre the head of Satan and his soldiers, I thought good to write a short confession of my faith, and thereto adjoin a little exhortation unto you all, to live according to your profession.

"First, for my faith I do confess and pray all the whole congregation of Christ to bear witness with me of the same, that I believe constantly, through the gift and goodness of God, all the twelve articles of the Creed, commonly attributed to the apostles. This my faith I would gladly particularly declare and expound, to the confirmation and comfort of the simple; but, alas! by starts and stealth I write in manner that I do, and therefore I shall desire you all to take this brevity in good part. And this faith I hold, not because of the Creed itself, but because of the word of God, the which teacheth and confirmeth every article accordingly. This word of God, written by the prophets and apostles, contained in the canonical books of the whole Bible, I do believe to contain plentifully all things necessary to salvation, so that nothing (as necessary to salvation) ought to be added thereto; and therefore the church of Christ, nor none of his congregation, ought to be burdened with any other doctrine than hath its foundation and ground in the scriptures. In the testimony of this faith, I render and give my life, being condemned as well for not acknowledging the Antichrist of Rome to be Christ's vicar-general and supreme head of his Catholic and Universal Church, here or elsewhere upon earth, as for denying the horrible and idolatrous doctrine of transubstantiation, &c.

"To believe Christ our Saviour to be the Head of his Church, and kings in their realms to be the supreme powers, to whom every soul oweth obedience, and to believe that in the supper of Christ is a true presence of whole Christ, God and Man, to the faith of the receivers but not to the stander by and looker upon, as it is the true presence of bread and wine to the senses of men: to believe this, I say, will not serve, and therefore as an heretic I am condemned, and shall be burned; whereof I ask God heartily mercy that I do no more rejoice than I do, having so great cause as to be an instrument wherein it may please my dear Lord God and Saviour to suffer.

"For albeit my manifold sins, even since I came into prison, have deserved at the hands of God, not only this temporal, but also eternal fire in hell, much more then my former sinful life; which the Lord pardon for his Christ's sake, as I know he of his mercy hath done, and never will lay mine iniquities to my charge, to condemnation, so great is his goodness, (praised therefore be his holy name,) although, say I, my manifold and grievous sins have deserved most justly all the tyranny that man or devil can do unto me; and therefore I confess that the Lord is just, and that his judgments be true and deserved on my behalf: yet the bishops and prelates do not persecute them in me, but Christ himself, his word, his truth, and religion. And therefore I have great cause, yea, most great cause, to rejoice that ever I was born, and hitherto kept of the Lord; that by my death, which is deserved for my sins, it pleaseth the heavenly Father to glorify his name, testify his truth, to confirm his verity, to repugn his adversaries. O good God, and merciful Father, forgive my great unthankfulness, especially herein.

"And you, my dearly beloved, for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake, I humbly and heartily in his bowels and blood do beseech you, for my last farewell in this present life, beseech you, as I have of you, that you will consider this work of the Lord done



ingly. First, by me be admonished to beware of hypocrisy and carnal security; profess not the gospel with tongue and lips only, but in heart and verity; frame and fashion your lives accordingly; beware God's name be not evil spoken of, and the gospel less regarded, by your conversation. God forgive me that I have not so heartily professed it as I should have done, but have sought much myself therein. The gospel is a new doctrine to the old man; it is new wine, and therefore cannot be put in old bottles, without more hurt than good to the bottles. If we will talk with the Lord, we must put off our shoes and carnal affections; if we will hear the voice of the Lord, we must wash our garments, and be holy; if we will be Christ's disciples, we must deny ourselves, take up our cross, and follow Christ: we cannot serve two masters. If we seek Christ's kingdom, we must seek for the righteousness thereof. To this petition, Let thy kingdom come, we must join, Thy will be done, done on earth as it is in heaven. If we will not be doers of the word, but hearers of it only, we deceive ourselves. If we hear the gospel, and love it not, we declare ourselves to be but fools, and builders upon the sand. The Lord's Spirit hateth feigning; deceitfulness the Lord abhorreth: if we come to him, we must beware that we come not with a double heart; for then may chance that God will answer us according to the block which is in our hearts, and so we shall deceive ourselves and others.

"To faith see that we couple a good conscience, lest we make a shipwreck. To the Lord we must come with fear and reverence. If we will be gospellers, we must be Christ's; if we be Christ's, we must crucify our flesh with the lusts and concupiscences thereof; if we will be under grace, sin must not bear rule in us. We may not come to the Lord, and draw nigh to him with our lips, and leave our hearts elsewhere, lest the Lord's wrath wax hot, and he take from us the good remaining. In no case can the kingdom of Christ approach to them that repent not. Therefore, my dearly beloved, let us repent and be heartily sorry that we have so carnally, so hypocritically, so covetously, so vain-gloriously, professed the gospel. Let the anger and plagues of God, most justly fallen upon us, be applied to every one of our deserts, that from the bottom of our hearts every of us may say, It is I, Lord, that have sinned against thee; it is my hypocrisy, my vain-glory, my covetousness, uncleanness, carnality, security, idleness, unthankfulness, self-love, and such like, which have deserved the taking away of our good king, of thy word and true religion, of thy good ministers by exile, imprisonment, and death; it is my wickedness that causeth success and increase of authority and peace to thine enemies. O be merciful, be merciful unto us. Turn to us again, O Lord of Hosts, and turn us unto thee; correct us, but not in thy fury, lest we be consumed in thine anger; chastise us not in thy wrathful displeasure; reprove us not, but in the midst of thine anger remember thy mercy. For if thou mark what is done amiss, who shall be able to abide it? But with thee is mercifulness, that thou mightest be worshipped. O then be merciful unto us, that we might truly worship thee. Help us, for the glory of thy name: be merciful unto our sins, for they are great; O heal us, and help us for thine honour. Let not the wicked people say, Where is their God? &c.

"On this sort, my right dearly beloved, let us heartily bewail our sins, repent us of our former evil life, heartily and earnestly purpose to amend our lives in all things, continually wait in prayer, diligently and reverently attend, hear, and read the holy scriptures, labour after our vocation to amend our lives. Let us reprove the works of darkness. Let

us fly from all idolatry. Let us abhor the Antichristian and Romish rotten service, detest the popish mass, abrenounce their Romish god, prepare ourselves to the cross, be obedient to all that are in authority, in all things that be not against God and his word; for then answer with the apostles, It is more meet to obey God than man. Howbeit, never for any thing resist, or rise against the magistrates. Avenge not yourselves, but commit your cause to the Lord, to whom vengeance pertaineth; and he in his time will reward it. If you feel in yourselves an hope and trust in God, that he will never tempt you above that he will make you able to bear; be assured the Lord will be true to you, and you shall be able to bear all brunts. But if you want this hope, fly and get you hence, rather than by your tarrying, God's name should be dishonoured.

"In sum, cast your care on the Lord, knowing for most certain that he is careful for you; with him all the hairs of your head are numbered, so that not one of them shall perish without his good pleasure and will: much more, then, nothing shall happen to our bodies which shall not be profitable, howsoever for a time it seem otherwise to your senses. Hang on the providence of God, not only when you have means to help you, but also when you have no means, yea, and when all means be against you. Give him this honour, which of all other things he most chiefly requireth at your hands; namely, believe that you are his children through Christ, that he is your Father and God through him, that he loveth you, pardoneth you all your offences, that he is with you in trouble, and will be with you for ever. When you fall, he will put under his hand, you shall not lie still: before you call upon him he heareth you, out of the evil he will finally bring you, and deliver you to his eternal joy. Doubt not, my dearly beloved, herein doubt not, I say, this will God your Father do for you, not in respect of yourselves, but in respect of Christ your Captain, your Pastor, your Keeper, out of whose hands none shall be able to catch you; in him be quiet, and often consider your dignity, namely, how that ye be God's children, the saints of God, citizens of heaven, temples of the Holy Ghost, the thrones of God, members of Christ, and lords over all.

"Therefore be ashamed to think, speak, or do any thing that should be unseemly for God's children, God's saints, Christ's members, &c. Marvel not though the devil and the world hate you, though ye be persecuted here; for the servant is not above his master. Covet not earthly riches, fear not the power of man, love not this world, nor things that be in this world; but long for the Lord Jesus's coming, at which time your bodies shall be made like unto his glorious body; when he appeareth you shall be like unto him; when your life shall thus be revealed, then shall ye appear with him in glory.

"In the mean season, live in hope thereof. Let the life you lead be in the faith of the Son of God; for the just doth live by faith: which faith lieth from all evil, and followeth the word of God, as a lantern to her feet and a light to her steps; her eyes be above where Christ is, she beholdeth not the things present, but rather things to come; she gloryeth in affliction, she knoweth that the afflictions of this life are not like to be compared to the glory which God will reveal to us and in us. Of this glory God grant us here a lively taste; then shall we run after the scent it sendeth forth. It will make us valiant men to take to us the kingdom of God: whither the Lord of mercy bring us in his good time, through Christ our Lord. To whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God, be all honour and glory, world without end. Amen.

"My dearly beloved, I would gladly have given here my body to have been burned for the confirmation of the true doctrine I have taught here unto you. But that my country must have. Therefore I pray you take in good part this signification of my good-will towards every of you. Impute the want herein to time and trouble. Pardon me mine offensive and negligent behaviour when I was amongst you. With me repent, and labour to amend. Continue in the truth which I have truly taught unto you by preaching in all places where I have come; God's name therefore be praised. Confess Christ when you be called, whatsoever cometh thereof, and the God of peace be with us all, Amen.--This 11th day of February, 1555.

"Your brother in bonds for the Lord's sake,  
"JOHN BRADFORD."

*To the University and Town of Cambridge.*

"To all that love the Lord Jesus and his true doctrine, being in the university and town of Cambridge, John Bradford, a most unworthy servant of the Lord, (now not only imprisoned, but also condemned for the same true doctrine,) wisheth grace, peace, and mercy, with increase of all godliness, from God the Father of all mercy, through the bloody passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ, by the lively working of the holy Spirit for ever, Amen.

"Although I look hourly when I should be had to the stake, my right dearly beloved in the Lord, and although the charge over me is great and strait, yet having by the providence of God secretly pen and ink, I could not but something signify unto you my solicitude which I have for you, and every of you, in the Lord, though not as I would, yet as I may. You have often and openly heard the truth, especially in this matter wherein I am condemned, disputed and preached, that it is needless to do any more, but only to put you in remembrance of the same. But hitherto have you not heard it confirmed, and as it were sealed up, as now you do and shall hear by me, that is, by my death and burning. For albeit I have deserved eternal death and hell-fire, much more than this affliction and fire prepared for me; yet, my dearly beloved, it is not these, or any of these things, wherefore the prelates do prosecute me, but God's verity and truth; yea, even Christ himself is the only cause and thing wherefore I am now condemned, and shall be burned as an heretic, because I will not grant the Antichrist of Rome to be Christ's vicar-general, and supreme head of his church here and every where upon earth, by God's ordinance, and because I will not grant such corporal, real, and carnal presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament, as doth transubstantiate the substance of bread and wine, and is received of the wicked, yea, of dogs and mice. Also I am excommunicated, and counted as a dead member of Christ's church, as a rotten branch, and therefore shall be cast into the fire.

"Therefore ye ought heartily to rejoice with me, and to give thanks for me, that God the eternal Father hath vouchsafed our mother to bring up any child in whom it would please him to magnify his holy name as he doth, and I hope for his mercy and truth's sake will do in me, and by me. O, what such benefit upon earth can it be, as that I, which deserved death by reason of my sins, should be delivered to a demonstration, a testification, and confirmation, of God's verity and truth! Thou my mother, the university, hast not only had the truth of God's word plainly manifested unto thee by reading, disputing, and preaching, publicly and privately; but now to make thee altogether excuseless, and as it were almost to sin against the Holy Ghost, if thou put to

thy helping hand with the Romish rout to suppress the verity, and set out the contrary, thou hast my life and blood as a seal to confirm thee, if thou wilt be confirmed, or else to confound thee, and bear witness against thee, if thou wilt take part with the prelates and clergy, which now fill up the measure of their fathers which slew the prophets and apostles, that all the righteous blood from Abel to Bradford, shed upon the earth, may be required at their hands.

"Of this therefore I thought good before my death, as time and liberty would suffer me, to admonish thee, good mother, and my sister the town, that you would call to mind from whence you are fallen, and study to do the first works. You know, if you will, these matters of the Romish supremacy and the Antichristian transubstantiation, whereby Christ's supper is overthrown, his priesthood evacuate, his sacrifice frustrate, the ministry of his word unplaced, repentance repelled, faith fainted, godliness extinguished, the mass maintained, idolatry supported, and all impiety cherished; you know, I say, if you will, that these opinions are not only besides God's word, but even directly against it, and therefore to take part with them, is to take part against God, against whom you cannot prevail.

"Therefore, for the tender mercy of Christ, in his bowels and blood I beseech you to take Christ's eye-salve to anoint your eyes, that you may see what you do and have done in admitting (as I hear you have admitted, yea, alas! authorized, and by consent confirmed) the Romish rotten rags, which once you utterly expelled. O be not *Canis reversus ad vomitum*, (the dog returned to his own vomit;) be not *Sus lota reversa ad volutabrum cuni*, (the sow that was washed returned to her wallowing in the mire, 2 Peter ii.) Beware lest that Satan enter in with seven other spirits, and the last end shall be worse than the first. It had been better ye had never known the truth, than, after knowledge, to run from it. Ah, wo to this world and the things therein, which hath now so wrought with you. O that ever this dirt of the devil should daub up the eye of the realm: for thou, O mother, art as the eye of the realm. If thou be light, and give shine, all the body shall fare the better: but if thou the light be darkness, alas, how great will the darkness be! What is man, whose breath is in his nostrils, that thou shouldst thus be afraid of him!

"O what are honour and life here? bubbles. What is glory in this world, but shame? Why art thou afraid to carry Christ's cross? Wilt thou come into his kingdom, and not drink of his cup? Dost thou not know Rome to be Babylon? Dost thou not know that as the old Babylon had the children of Judah in captivity, so hath this Rome the true Judah, that is, the confessors of Christ? Dost thou not know that as destruction happened unto it, so shall it do unto this? And trowest thou that God will not deliver his people now, when the time is come, as he did then? Hath not God commanded his people to come out from her? and wilt thou give ensample to the whole realm to run unto her? Hast thou forgotten the wo that Christ threatened to offence-givers? Wilt thou not remember, that it were better that a mill-stone were hanged about thy neck, and thou thrown into the sea, than that thou shouldst offend the little ones?

"And, alas, how hast thou offended! Yea, and how do thou still offend! Wilt thou consider things according to the outward show? Was not the synagogue more seemly and like to be the true church, than the simple flock of Christ's disciples? Hast not the whore of Babylon more costly array and rich apparel externally, to set forth herself, than the homely housewife of Christ? Where is the beauty of the King's daughter, the church of Christ, without or

within? doth not David say within? O remember, that as they are happy which are not offended at Christ, so are they happy which are not offended at his poor church. Can the pope and his prelates mean honestly, which make so much of the wife, and so little of the Husband? The church they magnify, but Christ they contemn. If this church were an honest woman, (that is, Christ's wife,) except they would make much of her Husband, Christ and his word, she would not be made much of by them.

"When Christ and his apostles were upon earth, who was more like to be the true church, they or the prelates, bishops, and synagogue? If a man should have followed custom, unity, antiquity, or the more part, should not Christ and his company have been cast out of the doors? Therefore bade Christ, 'Search the scriptures.' And, good mother, shall the servant be above his Master? Shall we look for other entertainment at the hands of the world, than Christ and his dear disciples found? Who was taken in Noah's time for the church? poor Noah and his family, or others? Who was taken for God's church in Sodom? Lot, or others? And doth not Christ say, As it was then, so shall it go now towards the coming of the Son of man? What meaneth Christ when he saith, Iniquity shall have the upper hand? doth not he tell that charity shall wax cold? And who seeth not a wonderful great lack of charity in those, which would now be taken for Christ's church? All that fear God in this realm truly can tell more of this than I can write.

"Therefore, dear mother, receive some admonition of one of thy poor children, now going to be burned for the testimony of Jesus. Come again to God's truth; come out of Babylon; confess Christ and his true doctrine; repent that which is past; make amends by declaring thy repentance by the fruits. Remember the readings and preachings of God's prophet, the true preacher Martin Bucer. Call to mind the threatenings of God, now something seen by thy children Leaver and others. Let the exile of Leaver, Pilkington, Grindal, Haddon, Hoin, Scorie, Ponet, &c. something awake thee. Let the imprisonment of thy dear sons Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, move thee. Consider the martyrdom of thy chickens, Rogers, Saunders, Taylor; and now cast not away the poor admonition of me going to be burned also, and to receive the like crown of glory with my fellows. Take to heart God's calling by us. Be not as Pharaoh was; for then will it happen unto thee as it did unto him. What is that? hardness of heart. And what then? destruction eternal, both of body and soul. Ah, therefore, good mother, awake, awake; repent, repent; buskle thyself, and make haste to turn to the Lord. For else it shall be more easy for Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment than for thee. O harden not your hearts; O stop not your ears to-day in hearing God's voice, though it be by a most unworthy messenger. O fear the Lord: for his anger is begun to kindle. Even now the axe is laid to the root of the tree.

"You know I prophesied truly to you before the sweat came, what would come, if you repented not your carnal gossiping. And now I tell you before I depart hence, that the ears of men will tingle to hear the vengeance of God that will fall upon you all, both town and university, if you repent not, if you leave not your idolatry, if you turn not speedily to the Lord, if you still be ashamed of Christ's truth which you know.

"O Perne, repent; O Thompson, repent; O you doctors, bachelors, and masters, repent; O mayor, aldermen, and town-dwellers, repent, repent, repent, that you may escape the near vengeance of the Lord. Rend your hearts, and come nigh, calling on the Lord. Let us all say, We have

all sinned, we have done wickedly, we have not hearkened to thy voice, O Lord. Deal not with us after our deserts, but be merciful to our iniquities, for they are great. O pardon our offences; in thine anger remember thy mercies. Turn us unto thee, O Lord God of hosts, for the glory of thy name's sake. Spare us, and be merciful unto us. Let not the wicked people say, Where is now their God? O, for thine own sake, for thy name's sake, deal mercifully with us. Turn thyself unto us, and us unto thee, and we shall praise thy name for ever.

"If in this sort, my dear beloved, in heart and mouth we come unto our Father, and prostrate ourselves before the throne of his grace, then surely, surely, we shall find mercy. Then shall the Lord look upon us, for his mercy's sake in Christ: then shall we hear him speak peace unto his people. For he is gracious and merciful, of great pity and compassion; he cannot be chiding for ever; his anger cannot last long to the penitent. Though we weep in the morning, yet at night we shall have our sorrow to cease: for he is exorable, and hath no pleasure in the death of a sinner; he rather would our conversion.

"O turn ye now, and convert yet once again, I humbly beseech you, and then the kingdom of heaven shall draw nigh. The eye hath not seen, the ear hath not heard, nor the heart of man is able to conceive, the joys prepared for us, if we repent, amend our lives, and heartily turn to the Lord. But if ye repent not, but be as you were, and go on forwards with the wicked, following the fashion of the world, the Lord will lead you on with wicked doers, you shall perish in your wickedness, your blood will be upon your own heads, your parts shall be with hypocrites, where shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth; ye shall be cast from the face of the Lord for ever and ever; eternal shame, sorrow, wo, and misery, shall be both in body and soul to you world without end. O therefore, right dear to me in the Lord, turn you, turn you, repent you, repent you, amend, amend your lives, depart from evil, do good, follow peace and pursue it.—Come out from Babylon, cast off the works of darkness, put on Christ, confess his truth, be not ashamed of his gospel, prepare yourselves to the cross, drink of God's cup before it come to the dregs, and then shall I with you and for you rejoice in the day of judgment, which is at hand, and therefore prepare yourselves thereto, I heartily beseech you. And thus I take my *'vale in aeternum'* with you in this present life, mine own dear hearts in the Lord.—The Lord of mercy be with us all, and give us a joyful and sure meeting in his kingdom, Amen, Amen. Out of prison, the eleventh of February, anno 1555.

"Your own in the Lord for ever,  
"JOHN BRADFORD."

*To Lancashire and Cheshire.*

"To all those that profess the name and true religion of our Saviour Christ, in Lancashire and Cheshire, and especially biding in Manchester and thereabout, John Bradford, a most unworthy servant of the Lord, (now not only in bonds, but also condemned for the same true religion,) wisheth mercy and grace, peace, and increase of all godliness from God the Father of all pity, through the deserts of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the working of the most mighty and lively Spirit the Comforter for ever, Amen.

"I heard it reported credibly, my dearly beloved in the Lord, that my heavenly Father hath thought it good to provide, that as I have preached his true doctrine and gospel amongst you by word, so I shall testify and confirm the same by deed, that is, I shall with you leave my life, which by his

providence I first received there (for in Manchester was I born) for a seal to the doctrine I have taught with you, and amongst you: so that if from henceforth you waver in the same, you have none excuse at all. I know the enemies of Christ, which exercise this cruelty upon me, think by killing me among you, to affray you and others, lest they should attempt to teach Christ truly, or believe his doctrine hereafter. But I doubt not but my heavenly Father will by my death more confirm you in his truth for ever. And therefore I greatly rejoice to see Satan and his soldiers supplanted in their own sapience, which is plain foolishness amongst the wise indeed, that is, amongst such as have heard God's word, and do follow it: for they only are counted wise of the wisdom of God our Saviour.

"But when I consider the cause of my condemnation, I cannot but lament that I do no more rejoice than I do: for it is God's verity and truth. So that the condemnation is not a condemnation of Bradford simply, but rather a condemnation of Christ and his truth.—Bradford is nothing else but an instrument in whom Christ and his doctrine is condemned. And therefore, my dearly beloved, rejoice, rejoice, and give thanks with me and for me, that ever God did vouchsafe so great a benefit to our country, as to choose the most unworthy (I mean myself) to be one, in whom it would please him to suffer any kind of affliction; much more this violent kind of death, which I perceive is prepared for me with you for his sake. All glory and praise be given unto God our Father, for his great and exceeding mercy towards me, through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

"You know an heavy plague, or rather plagues, of God is fallen upon us, in taking away our good king, and true religion, God's true prophets and ministers, &c. and setting over us such as seek not the Lord after knowledge. Now the cause hereof is our iniquities and grievous sins: We did not know the time of our visitation; we were unthankful unto God; we contemned the gospel, and carnally abused it, to serve our hypocrisy, our vain-glory, our viciousness, avarice, idleness, security, &c. Long did the Lord linger, and tarry to have shewed mercy upon us, but we were ever the longer the worse. Therefore most justly hath God dealt with us, and dealt with us; yea, yet we may see that his justice is tempered with much mercy, whereto let us attribute that we are not utterly consumed. For if the Lord should deal with us after our deserts, alas, how could we abide it? In his anger, therefore, seeing he doth remember his mercy undeserved, (yea, undeserved on our behalf,) let us take occasion the more speedily to go out to meet him, not with force of arms, (for we are not so able to withstand him, much less to prevail against him,) but to beseech him to be merciful unto us, and according to his wonted mercy to deal with us.

"Let us arise with David, and say, 'Enter not into judgment with thy servant, O Lord; for in thy sight no flesh living shall be justified.' Let us send ambassadors with the centurion, and say, 'Lord, we are not worthy to come ourselves unto thee; speak the word, and we shall have peace.' Let us penitently with the publican look down on the earth, bewail our hard hearts, and cry out, 'O God, be merciful unto us, wretched sinners.' Let us with the lost son return and say, 'O Father, we have sinned against heaven and earth, and before thee, we are unworthy to be called thy children.'

"Therefore, my dearly beloved in the Lord, I your poorest brother now departing to the Lord, for my *vale in eternum* for this present life, pray you, beseech you, and even from the very bottom of my heart, for all the mercies

of God in Christ shewed unto you, most earnestly beg and crave of you out of prison, (as often out of your pulpits I have done,) that you will repent you, leave your wicked and evil life, be sorry for your offences, and turn to the Lord, whose arms are wide open to receive and embrace you, whose stretched-out hand to strike to death stayeth, that he may shew mercy upon you. For he is the Lord of mercy, and God of all comfort, he wills not the death of a sinner, but rather that ye should return, convert, and amend. He hath no pleasure in the destruction of men; his long-suffering draweth to repentance before the time of vengeance, and the day of wrath, which is at hand, doth come.

"Therefore, my dear hearts in the Lord, turn you, turn you to the Lord your Father, to the Lord your Saviour, to the Lord your Comforter. O why do you stop your ears and harden your hearts to-day, when you hear his voice by me your poorest brother? O forget not how that the Lord hath shewed himself true, and me his true preacher, by bringing to pass these plagues which at my mouth you oft heard before they came to pass, specially when I entreated of Noah's flood, and when I preached of the 22d chapter of St. Matthew's gospel, on St. Stephen's day, the last time that I was with you. And now by me the Lord sendeth you word, dear countrymen, that if you will go on forward in your impenitency, carnality, hypocrisy, idolatry, covetousness, swearing, gluttony, drunkenness, whoredom, &c. wherewith, alas! alas! our country floweth; if, I say, you will not turn and leave off, seeing me now burned amongst you, to assure you on all sides how God seeketh you, and is sorry to do you hurt, to plague you, to destroy you, to take vengeance upon you, O your blood will be upon your own heads: you have been warned, and warned again, by me in preaching, by me in burning.

"Cease from doing evil, study to do well, away with idolatry, fly the Romish god and service, leave off from swearing, cut off carnality, abandon avarice, drive away drunkenness, fly from fornication and flattery, murder, and malice, destroy deceitfulness, and cast away all the works of darkness. Put on piety and godliness; serve God after his word, and not after custom; use your tongues to glorify God by prayer, thanksgiving, and confession of his truth, &c. Be spiritual, and by the Spirit mortify carnal affections; be sober, holy, true, loving, gentle, merciful, and then shall the Lord's wrath cease, not for this our doing's sake, but for his mercy's sake. Go to therefore, good countrymen, take this counsel of the Lord, by me now sent unto you, as the Lord's counsel, and not as mine, that in the day of judgment I may rejoice with you, and for you; the which thing I heartily desire, and not to be a witness against you. My blood will cry for vengeance, as against the Papists, God's enemies, (whom I beseech God, if it be his will, heartily to forgive, yea, even them which put me to death, and are the causers thereof, for they know not what they do,) so will my blood cry for vengeance, against you my dearly beloved in the Lord, if ye repent not, amend not, and turn unto the Lord.

"Turn unto the Lord yet once more, I humbly beseech thee, thou Manchester, thou Ashton-under-Lyne, thou Bolton, Bury, Wigan, Liverpool, Motrine, Steppor, Winsley, Eccles, Priestwiche, Middlelou, Radcliff, and thou city of Westchester, where I have truly taught and preached the word of God. Turn, I say unto you all, and to all the inhabitants thereabouts, unto the Lord our God, and he will turn unto you, he will say unto his angel, 'It is enough, put up the sword.' The which thing that he will do, I humbly beseech his goodness, for the precious blood's sake of his



dear Son our Saviour Jesus Christ. Ah, good brethren, take in good part these my last words unto every one of you. Pardon me mine offences and negligences in behaviour amongst you. The Lord of mercy pardon us all our offences, for our Saviour Christ's sake, Amen. Out of prison, ready to come to you, February 11, 1555."

*"To my loving Brethren, B. C. &c. their Wives and whole Families, John Bradford.*

"I beseech the everlasting God to grant you all, my good brethren and sisters, the comfort of the holy Spirit, and the continual sense of his mercy in Christ our Lord, now and for ever, Amen.

"The world, my brethren, seemeth to have the upper hand, iniquity overfloweth, the truth and verity seemeth to be oppressed, and they which take part therewith are unjustly entreated; as they which love the truth, lament to see and hear as they do. The cause of all this is God's anger and mercy: his anger, because we have grievously sinned against him; his mercy, because he here punisheth us, and as a father nurtureth us. We have been unthankful for his word; we have contemned his kindness; we have been negligent in prayer; we have been so carnal, covetous, licentious, &c. We have not hastened to heaven-ward, but rather to hell-ward. We were fallen almost into an open contempt of God, and all his good ordinances; so that of his justice he could no longer forbear, but make us feel his anger, as now he hath done, in taking his word and true service from us, and permitting Satan to serve us with antichristian religion, and that in such sort, that if we will not yield to it, and seem to allow it in deed and outward fact, our bodies are like to be laid in prison, and our goods given we cannot tell to whom.

"This should we look upon as a sign of God's anger procured by our sins; which, my good brethren, every of us should now call upon our memories oftentimes, so particularly as we can, that we might heartily lament them, repent them, hate them, ask earnestly mercy for them, and submit ourselves to bear in this life any kind of punishment which God will lay upon us for them. This should we do in consideration of God's anger in this time. Now his mercy in this time of wrath is seen, and should be seen in us, my dearly beloved, in this, that God doth vouchsafe to punish us in this present life. If he should not have punished us, do not you think that we would have continued in the evils we were in? Yes, verily, we should have been worse, and have gone forwards in hardening our hearts by impenitence and negligence of God and true godliness. And then if death had come, should not we have perished both soul and body in eternal fire, in perdition? Alas, what misery should we have fallen into, if God should have suffered us to have gone on forward in our evils! No greater sign of damnation there is than to lie in evil and sin unpunished of God, as now the Papists, my dearly beloved, are cast into Jezebel's bed of security, which of all plagues is the most grievous that can be. They are bastards, and not sons, they are not under God's rod of correction.

"A great mercy it is, therefore, that God doth punish us: for if he loved us not, he would not punish us. Now doth he chastise us, that we should not be damned with the world. Now may we think ourselves God's house and children, because he beginneth his chastising at us. Now calleth he us to remember our past sins. Wherefore? that we might repent, and ask mercy. And why? that he might forgive us, pardon us, justify us, and make us his children; and to make us here like unto Christ, that we might be

like unto him elsewhere, even in heaven, where already we are set by faith with Christ; and at his coming in very deed, we shall then most joyfully enjoy, when our sinful and vile bodies shall be made like to Christ's glorious body, according to the power whereby he is able to make all things subject to himself.

"Therefore, my brethren, let us in respect hereof not lament, but laud God; not be sorry, but be merry; not weep, but rejoice and be glad, that God doth vouchsafe to offer us his cross, thereby to come to him to endless joys and comforts. For if we suffer, we shall reign; if we confess him before men, he will confess us before his Father in heaven; if we be not ashamed of his gospel now, he will not be ashamed of us in the last day, but will be glorified in us, crowning us with crowns of glory and endless felicity: for 'blessed are they that suffer persecution for righteousness sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.' Be glad, saith Peter, for the Spirit of God resteth upon you: After that you are a little afflicted, God will comfort, strengthen, and confirm you. And therefore, my good brethren, be not discouraged for cross, for prison, or loss of goods, for confession of Christ's gospel and truth, which ye have believed, and lively was taught amongst you in the days of our late good king and most holy prince, king Edward. This is most certain, if you lose anything for Christ's sake, and for contemning the antichristian service, set up again amongst us, as you for your parts even in prison shall find God's great and rich mercy, far passing all worldly wealth; so shall your wives and children in this present life find and feel God's providence, more plentifully than tongue can tell: for he will shew merciful kindness on thousands of them that love him. The good man's seed shall not go a-begging his bread. You are good men, so many as suffer for Christ's sake.

"I trust you all, my dearly beloved, will consider this gear with yourselves, and in the cross see God's mercy, which is more sweet and to be set by than life itself, much more than any pelf of this world. This mercy of God should make you merry and cheerful: for the afflictions of this life are not to be compared to the joys of the life prepared for you. You know the way to heaven is not the wide way of the world, which windeth to the devil, but it is a strait way, which few walk in; for few live godly in Christ Jesus; few regard the life to come; few remember the day of judgment; few remember how Christ will deny them before his Father, that do deny him here; few consider that Christ will be ashamed of them in the last day, which are ashamed of his truth and service; few cast their accounts, what will be laid to their charge in the day of vengeance; few regard the condemnation of their own consciences, in doing that which inwardly they disallow; few love God better than their goods.

"But I trust you are of this few, dearly beloved; I trust you be of that little flock, which shall inherit the kingdom of heaven; I trust you are the mourners and lamenters which shall be comforted with comfort which never shall be taken from you, if now you repent your former evils, if now you strive against the evils that are in you, if now you continue to call upon God, if now you defile not your bodies with any idolatrous service used in the antichristian churches, if you grieve not the good Spirit of God, which is given you as a gage of eternal redemption, counsellor and master to lead you into all truth; which good Spirit I beseech the Father of mercy to give to us all, for his dear Son's sake Jesus Christ our Lord; to whom I commend you all, and to the word of his grace, which is able to help you all, and save you all that believe it, follow it, and serve God hereafter.



"And of this I would ye were all certain, that all the hairs of your heads are numbered, so that not one of them shall perish, neither shall any man or devil be able to attempt any thing, much less to do any thing to you, or any of you, before your heavenly Father, which loveth you most tenderly, shall give them leave; and when he hath given them leave, they shall go no further than he will, nor keep you in trouble any longer than he will. Therefore cast on him all your care, for he is careful for you. Only study to please him, and to keep your consciences clean, and your bodies pure, from the idolatrous service which now every where is used, and God will marvellously and mercifully defend and comfort you; which thing ye do for his holy name's sake in Christ our Lord, Amen."

*To his dearly beloved in Christ, Erkinalde Rawlins, and his Wife.*

"God, our dear and most merciful Father through Christ, be with you, my good brother and sister, as with his children for ever, and in all things so guide you with his holy Spirit, the leader of his people, as may be to his glory, and your own everlasting joy and comfort in him, Amen. Because I have oftentimes received from either of you comfort corporal, (for the which I beseech the Lord, as to make me thankful, so to recompense you both now and eternally,) I cannot but go about (Lord help hitherto for thy mercy's sake) to write something for your comfort spiritually.

"My dearly beloved, look not upon these days, and the afflictions of the same here with us, simply as they seem unto you, that is, as dismal days, and days of God's vengeance, but rather as lucky days, and days of God's fatherly kindness towards you, and such as you be; that is, toward such as repent their sins and evil life past, and earnestly purpose to amend, walking not after the will of the world, and most part of men, for the preservation of their self, which, will they, nill they, they shall leave sooner or later; and to whom or how it shall be used, they know not. Indeed, to such as walk in their wickedness, and wind on with the world, this time is a time of wrath and vengeance, and their beginning of sorrow is but now, because they contemn the chastisements of their Father, which by these cleansing days would work their weal, which they will not: and because they will not have God's blessing, which both ways he hath offered unto them by prosperity and adversity, therefore it shall be kept far enough from them: as when the sick man will no kind of physic at the hands of the physician, he is left alone, and so the malady increaseth, and destroyeth him at the length. To such men indeed these days are and should be doleful days, and days of wo and weeping, because their damnation draweth nigh.

"But unto such as be penitent, and are desirous to live after the Lord's will, (among whom I do not only count you, but, as far as a man may judge, I know ye are,) unto each, I say, this time is and should be comfortable. For, first, now your Father chastiseth you and me for our sins; for the which if he would have destroyed us, then would he have letten us alone, and left us to ourselves, in nothing to take to heart his fatherly visitation, which here it pleaseth him to work presently, because elsewhere he will not remember our transgressions, as Paul writeth; he chastiseth us in this world, lest with the world we should perish. Therefore, my dear hearts, call to mind your sins to lament them, and to ask mercy for them in his sight, and withal undoubtedly believe to obtain pardon and assured forgiveness of the same, for twice the Lord punisheth not for one thing.

"So that I say, first we have cause to rejoice for these

days, because our Father suffereth us not to lie in Jezebel's bed, sleeping in our own sins and security, but, as mindful of us, doth correct us as his children. And therefore be glad, my dear hearts and folks, knowing certainly, even by these visitations of the Lord, that ye are his dear elect children, whose faults your Father doth visit with the rod of correction, but his mercy will he never take away from us, Amen.

"Secondly, ye have cause to rejoice for these days, because they are days of trial, wherein not only ye yourselves, but also the world, shall know that ye be none of his, but the Lord's darlings. Before these days came, Lord God, how many thought of themselves they had been in God's bosom, and so were taken and would be taken of the world! But now we see whose they are; for to whom we obey, his servants we are: if we obey the world, (which God forbid, and hitherto ye have not done it,) then are we the world's; but if we obey God, then are we God's: which thing (I mean, that ye are God's) these days have declared, both to you, to me, and to all other that know you, better than ever we knew it. Therefore you have no cause to sorrow, but rather to sing, in seeing yourselves to be God's babes, and in seeing that all God's children do so count you.

"If the devil dwelt in you (which the Lord forbid) he would not stir up his knights to besiege your house, to snatch your goods, or suffer his fiends to enter into your hogs. But because Christ dwelleth in you, as he doth by faith, therefore stirreth he up his first-begotten son, the world, to seek how to disquiet you, to rob you, to spoil you, to destroy you: and perchance your dear Father, to try and to make known unto you, and to the world, that ye are destinate to another dwelling than here on earth, to another city than man's eyes have seen at any time, hath given or will give power to Satan, and to the world, to take from you the things which he hath lent you, and by taking them away, to try your fidelity, obedience, and love towards him, (for ye may not love them above him,) as by giving that ye have, and keeping it, he hath declared his love towards you.

"Satan perchance telleth God, as he did of Job, that ye love God for your goods' sake. What now then, if the Lord, to try you with Job, shall give him power on your goods and body accordingly, should ye be dismayed? should ye despair? should ye be faint-hearted? should ye not rather rejoice, as did the apostles, that they were counted worthy to suffer any thing for the Lord's sake? After a little while that he hath afflicted and tried you, (saith Peter,) he will visit, comfort, and confirm you. As to Jacob wrestling with the angel, at the length morning came, and the sun arose; so, dear hearts, doubtless it will happen unto you. Howbeit, do ye as Job and Jacob did, that is, order and dispose your things that God hath lent you, as ye may, and whiles ye have time. Who knoweth whether God hath given you power thus long, even to that end?

"Go to, therefore, dispose your goods, prepare yourselves to trial, that either ye may stand to it like God's champions, or else, if you feel such infirmity in yourselves that ye be not able, give place to violence, and go where you may with free and safe conscience serve the Lord. Think not this counsel to come by chance or fortune, but to come from the Lord. Other oracles we may not look for now. As God told Joseph in a dream by an angel, that he should fly; if ye feel such infirmity in yourselves as should turn to God's dishonour, and your own destruction withal, know that at this present I am as God's angel, to admonish you in this time whiles you have it, and to see that in no case ye

name by you might be dishonoured. Joseph might have objected the omission of his vocation, as perchance ye will do. But, dear hearts, let vocations and all things else give place to God's name, and the sanctifying thereof.

"This I speak, not as though I would not have you rather tarry, and to stand to it: but speak it in respect of your infirmity, which if you feel to be so great in you that you are not certain of this hope, that God will never tempt you above your ability; fly and get you hence, and know that thereby God will have you tried to yourselves and to others. For by it you shall know how to take this world, and that your home here is no home, but that ye look for another, and so give occasion to others less to love this world, and perchance to some to doubt of their religion. Wherein though they be earnest, yet would not they lose so much as ye do for your religion, which ye do confirm to me and others by your giving place to violence.

"Last of all, ye have cause to rejoice over these our days, because they be the days of confirmation, in the which, and by which, God our heavenly Father maketh us like unto Christ's image here, that we may be like unto him elsewhere. For if that we suffer with him, then we shall reign also with him; if we be buried with him, then we shall rise with him again; if that we company with him in all troubles and afflictions, then we shall rejoice with him in glory; if we now sow with him in tears, we shall reap with him in gladness; if we confess him before men, he will confess us before his Father in heaven; if we take his part, he will take our's; if we lose ought for his name's sake, he will give us all things for his truth's sake. So that we ought to rejoice and be glad: for it is not given to every one to suffer loss of country, life, goods, house, &c. for the Lord's sake. What can God the Father do more unto us, than to call us into the camp with his Son? What may Christ our Saviour do more for us, than to make us warriors? What can the Holy Ghost do unto us above this, to mark us with the cognizance of the Lord of hosts?

"This cognizance of the Lord standeth not in forked caps, tippets, shaven crowns, or such other baggage and anti-christian pelf, but in suffering for the Lord's sake. The world shall hate you, saith Christ. Lo! there is the cognizance and badge of God's children: the world shall hate you. Rejoice therefore, my dearly beloved, rejoice that God doth thus vouchsafe to begin to conform you and to make you like to Christ. By the trial of these days ye are occasioned more to repent, more to pray, more to condemn this world, more to desire life everlasting, more to be holy, (for holiness is the end wherefore God doth afflict us,) and so to come to God's company. Which thing because we cannot do, as long as this body is as it is, therefore by the door of death we must enter with Christ into eternal life, and immortality of soul and body: which God of his mercy send shortly, for our Saviour Jesus Christ's sake. Amen."

Many other letters written by Mr. Bradford, may be seen in Fox, vol. iii. from page 255 to page 300.

#### WILLIAM MINGE.

The next day after Mr. Bradford and John Leaf did suffer in Smithfield, *William Minge*, priest, died in prison at Maidstone, being there in bonds of religion, and like to have suffered also, if he had lived the fury of his adversaries, whose nature was to spare and favour none that favoured Christ's pure gospel; which William Minge with as great constancy and boldness yielded up his life in prison as if it

had pleased God to have called him to suffer by the fire, as the other good and godly men had done at the stake, which he himself was ready also so to do, if it had pleased God to have called him thereunto.

#### JAMES TREVISAM, buried in the Fields.

Upon the 3d of July, 1555, died one *James Trevisam*, in the parish of St. Margaret, in Lothbury, upon a Sunday, who being impotent and lame, kept his bed; for he could not rise out of it of a long time. This Trevisam had a servant, one John Small, which read on the Bible, and as he was in reading, Berd, the promoter, came to the house, and would needs go up the stairs; where he found four persons besides him and his wife, to wit, the young man that read, and two men and a woman. All which folks the said Berd, the promoter, apprehended and carried to the Compter, where they remained about a fortnight, for all the friends they could make. Moreover, the said Berd would have had also James the lame man himself to Newgate in a cart, and brought the cart to the door, but for neighbours; nevertheless, the poor man was fain to put in two sureties for his forthcoming: for he could not go out of his bed, being not only impotent, but also very sick the same time. So within a few days the said James lying in extremity, the parson of the church (named Mr. Farthing) came to him, and had communication with him, and agreed well, and so departed. It happened after the priest was come down into the street, there met him one Toller, a founder. Yea, saith he, be ye agreed? I will accuse you: for he denieth the sacrament of the altar. Upon that the parson went to him again, and then the priest and he could not agree. And so the parson went to the bishop of London, and told him. The bishop answered, that he should be burnt, and if he were dead he should be buried in a ditch. And so when he died, the parson was against his wife as much as he could, neither would let her have a coffin to put him in, nor any thing else, but was fain to bear him upon a table to Moorfields, and there was he buried. The same night the body was cast above the ground, and his sheet taken from him, and he left naked. After this, the owner of the field seeing him, buried him again; and a fortnight after the summer came to his grave, and summoned him to appear at Paul's before his ordinary, to answer to such things as should be laid against him. But how much farther they carried this ridiculous farce, the last effort of their malice and cruelty, is not known.

#### The History of Mr. JOHN BLAND, Preacher and Martyr, who steadfastly suffered for the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

The 12th day of July, *John Bland*, *John Frankesh*, *Nicholas Sheterden*, and *Humphrey Middleton*, were all four burned at Canterbury together for one cause; of which number Frankesh and Bland were ministers and preachers of the word of God, the one being parson of Adesham, the other the vicar of Rolvindon. This Mr. Bland was a man so little born for his own commodity, that no part of his life was separated from the common and public utility of all men. For his first doings were there employed to the bringing up of children in learning and virtue; under whom were trained divers towardly young men; in the number of whom was Dr. Sands, a man of singular learning and worthiness, whom I here gladly name for his singular gifts of virtue and erudition.

After this, he coming to the ministry in the church of God, or rather being called thereto, was inflamed with incredible

desire to profit the congregation; which may appear by this, that whereas he was cast into Canterbury prison for the preaching of the gospel, and delivered once or twice from thence at the suit of his friends, yet would he needs preach the gospel again as soon as he was delivered. Whereupon he being the third time apprehended, when his friends yet once again would have found the means to have delivered him, if he would have promised to abstain from preaching; he stood in it earnestly, that he would admit no such condition, notably well expressing unto us the manner and example which we read in the apostle Paul, "Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Tribulation, or anguish, or hunger, or nakedness, or danger, or persecution, or the sword," &c. But to express the whole life and doings of this godly martyr, seeing we have his own testimony concerning the same, it shall be best to refer the reader to his own report, writing to his father of the whole discourse of his troubles, from the beginning almost to the latter end, in order and manner as ye shall hear.—

First, the 3d of September, being Sunday, after service ended, ere I had put off my surplice, John Austen came to the table, commonly called the Lord's table, and laid both his hands upon it, saying, Who set this here again? Now they say they took the table down the Sunday before, which I knew not, neither do I know who set it up again. The clerk answered, that he knew not. Then Austen said, He is a knave that set it here. I was then going down the church, marvelling what he meant, and said, Goodman Austen, the queen's highness hath set forth a proclamation, that ye may move no sedition. And ere I could speak any more, he said, Thou art a knave. And I said, Well, goodman Austen, that I have said I have said. By God's soul, quoth he, thou art a very knave. Then my clerk spake to him; but what I am not sure. But he said, Ye are both heretic knaves, and have deceived us with this fashion too long, and if ye say any service here again, I will lay the table on his face; and in that rage he with others took up the table, and laid it on a chest in the chancel, and set the tressels by it. Wherefore I rode by and by to Mr. Isaac, and shewed him the cause, both how seditiously he had spoken, and performed it with a like deed. Mr. Isaac directed a warrant to the constable, which was immediately served; so that he was brought before him the same night, and was bound by recognizance, with sureties, to appear if he were called. But we agreed so well then, that it was never called for, the table was brought down, and was permitted as before.

The 26th of November, being Sunday, Richard Austen and his brother Thomas came to the aforesaid table after the communion was done, and as I was going by them, Richard said unto me, Mr. Parson, we have to speak to you. And I said, What is your will? And he said, You know that you took down the tabernacle wherein the rood did hang, and such other things; we would know what recompense you will make us. For the queen's proceedings are, as you know, that such must up again.

Quoth I, I know no such proceeding as yet; and as for that I did, I did it by commandment.

No, said Thomas Austen; ye will not know the queen's proceedings. Yes, said I, I refuse not to know them.

Then said Richard, Ye are against the queen's proceedings; for you say there are abominable uses and devilishness in the mass.

Goodman Austen, (said I) if I so said, I will say it again, and, God willing, stand to the proof of it.

Masters all, quoth Richard Austen, bear record of these words; and went his way.

Quoth Thomas Austen, Thou wilt as soon eat this book as stand to them. No, quoth I, not so soon. Tell us, quoth he, what devilishness is it, that is in the mass.

I often preached it unto you, said I, and ye have not believed it, nor borne it away, nor will now neither, though I should tell you.

Quoth he, Thou art an heretic, and hast taught us nothing but heresy: for thou canst say nothing that is true.

Yes, goodman Austen, I can say that God is in heaven, and ye will say, I trow, that it is true; and so have I taught you truly.

Quoth he, Thou hast taught us like an heretic, and hast said, that there is no devil in hell.

Well, said I, lie on; methinks you can say little truth. Many other taunts he gave, too long to write. And at the last he said, Ye pulled down the altar: will ye build it again?

No, quoth I, except I be commanded; for I was commanded to do that I did.

Well, if you will not, (said he,) then will I; for I am churchwarden.

I charge you (said I) that you do not, except you have authority.

I will (said he) not let for your charge; for we will have a mass here on Sunday, and a preacher that shall prove thee an heretic, if thou dare abide his coming.

Yes, quoth I, God willing, I will abide and hear him; for sure I am that he cannot disprove any doctrine that I have preached.

Yes, quoth he, and that thou shalt hear, if thou run not away ere then.

No, goodman Austen, I will not run away.

Marry, quoth he, I cannot tell; thou art as like yea and nay. With many other words we came out of the church door, and so departed.

When the Sunday came, I looked for our preacher, and at the time of morning prayer I said to the clerk, Why do ye not ring? Ye forget that we shall have a sermon to-day. No, said he, Mr. Miles's servant hath been here this morning, and said, his master hath letters from my lord chancellor, that he must go to London, and cannot come. That day I did preach to them a sermon in his stead. Now have they slandered me, that I had prepared a company from divers places to have troubled him; but they agreed not in their lie. For some said, I had them at Adesham, and that Richard Austen had knowledge, and sent for the king's constable to see the peace kept; which is found a lie. Others said, I had them lying in wait for him between Canterbury and Adesham. Others said, I had them in both places, that if the one missed the other should not. God forgive them all. Now upon these two matters they boast that they sent two bills of complaint to the council.

Upon the Innocents' day, being the 28th day of December, they had procured the priest of Stodmarsh to say them mass; he had nigh made an end of matins ere I came: and when he had made an end of matins, he said to me, Mr. Parson, your neighbour hath desired me to say matins and mass: I trust ye will not be against the queen's proceedings. No, quoth I, I will offend none of the queen's majesty's laws, God willing. What say ye? quoth he; and made as he had not heard. And I spake the same words to him again, with an higher voice; but he would not hear, though all the chancel heard. So I cried the third time, that all the church heard, that I would not offend the queen's laws; and then he went to mass.

And when he was reading the epistle, I called the clerk

unto me with the beckoning of my finger, and said unto him, I pray you desire the priest, when the gospel is done, to tarry a little: I have something to say to the people. And the clerk did so.

And the priest came down into the stall where he sat; and I stood up in the chancel door, and spake to the people of the great goodness of God, always shewed unto his people unto the time of Christ's coming; and in him and his coming, what benefit they past, we present, and our successors, have; and among other benefits, I spake of the great and comfortable sacrament of his body and blood; and after I had declared briefly the institution, the promise of life to the good, and damnation to the wicked, I spake of the bread and wine, affirming them to be bread and wine after the consecration, as yonder mass-book, saying, *Panem sanctum vite, et Calicem salutis perpetue*, &c. "Holy bread of eternal life, and the cup of perpetual salvation." So that like as our bodily mouths eat the sacramental bread and wine, so doth the mouth of our souls (which is our faith) eat Christ's flesh and blood. And when I had made an end of that, I spake of the misuse of the sacrament in the mass; so that I judged it in that use no sacrament, and shewed how Christ bade us all eat and drink, and one only in the mass eateth and drinketh, and the rest kneel, knock, and worship; and after these things ended, as briefly as I could, I spake of the benefactors of the mass, and began to declare what men made the mass, and recited every man's name, and the patch that he put to the mass; and ere I had rehearsed them all, the churchwarden, and the constable his son-in-law, violently came upon me, and took my book from me, and pulled me down, and thrust me into the chancel, with an exceeding roar and cry. Some cried, Thou heretic! some, Thou traitor! some, Thou rebel! and when every man had said his pleasure, and the rage was somewhat past, Be quiet, good neighbours, (said I,) and let me speak to you quietly. If I have offended any law, I will make answer before them that are in authority to correct me. But they would not hear me, and pulled one on this side, and another on that, and began again.

Then Richard Austen said, Peace, masters! no more till mass be done; and they ceased. Then said I to the churchwarden and the constable, either holding me by the arm, Masters, let me go into the church-yard till your mass be done. No, quoth the churchwarden, thou shalt tarry here till the mass be done. I will not, quoth I, but against my will. And they said, Thou shalt tarry, for if thou go out, thou wilt run away. Then said I to the constable, Lay me in the stocks, and then ye shall be sure of me; and turned my back to the altar. By that time Richard Austen had devised what to do with me, and called to the constable and the churchwarden, and bade them put me into a side chapel, and shut the door to me, and there they made me tarry till mass was ended. When the mass was ended, they came into the chapel to me, and searched what I had about me. Then said Thomas Austen, churchwarden, after many bragging that they made with me, Thou keepest a wife here amongst us, against God's law and the queen's. Ye lie, Goodman Austen, said I; it is not against God's law, nor, as I suppose, against the queen's. Thus they brought me out of the church, and without the door they railed on me, without pity or mercy. But anon the priest came out of the church, and Ramsey, that of late was clerk, said unto him, Sir, where dwell you? And therefore Thomas Austen took him by the arm, and said, Come on, sirrah, you are of his opinion; and took his dagger from him, and said he should go with him. I am content, said he; and a little mocked

them in their envious talk. By this time there came in at the church stile one John Gray, of Wingham, servant to John Smith, and seeing them hold Ramsey by the arms, said to him, How now, Ramsey, have you offended the queen's law? No, quoth he, there is no transgression. Therewith Thomas Austen took him, and said, Ye are one of their opinion, ye shall go with them for company: and took his dagger from him, and then demanded what he did there? But after, I think, for very shame they let him go again; but they carried me and Ramsey to Canterbury, with eighteen persons, weaponed.

The next day they made a bill against me, but it served not their purpose, which was, that they would have had me to prison. But James Chapman and Bartholomew Joyes were bound in twenty pounds either of them for my appearance at the next general sessions, or in the mean time to appear, if I were sent for, before the queen's majesty's council, or any other commissioners sent by the queen's authority. And Ramsey was bound to the peace, and to be of good behaviour till the next sessions.

Now the 23d or 24th of February, sir Thomas Finch, knight, and Mr. Hardes, sent for me and my sureties to Mr. Finch's place, and took me from my sureties, and sent me to the castle of Canterbury, by sir Thomas Moyle's commandment, they said; where I lay ten weeks, and then was bailed, and bound to appear at the next sessions holden at Canterbury; but after they changed it to be at Ashford, on the Thursday in Whitsun-week, being the 19th of May; but in the mean time the matter was exhibited to the Spiritual Court.

*The first Examination of Mr. John Bland in the Spiritual Court, before Dr. Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury, and Mr. Collins, commissary.*

The 18th day of May, Mr. Harpsfield, archdeacon of Canterbury, made the mayor's sergeant to bring me before him and Mr. Collins, commissary, into Christ's church, and they went with me into a chamber in the suffragan of Dover's house. Then the archdeacon said, Art thou a priest? And I said, I was one. And he said, Art thou any graduate of any university? And I said, Yea. What degree, said he, hast thou taken? The degree, quoth I, of master of arts. The more pity, quoth he, that thou shouldest behave thyself as thou hast done. Thou hast been a common preacher licensed, hast thou not? And I said, I have been so. Marry, quoth he, so I understand.

What hast thou preached?

And I said, God's word, to the edifying, I trust, of his people.

No, no, quoth he; to the destroying of their souls and thine both, except the mercy of God be all the greater. I pray thee, what hast thou preached? tell me.

I told you, quoth I, what I have preached.

Nay, but tell me, quoth he, what one matter hast thou preached to the edifying of the people, as thou sayest?

I will tell you no particular matter; for I perceive you would have some matter against me.

No, by my faith, quoth he, but that only I would win thee from heresies that thou art bewrapped in, and hast infected others withal. For thou hast preached, as I am informed, that the blessed sacrament of the altar is not the very body and blood of Jesus Christ after the consecration. Tell me, hast thou not thus preached? and is not this thine opinion?

Sir, quoth I, I perceive, as I said, that ye seek matter against me. But seeing that I am bound in the sessions to my good behaviour for preaching, which may be broken



with words, and well I know not with what words; and also both mine authority to preach, and my living, are taken from me, I think I am not bound to make you an answer.

*Collins.* Mr. Bland, do you not remember, that St. Peter biddeth you make answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the faith that is in you?

*Bland.* I know that, and am content so to answer as that text biddeth: But I know that Mr. Archdeacon doth not ask me after that manner, but rather to bring me into trouble.

Then they said, No, ye shall not be troubled for any thing that ye say here.

*Bland.* I am content for knowledge sake to commune with you in any matter, but not otherwise.

And so they fell in reasoning more than the space of an hour, of the sacrament, both against me. At the last Mr. Collins said, Mr. Bland, will ye come and take in hand to answer such matter on Monday next as shall be then laid to you?

*Bland.* Sir, ye said I should not be troubled for any thing that should be said here for learning's sake. And they said, Ye shall not, but it is for other matters.

Sir, said I, I am bound to appear, as some tell me, on Thursday next at Ashford; I am in doubt whether I can or no. Yet I have purposed to be there, and so to go to London to Mr. Wiseman, for an obligation that he hath, whereby I should receive certain money to pay my debts withal.

Then said Mr. Archdeacon, I will write to Mr. Wiseman, that ye shall sustain no loss.

*Bland.* That shall not need: for I can sustain no great loss, if I do not go. But I pray you, sir, to let me have a longer day.

No, quoth he.—Sir, said I, I cannot well come to you on Monday.

*Harpf.* Wilt thou not come, when he so gently speaketh to thee, where he may command thee?

*Bland.* I do not deny to come, but I desire a longer day.

*Harpf.* Thou shalt have no other day; I charge thee to come on Monday.

*Bland.* Sir, I perceive it shall be for this or like matters: will it please you or Mr. Collins, for God's sake, to confer scriptures privately with me in this matter, seeing ye say ye would so gladly win me?

*Harpf.* With all my heart will I take the pains, and I will also borrow my lord of Dover's library, to have what books thou wilt.—And thus they departed.

Now the 17th of May, at Ashford, I could not be released, although I was called to the Spiritual Court for the same matter, but was bound to appear at the sessions holden at Crambroke, the 3d of July.

#### *Another Appearance of Mr. Bland before the Archdeacon and his Fellows.*

The 21st day of May, I appeared in the Chapter-house, where was a great multitude of people, unlooked for of me; and Mr. Archdeacon said thus to me, Ye are come here according as ye were appointed; and the cause is, that it hath pleased the queen's highness here to place me, to see God's holy word set forth, and to reform those that are here fallen into great and heinous errors, to the great displeasure of God, and the decay of Christ's sacraments, and contrary to the faith of the Catholic church, whereof thou art notably known to be one that is sore poisoned with the same, and hast infected and deceived many with thy evil preaching; which if thou wilt renounce, and come home again to the Catholic church, both I and many other more would be very glad: and I for my part shall be right glad to shew you the

favour that lieth in me, as I said unto you, when you were appointed hither, because ye then refused to satisfy again the people that ye had deceived. And whereas it is feigned by you, that I should openly dispute the matter with you this day, although I did neither so intend nor appoint, yet I am content to dispute the matter with thee, if thou wilt not without disputation help to heal the souls that are brought to hell-ward by thee. What sayest thou?

*Bland.* I do protest before God and you all, that neither is my conscience guilty of any error or heresy, neither that I ever taught any error or heresy willingly. And where your mastership saith, that I have feigned an open disputation with you; it is not true, as I can thus prove: Upon Saturday I was at Ugden's, and there Mr. Bingham laid it to my charge, that such an open disputation as ye have here offered, should be this day between you and me; whereat I much marvelled, and said to him, That before that present I never heard any such word, neither would I answer nor dispute; and to this can Mr. Vaughan, Mr. Oxenden, Mr. Seth, of Overland, and Mr. Ugden, witness; and further I said to them, that I never spake to you of any disputation, nor you to me. Now if your mastership have any thing to say to me by the law, I will make answer to it.

*Harpf.* Hear ye what he saith! His conscience is clear: I pray thee whereon groundest thou thy conscience? let me hear what thy faith is?

*Bland.* I know not why ye should more ask me a reason of my faith, than any other man in this open audience.

*Harpf.* Why, thou heretic, art thou ashamed of thy faith? If it were a Christian belief, thou needest not be ashamed of it.

*Bland.* I am not ashamed of my faith: for I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, &c. with all the other articles of the Creed; and I do believe all the holy scriptures of God to be most certain and true.

*Harpf.* Wilt thou declare no more than this?

*Bland.* No.

*Harpf.* Well, I will tell thee whereon I ground my faith: I do believe and ground my faith and conscience upon all the articles of the Creed, and upon all the holy scriptures, sacraments, and holy doctors of the church, and upon all the general councils that ever were since the apostles' time. Lo, hereupon ground I my faith; with many words more, which I well remember not. And when he could get no other answer of me than I had said before, he called for a scribe to make an act against me. And after much communication, I said, By what law and authority will ye proceed against me? Mr. Collins said, By the canon law.

*Bland.* I doubt whether it be in strength or no. Yet I pray you let me have a counsellor in the law, and I will make answer according to the law.

*Harpf.* Why, thou heretic, thou wilt not confess thy faith to me, that have authority to demand it of thee, and yet I have confessed my faith to thee before all this audience. As concerning the blessed sacrament of the altar, thou hast taught, that after the consecration it is bread and wine, and not the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ. How sayest thou, hast thou not thus taught?

*Bland.* Sir, as concerning this matter of the sacrament, When I was with you and Mr. Collins, ye said then that ye would be content at my desire to confer with me, to see if ye could win me; and ye said ye would borrow my lord of Dover's library, that I should have what book I would. And now ye require me thus to answer



trary to your promise, ere any conference be had, and seek rather to bring me into trouble than to win me.

*Harpsf.* I will, as God shall help me, do the best to thee that I can, if thou wilt be any thing conformable; and I trust to dissolve all thy doubts, if thou be willing to hear; and I also will desire these two worshipful men, my lord of Dover and Mr. Collins, to hear us.

*Bland.* No, ye shall pardon me of that: there shall be no such witness. But when we agree, set to our hands. Hereat made the people a great noise against me, for refusing the witness; and here had we many more words than I can rehearse. But at the last I said, Sir, will ye give me leave to ask you one question? And he said, Yea, with all my heart: for in that thou askest any thing, there is some hope that thou mayest be won.

*Bland.* Sir, when it pleased Almighty God to send his angel unto the Virgin Mary to salute her, and said, "Hail, full of grace," &c. came any substance from God our Father into the Virgin's womb to become man? Whereat as well Mr. Archdeacon as my lord of Dover and Mr. Collins staid. But my lord spake the first, and said, the Holy Ghost came to her; and ere he had brought out his sentence, Mr. Syriac Peters said, *Virtus altissimi obumbravit*. Truth, said Mr. Archdeacon, it was the power of God, sent by the Holy Ghost. They had forgotten that *genitus fuit ex substantia Patris*; or else they perceived whereunto this question tended, and so both they and I left it: by what words I cannot tell. But I said, Sir, shall I ask one other? And he said, Yea. Is there in the sacrament, after the consecration, Christ's natural body, with all the qualities of a natural body, or no?

Hark, said Mr. Archdeacon, hear ye this heretic? He thinks it an absurdity to grant all the qualities of Christ's natural body to be in the sacrament. But it is no absurdity: for even that natural body that was born of the Virgin Mary, is glorified, and that same body is in the sacrament after the consecration. But perceive ye not the arrogancy of this heretic, that will put me to answer him, and he will not answer me! He thought to put me to a pinch with this question; for I tell you it is a learned question.

*Bland.* So if ye be so much discontented with me, I will say no more; yet I would all men heard, that ye say the glorified body of Christ is in the sacrament, after the consecration.

*Harpsf.* I may call thee gross ignorant. Thou gross ignorant, is not the same body glorified that was born of the Virgin Mary? Is it then any absurdity to grant that to be in the sacrament?—And whiles he spake many other words, I said to Mr. Petit, That the sacrament was instituted, delivered, and received of his apostles, before Christ's body was crucified; and it was crucified before it was glorified. Which saying Mr. Petit partly recited to Mr. Archdeacon.

*Harpsf.* Thou art without all learning. Was not Christ's body given to his apostles, as in a glorified act? and yet no inconvenience, although his natural body was not crucified; for when he was born of the Virgin Mary without pain, was not that the act of a glorified body? And when he walked on the water, and when he came into the house of his apostles, the doors being shut fast, were not these acts of a glorified body?

Then my lord of Dover helped him to a better place, and said, When Christ was in mount Tabor, he was there glorified in his apostles' sight.

*Harpsf.* Ye say truth, my lord; he was glorified in the sight of three of his apostles.

*Bland.* This methinks is new doctrine.

*Harpsf.* Well, seeing he will by no other way be reformed, let the people come in and prove these matters against him.

And therewith the archdeacon brought forth a copy of the bill of complaint that was put against me at Christmas, and about that we talked a little. And then Mr. Archdeacon rose up, and said, See ye, good people, that know this matter, that ye come in, and prove it against him. Whereunto answered Thomas Austen, I pray you (said he) let us be no more troubled with him. And then spake John Austen, and Heath with one eye, and began to accuse me; but no answer they could have of me, but, Do to me what you can by law, and I will answer it. Then said Thomas Austen, Bland, ye were once abjured.

*Bland.* Ye say not truly, Goodman Austen; I was never abjured.—Either (said he) ye were abjured, or else ye had the king's pardon.—Neither of both: ye speak this out of malice.

Then Mr. Archdeacon departed, and left Mr. Collins to command me to appear the next day. Howbeit, for certain other urgent business that I had, I did not appear, but wrote a letter to Mr. Commissary, desiring him to respite the matter till my coming home again; and if he would not, I would be content to submit myself to the law when I came home.

Now about the 28th day of June, I came to Mr. Commissary to shew him of my return, and offered myself to satisfy the law, if it were proceeded against me, before Mr. Cocks of Surrey, and Marks the apparitor; but Mr. Commissary said gently, he had done nothing against me. And so appointed me to appear before him the Friday se'nnight after.

Now in the mean time was the sessions holden at Crambroke, where I was bound to appear; and carrying surety with me to be bound again, I did appear the third day of July. And sir John Baker said, Bland, ye are, as we hear say, a Scot; where were ye born and brought up? And I said, I was born in England. And he said, Where? And I said in Sedber, and brought up by one Dr. Lupton, provost of Eaton college. Well, said he, I know him well; remain to your bond till afternoon.

Then said sir Thomas Moyle, Ah, Bland, thou art a stiff-necked fellow; thou wilt not obey the law, nor answer when thou art called. Mr. Sheriff, take him to your ward.

And the bailiff set me in the stocks with others, and would not hear me speak one word; and so we remained in the gaol of Maidstone till a fortnight before Michaelmas, or thereabout; and then we were carried to Rochester, to the assize holden there, where we were among the prisoners two days; and when we were called, and the judges of assize asked our causes, when my cause was rehearsed, Mr. Barrow, clerk of the peace, said, that I was an excommunicate person.

Then Mr. Koper, of Linsted, talked with the judges; but what, I am not able to say. But the judges of assize said, Take them to Maidstone again, and bring them to the sessions that shall be holden next at the town of Malden. Howbeit, the sheriff did not send for us, so that we tarried at Maidstone till the sessions holden at Greenwich, the 18th and 19th of February. I and others being within the bar among the felons, and irons upon our arms, were called out the latter day by the gaoler and bailiffs, and eased of our irons, and carried by them into the town to sir John Baker, Mr. Petit, Mr. Webb, and two others whom I know not.

*Baker.* Bland, wherefore were ye cast into prison?

*Bland.* I cannot well tell: your mastership cast me in.

*Baker.* Yea, but wherefore were you in before that time?

*Bland.* For an unjust complaint put upon me.

*Baker.* What was the complaint?

*Bland.* I told him as truly and briefly as I could.

*Baker.* Let me see thy book; and I took him a Latin Testament.—Will ye go (said he) to the church, and follow the queen's proceedings, and do as an honest man should do?

*Bland.* I trust in God to do no otherwise but as an honest man should do.

*Baker.* Will ye do as I said?

*Bland.* Will it please your mastership to give me leave to ask you a question?—*Baker.* Yea.—*Bland.* Sir, may a man do any thing that his conscience is not satisfied to be good?

*Baker.* Away! away! and threw down the book, and said, It is no Testament. And I said, Yes. And Mr. Web took it up, and said unto me marvellous gently, Mr. Bland, I knew you when ye were out of this opinion; I would to God ye would reform yourself. I said, If ye have known me of another opinion than I am now, it was for lack of knowledge.

*Baker.* Yea, sayest thou so! by St. Mary, an thou hold thee there, I will give six faggots to burn thee withal, ere thou shouldest be upburned. Hence, knave! hence!

And so were we sent into our place again within the bar; and at night, when judgment of felons and all was done, we were called, and the judge said to the gaoler, Take them with you, and deliver them to the ordinary, and if they will not be reformed, let them be delivered to us again, and they shall have judgment and execution. And one of our company said, My lord, if we be killed at your hands for Christ's sake, we shall live with him for ever.

Then came we to the castle of Canterbury, and there we remained till the 2d day of March, at which day we were brought into the Chapter-house of Cree-church, where were set the suffragan of Canterbury, Mr. Collins, Mr. Mills, with others; and then went to them Mr. Oxenden, Mr. Petit, Mr. Web, and Mr. Harges, justices. And when I was called, Mr. Web said, Here we present this man unto you, as one vehemently suspected of heresy.

And I said, Mr. Web, ye have no cause to suspect me of heresy. I have been a prisoner this whole year, and no matter proved against me: I pray you, wherefore have I been so long kept in prison?

*Web.* Leave your arrogant asking of questions, and answer to that that is laid to your charge.

*Bland.* I do so: for I say you have no cause to suspect me of heresy.

*Web.* Ye denied to sir John Baker to be conformable to the queen's proceedings.

*Bland.* Is it a just cause to suspect me of heresy, for asking a question with leave?

Then stood up Mr. Petit, and said, Ye were cast into prison, because you fled away from your ordinary.

*Bland.* Then have I had wrong: for I never fled, nor disobeyed my ordinary, nor did any thing contrary to the law; let them now say if I did. But they said nothing. And when I saw they held their peace, I said, Mr. Commissary, have you been the cause of this mine imprisonment?—No, quoth he: ye know that when ye went from me, ye were appointed to appear the Friday after the sessions.

Here I was suffered to speak no more, but shut up in a corner till my companions were likewise presented; and then we were sent to Westgate into prison, and were put in several close holds, that never one of us could speak to another, nor any man was permitted to come to us. We were four times at this appearance: but one they despatched, by what means I cannot tell, whose name was Cornwall, a tanner.

*The Answer of Mr. Bland, in his Appearance before the Commissary and others, in the Spiritual Court.*

Mr. Collins said, Mr Bland, ye know that ye are presented unto us as one suspected of heresy: how say ye, be ye contented to reform yourself to the laws of this realm, and of the holy church?

*Bland.* I deny that I am suspected justly of heresy, and that ye heard when I was presented, that I denied the suspicion to be just, but to defend the unjust punishment that I have suffered: neither can ye prove that any occasion hath been given by me, whereby any man should suspect me therein. But if you have any law or authority to proceed against me for any thing done for a whole year ago and more, I will answer to it.

*Collins.* Ye were convented before Mr. Archdeacon and me, and matter of heresy laid to your charge.

*Bland.* That matter was done and said a whole year ago, and for that I have been in prison this year or more. If ye have any thing against me by any law, I desire you to let me know the law and the matter, and I will answer according to the law.

Then said my lord suffragan, But that I am one of the judges, I would rise and stand by thee, and accuse thee to be a sacramentary, and bring witness to prove it; yea, and further, that thou hast called the mass an abominable idol.

*Bland.* You, my lord, never heard me say so: but I heard you once say, That in your conscience ye had abhorred the mass three years.

Thou liest, quoth he, I never said so.

*Bland.* My lord, if they might be heard, I can bring witness to prove it, with the day, time, and place: and I once did hear Mr. Collins at a visitation in Wingham say, That Christ was a full satisfaction for all sins present, past, and to come, contrary to that he saith now.

Mr. Collins said, This is but a drift; you were better answer now, for else you shall go to prison again, and be called on Monday, and have articles laid to you; and if ye then answer not directly, ye shall be condemned *pro confesso*, and that will be worse for you.

*Bland.* Sir, I do not now, nor will then, deny to answer to any thing that ye can lay to my charge by the law: wherefore I trust ye will let me have the benefit of the law.

*Collins.* This is the law, that if ye be required of the ordinary, *Reddere rationem fidei*, (to give a reason of thy faith,) then may ye not deny it: and that we do now.

*Bland.* To that then will I answer: for I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, with all the other articles of the same Creed; and I believe all the articles contained both in the Creed called the Mass Creed, and in the Creed of Athanasius; and I do believe, that all the holy scriptures, and all things therein contained, are most true.

*Collins.* This will not serve you: ye must answer to all such articles in all these as shall be laid to you, or asked of you.

*Bland.* Let me know the law that it is in that force, (without any just cause of suspicion proved against me,) and I will answer.

*Collins.* How say ye, will ye answer?

*Bland.* Sir, I have answered you.

Have him away, said my lord of Dover; he had better have answered.

*Bland.* My lord, I am ready to answer, if ye have any thing against me by the law.

*B. Dover.* Ye have preached many heresies in Adesham, where I am parson now; and therefore ye must make answer to them.

*Bland.* Lay them to my charge by the law, and I will answer them, if ye can approve that I am bound to answer to that was done a year or more ago. For if ye may do that, ye may also lay to my charge, and compel me to answer to, all things done in all my life, I trow.

*Collins.* It is not a year ago since you were before Mr. Archdeacon and me.

*Bland.* It is truth, it is a year and ten weeks since the words were spoken; and I have been a prisoner ever since, and have been at five sessions, and never could have my cause tried. Methinks your charities should think it punishment enough, if I had been guilty.

*Collins.* All this will not serve you; you must needs answer, and it will be better for you to answer now than another time. Will you reform yourself, and go to the church, and worship Christ in the blessed sacrament of the altar, and be obedient unto all the queen's laws?

*Bland.* I pray you wherefore am I brought hither?

*Collins.* To answer to such things as are demanded of you.

*Bland.* Sir, I thought ye had some matters against me by the law.

*Collins.* Well, on Monday at nine o'clock ye shall see the law, and have articles laid unto you.

Then they espied Mr. Cox, the lawyer, and called him in, and said, Here is a lawyer can tell you are bound by the law to answer. And he said as they had said.

*Collins.* Do ye not believe, that after the consecration of the blessed sacrament of the altar, there remaineth no substance of bread, but the substance of Jesus Christ, both God and man?

*Bland.* Master Commissary, I know not by any law why ye should ask me that question more than any other man here.—And after a little talk, my lord of Dover asked me this question, Dost not thou believe, after the consecration, that it is the body of Christ? And I said, No, I do not so believe: for the scriptures do not teach me that there should remain the flesh of Christ, to eat as a man should eat man's flesh.

Then Mr. Glasier said, That was the opinion of the Capernaites; there is no man here of that opinion; and spake long of cutting of Christ's body, as men cut flesh in the shambles.

Then master doctor Faucet said, Mr. Bland, forasmuch as you and I were brought up both in one house, and born both in one parish, I would be as glad as any man alive to do you good; but ye may not thus stand against the church. For Christ saith, Ye must humble yourself, and take up his cross, and follow him. And to humble yourself in this place, is to be content, and not stick to your own judgment, but to humble yourself to the holy church, which hath determined, that after the consecration there remaineth no bread, but the natural body and blood of Christ.

*Bland.* Mr. Doctor, if ye take humbling of ourselves, in that place, to admit the determination of the church, then must we know by the scriptures that the same church determined nothing but according to the scriptures, as this is not: and therefore I do not believe any such transubstantiation, nor ever will, God willing. Then said he, I have done with you: I will no more pray for you than for a dog.

Then said Mr. Glasier, How think ye did Paul, when he said, "Is not the bread that we break a partaking of the body of Christ?" Did he mean bakers' bread?

*Bland.* Though he did not mean bakers' bread, that doth not prove that he brake natural and real flesh.

*Glasier.* No, by St. Mary, we say not so; but we say it is the natural body glorified, under the forms of bread and wine.

*Bland.* Then the apostles had it not as we have; or else his glorified body was crucified for us.

*Glasier.* Tush, ye do not understand the scriptures. For Christ's body was ever glorified, in that it was so marvellously united to the Godhead: yea, and he shewed his body divers times glorified, as in the mount Tabor; and when he walked on the water, we see he was light, and had no weight in him. Was not that then a glorified body?

*Bland.* Then belike Peter's body was glorified, if walking on the water was the deed of a glorified body; and the iron that Elizeus made to swim upon the water was glorified iron!

Tush! quoth my lord of Dover; that was done by prayer. But they made such a noise with laughing, that I heard no more what my lord said.

*Bland.* Masters, I know that it availeth us nothing to reason with you, no more than it booteth you in the time of the gospel. For then neither the reason of Eckius, Cochlaeus, nor yet of detection of the devil's sophistry of my lord chancellor's doing, could take any place. And it is known to some that be here, that something I can say in them.

*Dover.* No, you know Oecolampadius, Zuinglius, and such other.

*Bland.* Indeed, my lord, I have seen part of their works.

*Dover.* That is seen by thee to-day.

*Glasier.* I was glad when I heard you say ye believed the Catholic church: and now go you from it.

*Bland.* No, that I do not.

*Glasier.* Ye know that Christ saith, "If thy brother have offended thee, go and reconcile him between thee and him. If he hear thee not, take two or three with thee, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses all things may be established. If he hear not them, *dic Ecclesiae*; if he hear not the church, take him as an heathen." I pray you where could ye have found this church of your's fifty years ago?

*Bland.* Ye know that the true church did not at all times flourish, but was wonderfully persecuted.

Then my lord cried, No more: I command you to hold your peace. Have him away, and bring in another.

*Collins.* Ye shall come again on Monday, at nine of the clock, and in the mean time ye shall have whom ye will to confer withal; your friend Dr. Faucet, or Mr. Glasier, if ye desire them.

*Bland.* I will refuse to talk with no man.

The Monday after we were brought forth to the same place again; and then Mr. Collins began to speak to me, but after what manner, it is clean out of my mind; but the end was, that I would reform myself. But as I did before, I demanded what they had to lay to my charge, and to see the law, which they said before I should see.

*Dover.* What needs that? we have enough against you, for ye denied to me transubstantiation in the sacrament.

*Bland.* I did refuse to answer, till ye promised that I should see the law, whereby ye may compel me to answer.

My lord took the scribe's book, and read the answer that I made to Dr. Faucet's reason, which I knew not that they had written.

*Bland.* My lord, I made you no such answer when ye asked me; I take Mr. Collins and Mr. Glasier to witness.—Then they brought forth a decretal, a book of the bishop of Rome's law, to bind me to answer, which my heart ab-

horred to look upon. The effect was, that the ordinary had authority to examine, and that they so examined must needs answer. But I said, that it meant of such as were justly suspected, as I was not. And here we had much communication: for I charged them with unjust imprisonment; which they could not avoid.

But Mr. Oxenden would have helped them, and said, the justices put me in prison for a sermon seditiously spoken, and for troubling a priest at mass.

**Bland.** That is not true: for after I had been ten weeks in prison, I was bailed, till I was cast in again, and, as the justice said, for the disobeying mine ordinary; which I never did.

**Collins.** Will ye be content to confer with some? It will be better for you; now we offer it you, because ye would not desire it.

**Bland.** As I did not refuse before, no more will I now. But I did not perceive before, but that one thing might have come, without any leave-asking, to confer the scriptures: and therefore I looked that Dr. Faucet would have come to me without desiring, if any commodity to me had been in conference; for though I was never able to do him good, yet once I was his tutor.

**Collins.** Are ye content to come to his chamber at afternoon?

**Bland.** Sir, I am a prisoner, and therefore it is meet that I obey, and come whither you will; and so departed.—At this time we were three. But they took another to appear before them the Tuesday se'nnight after: and when he came, I knew not what was done, but that I hear they excommunicated him, and let him go; his name was Miller, a clothier.

*Here followeth a certain Conference between Mr. Bland and Mr. Mills, in which he confuted the absurd doctrine of Transubstantiation.*

**Mills.** We say that Christ is in or under the sacrament really and corporally, which are the forms of bread and wine, and that there is his body contained invisibly; and the qualities which we do see, as whiteness and roundness, be there without substance by God's power, as quantity and weight be there also by invisible measure.

**Bland.** This is your own divinity, to make accidents the sacrament, and Christ's real body invisibly contained in them, and so to destroy the sacrament. And yet the doctors say, *Materia sacramenti est panis et vinum*: The matter of the sacrament is bread and wine. And God by his power worketh no miracles with *Hoc est corpus meum*; This is my body; so to change the substance of bread and wine into his body and blood, in that he maketh accidents to be without their substance by invisible measure. I am ashamed to see you so destroy Christ's sacrament, contrary to your own doctors, and trifle with God's word.

**Mills.** To Christ is given all power in heaven and earth, so that by the omnipotent power of his Godhead he may be and is where he listeth; and is in the sacrament really and corporally, without occupying of a place; for a glorified body occupieth no place.

**Bland.** Mark your own reason: all power is given to Christ both in heaven and earth; by the omnipotent power of his Godhead he may be where he list: *ergo*, he is in the sacrament really and corporally, without occupying of place. I deny your argument; for it followeth neither of your *major* nor *minor*. And, first, I would learn of you, how you know that Christ listeth to be present at every priest's list: for if the priest list not to say your mass, then Christ listeth not to be there. Again, ye say all power is given unto Christ

both in heaven and in earth, so that this is the cause, by your reason, that by the omnipotent power of his Godhead he may be where he list: and by that reason he had no power of his Godhead till he had his human body, and then he was not equal with the Father in divinity: for all power was not given to Christ, before the humanity and the Godhead were knit together, neither was he the Son. Here is more danger than ye were aware of, if ye would stand to it with just judges.

**Mills.** We eat Christ's flesh and blood spiritually, when we receive it with faith and charity. And we also do eat it corporally in the sacrament; and the body that we so receive hath life. For the Godhead is annexed thereto: which although it be received with the body of Christ, yet it is not visible after a gross sort; and the flesh of Christ that we receive is lively, for it hath the Spirit of God joined to it. And if a man be drunken, it is not by receiving of the blood of Christ: for it is contrary to the nature of Christ's blood. If he be drunken, it is by the qualities and quantities, without substance of blood.

**Bland.** I am glad that you are so much against all men, to say that Christ's body is alive in the sacrament; it may fortune to bring you to the truth in time to come. Methink it is evil to keep Christ's body alive in the pix; or else must ye grant, that he is alive in receiving, and dead in the pix. And ye say truth, that it is not the natural receiving of Christ's blood that maketh a man drunken; for it is the nature of wine that doth that, which ye deny not.

And more truth ye confess than ye did think, when ye said, If a man be drunken, it is by qualities and quantities, without the substance of blood; for indeed blood hath no such qualities with it. By which it is evident that there is no natural blood.

If a man be drunken with wine consecrated, it must be a miracle, as I think you will have it, that the said accidents should be without their natural substance, and work all the operation of both substance and accidents: and so it followeth, that a man may be drunken by miracle. The body that ye receive, ye say, is alive, because it is annexed to the Godhead; and the flesh that ye receive is lively, because it hath the Spirit of God joined to it.

This division is of your new inventions, to divide the body and the flesh, the one alive by the Godhead, the other lively by God's Spirit, and both one sacrament: ye make of it a thing so fantastical, that ye imagine a body without flesh, and flesh without a body; as ye do qualities and quantities without substance, and a living body without qualities and quantities.

**Mills.** If case so require, and there be a godly intent in the minister to consecrate, after the consecration thereof there is present the body and blood of Christ, and no other substance, but accidents without substance to a true believer.

**Bland.** Ye grant three absurdities: that in a tun of wine consecrated is nothing but accidents; and to increase it withal, ye have brought in two inconveniences; first, that it is not the word of God that doth consecrate, but the intent of the priest must help it; and if that lack, ye seem to grant no consecration, though the priest speak the word: and yet your doctors say, that the wickedness of the priest minisheth not the sacrament.

And to an unbeliever ye seem to say, that it is not the same that it is to the true believer; and then must the believer have something to do in the consecration. *Incubi in Scyllam qui vult vitare Charibdim.*

**Mills.** The substance of Christ's body doth not fill the mouse's belly: for although he doth receive the outward



forms of bread and wine, yet he doth not receive the substance inwardly, but without violation. And a mouse doth not eat the body of Christ, to speak properly; for it doth not feed him spiritually or corporally, as it doth man, because he doth not receive it to immortality of the flesh.

*Bland.* Ye make not your doctrine plain to be understood: we must know how a mouse can receive the substance inwardly and outwardly. Ye say he doth not receive the substance inwardly, but without violation: *ergo*, with violation he receiveth the substance inwardly. Ye say that the mouse cannot violate Christ's body: but he violateth the substance that he eateth. And this your proper speech doth import as much as that the mouse should eat the sacrament to as great effect, and the same thing, as doth the unworthy receiver. For if that be the cause that she properly eateth not the body of Christ, because she doth not feed upon it spiritually nor corporally, nor receiveth it to any inducement of immortality, as ye say; then it followeth, that the unbeliever and the mouse receiveth both one thing. And yet it cannot be denied, but the mouse will live with consecrated bread; and then ye must grant this absurdity, that a substance is nourished and fed only with accidents.

*Mills.* Men's bodies be fed with Christ's body, as with immortal meat, by reason of the Godhead annexed, to eternal life; but men's bodies be corporally nourished with qualities and forms of bread and wine: and we deny that by the sacramental eating any gross humour turned into blood is made miraculously in the body.

*Bland.* Where it cannot be denied that a man may live, and naturally be nourished in his natural body, with the sacramental bread and wine consecrated; ye cannot avoid that. But then ye turn to the spiritual nourishing of man's body, by Christ's body and Godhead annexed; which is nothing to put away the absurdity, that either a man's natural body should be fed naturally with accidents, or else to have them changed into gross humours. But ye say, men's bodies be corporally nourished with qualities and forms of bread and wine; and then must ye needs grant that qualities and quantities must be made substance in man, or else is all that is the nutriment in man accidents, and no substance.

*Mills.* If the forms of bread and wine be burned, or worms engendered, it is no derogation to the body of Christ, because the presence of his body ceaseth to be there, and no substance cometh again.

*Bland.* Ye grant here that a substance may be made of accidents, as ashes or worms: but I think you will have it by your miracles; and this I count a greater absurdity than the other, that Christ's body should cease to be there, and no substance to come again; for no word in all the whole Bible seems to serve you for the ceasing of his presence, though we granted you (which we do not) that it were there. God Almighty open your hearts, if it be his will and pleasure, to see the truth. And if I thought not my death to be at hand, I would answer you to all the rest, in these and other my doings. *αὐτοῦ ἐπιζήμιον νόμον.*

I submit myself to our Saviour Jesus Christ, and his holy word, desiring you in the bowels of Christ to do the same.

#### *The last Appearance and Examination of Mr. John Bland.*

Hitherto ye have heard the troublesome handling of this faithful and blessed servant of God, John Bland, tossed to and fro from prison to prison, from session to session. At last he was brought before the bishop of Dover, the commissary, and the archdeacon, at Canterbury, the 13th day of June. The name of this bishop was Richard Thornton; the commissary was Robert Collins, whom the cardinal by his

letters patent had substituted to be his factor, before his coming over to England; the archdeacon was Nicholas Harpsfield. Under these a great number of innocent lambs of Christ were cruelly slain at Canterbury, among whom this aforesaid Mr. Bland was one of the first; (which were John Frankesh, Nicholas Sheterden, Thomas Thacker, Humphrey Middleton, and William Cocker;) who, as it is said, being brought before the bishop and his colleagues, was examined of articles; to whom it was objected by the commissary, whether he believed that Christ was really in the sacrament, or no, &c. To this he answered, and said, that he believed that Christ is in the sacrament as he is in all other good bodies; so that he judged not Christ to be really in the sacrament.

Whereupon, the day being on Monday, he was bid to appear again upon Wednesday next, and from thence he was deferred again to Monday following, being the 20th of June, in the same Chapter-house, then to hear further what should be done in case he would not relent to their mind. The which day and place he appearing as before, was required to say his mind plainly and fully to the aforesaid articles, being again repeated to him.

This done, and his answers and confession taken, respite was given him yet a few days to deliberate with himself. So the 25th day of the said month of June, he making his appearance again in the said Chapter-house, there openly and boldly withstood the authority of the pope; whereupon his sentence was read, and so he condemned and committed to the secular power. Touching the form and tenor of the sentence, (because all their sentences of course agree in one,) read before in the history of Mr. Rogers.

#### *The History of JOHN FRANKESH, HUMPHREY MIDDLETON, and NICHOLAS SHETERDEN.*

Having now passed over the examinations of Mr. Bland, let us further proceed to the rest of his fellow captives, being joined the same time with him in the like cause and like affliction. The names of whom were *John Frankesh, Nicholas Sheterden, Humphrey Middleton, Thacker, and Cocker*; of whom Thacker only gave back. The rest constantly standing to the truth, were altogether condemned by the suffragan of Canterbury, the 25th of June, the year above expressed. Touching whose examinations I shall not need long to stand, forso much as the articles ministered against them were all one; so in their answers they little or nothing disagreed, as hereafter by the Lord's help you shall hear. In the mean time, because Nicholas Sheterden in his examinations had a little more large talk with the archdeacon and the commissary, I will first begin with the same.

#### *The first Examination or Reasoning of Nicholas Sheterden, with Mr. Harpsfield, archdeacon, and Mr. Collins, the commissary, for which they sent him to prison.*

First, the archdeacon and commissary affirmed, that the very words of Christ, when he said, "This is my body," did change the substance, without any other interpretation or spiritual meaning of the words.

*Shet.* Then belike when Christ said, "This cup is my blood," the substance of the cup was changed into his blood, without any other meaning; and so the cup was changed, and not the wine.

*Arch.* Not so: for when Christ said, "This cup is my blood," he meant not the cup, but the wine in the cup.

*Shet.* If Christ spake one thing and meant another, then the bare words did not change the substance; but there



must be a meaning sought as well of the bread as of the cup.

*Arch.* There must be a meaning sought of the cup otherwise than the words stand. But of the bread it must be understood only as it standeth, without any other meaning.

*Shet.* Then do ye make one half of Christ's institution a figure, or borrowed speech, and the other half a plain speech, and so ye divide Christ's supper.

*Arch.* Christ meant the wine, and not the cup, though he said, "This cup is my blood."

*Shet.* Then shew me whether the words, which the priest doth speak over the cup, do change the substance, or whether the mind of the priest doth it?

*Arch.* The mind of the priest doth it, and not the words.

*Shet.* If the mind of the priest doth it, and not the words, if the priest then do mind his harlot or any other vain thing, that thing so minded was there made; and so the people do worship the priest's harlot instead of Christ's blood: and again, none of the people can tell when it is Christ's blood, or when it is not, seeing the matter standeth in the mind of the priest. For no man can tell what the priest meaneth, but himself; and so are they ever in danger of committing idolatry.

Then was the archdeacon somewhat moved, and sat him down, and said to the commissary, I pray you, Mr. Commissary, speak you to him another while, for they are unreasonable and perverse answers, as ever I heard of. Then stood up the commissary, and said:

*Com.* Your argument is much against yourself; for ye grant that the bread is a figure of Christ's body: but the cup can be no figure of his blood, nor yet his very blood: and therefore Christ did not mean the cup, but the wine in the cup.

*Shet.* My argument is not against me at all: for I do not speak to prove that the cup is his blood, nor the figure of his blood, but to prove that the bare words being spoken of the priest, do not change the substance no more of the bread, than they do change the cup into blood.

*Com.* It could not be spoken of the cup, when he said, "This cup is my blood;" but he meant the wine in the cup.

*Shet.* Then it remaineth for you to answer my question to the archdeacon, that is, Whether the mind of the priest, when he speaketh over the cup, doth change it into blood, or the bare words?

*Com.* Both together doth it, the words and the mind of the priest together; yea, the intent and the words together doth it.

*Shet.* If the words and intent together do change the substance, yet must the cup be his blood, and not the wine; forasmuch as the words are, "This cup is my blood," and the intent, ye say, was the wine; or else the words take none effect, but the intent only.

After, the commissary in his chamber said, it was the intent of the priest before he went to mass, without the words; for the priest did intend to do as holy church had ordained; then the intent made the sacrament to take effect.

*Shet.* If the sacraments take effect of the intent of the priest, and not of God's word, then many parishes, having a priest that intendeth not well, are utterly deceived, both in baptizing, and also worshipping that thing to be God, which is but bread, because, for lack of the priest's intent, the words do take none effect in it; so that by this it is ever doubtful whether they worship Christ or bread, because it is doubtful what the priests do intend.

Then the commissary would prove to me that Christ's Manhood was in two places at one time, by these words of

Christ, in John, the third chapter, where he saith, "No man ascendeth up to heaven, but he that came down from heaven;" that is to say, "the Son of man which is in heaven." By this he would prove, that Christ was then in heaven, and in earth also, naturally and bodily.

*Shet.* This place and others must needs be understood of the unity of the person, in that Christ was God and Man, and yet the matter must be referred to the Godhead, or else ye must fall into great error.

*Com.* That is not so: for it was spoken of the Manhood of Christ, forasmuch as he saith, the Son of man which is in heaven.

*Shet.* If ye will needs understand it to be spoken of Christ's Manhood, then must ye fall into the error of the Anabaptists, which deny that Christ took flesh of the Virgin Mary; for if there be no body ascended up but that which came down, where is then his incarnation? for then he brought his body down with him.

*Com.* Lo, how you seek an error in me, and yet see not how ye err yourself! For it cannot be spoken of the Godhead, except ye grant that God is passable, for God cannot come down, because he is not passable.

*Shet.* If that were a good argument, that God could not come down, because he is not passable; then it might be said by the like argument, that God could not sit, and then heaven is not his seat; and then say, as some do, that God hath no right hand for Christ to sit at.

Then the commissary affirmed plainly, that it was true, God hath no right hand indeed.

*Shet.* O what a spoil of Christ's religion will this be, that because we cannot tell how God came down, therefore we shall say, that he came not down at all; and because we cannot tell what manner of hand he hath, to say that he hath no hand at all; and then he cannot reach the utmost part of the sea. O misery! at length it will come to pass that God cannot sit, and then how can heaven be his seat? and if heaven be not his seat, then there is no heaven; and then at length I doubt you will say there is no God, or else no other God but such as the heathen gods are, which cannot go nor feel.

*Com.* Why, doth not the scripture say, that God is a Spirit? and what hand can a spirit have?

*Shet.* Truth it is, God is a Spirit, and therefore is worshipped in spirit and truth; and as he is a Spirit, so he hath a spiritual power, so he hath a spiritual seat, a spiritual hand, and a spiritual sword; which we shall feel, if we go this way to work as we begin. Because we know not what God hath, therefore if we say he hath none, then it may as well be said there is no Christ.

Then the commissary said, he would talk no more with me; and so departed. And also the commissary was compelled to grant, that Christ's testament was broken, and his institution was changed from that he left it: but he said they had power so to do.

#### *My first answering after their Law was established.*

Because I know ye will desire to hear from me some certainty of my estate, I was called before the suffragan and seven or eight of the chief priests, and examined of certain articles; and then I required to see their commission.

They shewed it to me, and said, There it is, and the king and queen's letters also. Then I desired to have it read, and so in reading I perceived, that on some notable suspicion he might examine upon two articles, Whether Christ's real presence were in the sacrament, and whether the Church of England be Christ's Catholic Church.

To that I answered, that I had been a prisoner three-quarters of a year, and, as I thought, wrongfully; reason would therefore that I should answer to those things wherefore I was prisoner.

The suffragan said, his commission was, I must answer directly, yea or no.

This commission, said I, was not general to examine whom he will, but on just suspicion.

He said, I was suspected and presented to him.—Then I required that the accusation might be shewed.

He said he was not bound to shew it, but he commanded me in the king and queen's name to answer directly.

*Shet.* And I as a subject do require of you justice: for that I have done I ask no favour.

He said I was suspected.—I bade him prove that suspicion, or what cause he had to suspect.

*Suff.* Thou wast cast into prison for that cause.

*Shet.* That was a pretty suspicion, because I had suffered imprisonment contrary to God's law and the realm, and therefore I must now for amends be examined of suspicion without cause, to hide all the wrong done to me before! For when I was cast into prison, there was no law but I might speak as I did: therefore in that point I could no more be suspect than you, which preached the same yourself not long before.

*Suff.* That was no matter to thee what I preached.

*Shet.* Well, yet in the king and queen's name I must answer directly; and therefore I require, as a subject, that ye do not extend beyond your commission, but prove me suspect more than yourself.

Then said Mr. Mills, I had written to my mother, and he did see the letter, wherein I persuaded my mother to my opinions.

*Shet.* In that I did but my duty, to certify her I was not in prison for any evil; and that was before the law also; and therefore no more suspicion was in me than was in them which taught the like.

*Mills.* Well, ye are required here to answer directly, or no.

*Shet.* First then, I require of you to prove this suspicion. And thus we tossed it to and fro; at last the bishop said, he himself did suspect me. I asked, whereby? Well, said he, I myself did suspect thee, and it is no matter whereby.

*Shet.* But your commission doth not serve you so to do, without cause of suspicion.

*Suff.* Well, yet did I suspect you.

*Shet.* It is not meet for you to be my accuser and my judge also, for that is too much for one man.

*Mills.* If you were a Christian man you would not be ashamed of your faith being required.

*Shet.* I am not ashamed indeed, I thank God, for if any man did come to me, either to teach or learn, I would declare it; but forasmuch as I perceive you come neither to teach nor to learn, I hold it best not to answer you.

*Mills.* If you will not, then will we certify the king's council.

*Shet.* I am therewith content that you should certify that I had suffered three quarters' prison wrongfully, and therefore I desire to be justified or condemned, first for that I suffered such imprisonment; and then I will not refuse to answer your articles, though they were a bushel of them. But to say that I would answer, whereby you should heal all your wrong done to me against the law of God and the realm, I will not.

Here much ado there was to prove that he had no wrong, and again, that it was not they that did it. But, said he,

the commissary was one of them. He answered, No, it was the archdeacon. He said, You sat with him, and he asked your counsel in it; and yet if it were he, it was your church, except the archdeacon and you be divided one from another. Well, said they, will ye now deny what ye said then, and promise here to submit yourself henceforth, and ye shall be delivered?

*Shet.* I am not so much bound to you to grant any such promise; and again you shall well know that I would not promise to go cross the street for you: but if I did at any time offend your law, let me have the punishment; I ask no favour.

Then said they, that it was obstinacy in him that he would not answer, and a token that his faith was naught, seeing he was ashamed to utter it.

Nay, said he, you shall well know I am not ashamed of my faith; but because you do so greedily seek blood, I will answer only to that you have against me.

*Suff.* Nay, you shall answer to the articles, or else be condemned upon suspicion.

*Shet.* I am content with that; yet all men shall know that as ye suspect and can prove no cause, so shall ye condemn me without a matter, and then shall all men know ye seek my blood, and no justice.

*Suff.* No, we seek not thy blood, but thy conversion.

*Shet.* That we shall see; for then shall you prove my perversion first, before you condemn me on your suspicion, without proof of the same; and by that I shall know whether you seek blood or no.

At last stepped up one Lovels, a lawyer, which would prove his imprisonment not to be wrong, but right, by old statutes of Edward IV. and Henry, &c. but at last he was compelled to forsake those statutes from Michaelmas to Christmas, and then he said it was no wrong. To this Nicholas said, if he could prove that men might wrongfully imprison before a law, and in the mean while make laws, and then under that hide the first wrong, then he said true, or else not.

*The last Examination, with the Condemnation of Mr. Bland, John Frankesh, Nicholas Sheterden, and Humphrey Middleton.*

And thus much touching the particular examinations of Nicholas Sheterden, and of Mr. Bland. Now to touch something also of the other martyrs, which the same time were examined, and suffered with them together, to wit, Humphrey Middleton, of Ashford, and John Frankesh, vicar of Rolynden, in the diocese of Kent above-mentioned, here first would be declared the articles which publicly in their last examinations were jointly and severally ministered unto them by the aforesaid Thornton, bishop of Dover.

To the seven articles then being propounded to the five persons above-named, to wit, John Frankesh, John Bland, Nicholas Sheterden, Humphrey Middleton, and one Thacker, first answered John Frankesh somewhat doubtfully, desiring further respite to be given him of fourteen days. Thacker alone relented, and was content to take penance. Thus the aforesaid four were condemned by the bishop of Dover, the 25th day of June, anno 1555.

And so being given to the secular power, they were burned at Canterbury, the 12th of July, at two several stakes, but all in one fire together; where they in the sight of God, and of his angels, and before men, like true soldiers of Jesus Christ, gave a faithful testimony to the truth of his holy gospel, sealing with their blood the doctrines which they had so constantly professed.

*The Prayer of Mr. Bland before his Death.*

"The Lord Jesus, for whose love I do willingly leave this life, and desire rather the bitter death of his cross, with the loss of all earthly things, than to abide the blasphemy of thy holy name, or else to obey man in breaking of thy commandments; thou seest, O Lord, that whereas I might live in worldly wealth to worship false gods, and honour thy enemy, I chose rather the torments of this body, and loss of this my life, and have counted all things but vile dust and dung, that I might win thee: which death is more dear unto me than thousands of gold and silver. Such love, O Lord, hast thou laid up in my breast, that I hunger for thee, as the deer that is wounded desireth the soil. Send thy holy comforter, O Lord, to aid, comfort, and strengthen, this weak piece of earth, which is void of all strength of itself. Thou rememberest, O Lord, that I am but dust, and not able to do any thing that is good. Therefore, O Lord, as thou of thy accustomed goodness hast bidden me to this banquet, and counted me worthy to drink of thine own cup amongst thine elect; give me strength against this element, that as it is to my sight most irksome and terrible, so to my mind it may be, at thy commandment, as an obedient servant, sweet and pleasant; and through the strength of thy holy Spirit, I may pass through the strength of this fire, into thy bosom, according unto thy promise, and for this mortality to receive immortality, and for this corruptible to put on incorruption. Accept this burnt-offering and sacrifice, O Lord, not for the sacrifice itself, but for thy dear Son's sake my Saviour; for whose testimony I offer this free-will offering with all my heart and with all my soul. O heavenly Father, forgive me my sins, as I forgive the whole world. O sweet Saviour, spread thy wings over me. O God, grant me thy Holy Ghost, through whose merciful inspiration I am come hither. Conduct me unto everlasting life. Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit; Lord Jesus, receive my soul. So be it."

*The Prayer of Nicholas Sheterden before his Death.*

"O Lord, my God and Saviour, which art Lord in heaven and earth, maker of all things visible and invisible, I am the creature and work of thy hands; Lord God, look upon me, and other thy people, which at this time are oppressed of the worldly-minded for thy law's sake; yea, Lord, thy law itself is now trodden under foot, and men's inventions exalted above it; and for that cause do I, and many, refuse the glory, praise, and commodity of this life, and do choose to suffer adversity, and to be banished; yea, to be burnt with the books of thy word, for the hope's sake that is laid up in store. For, Lord, thou knowest, if we would but seem to please men in things contrary to thy word, we might by their permission enjoy these commodities that others do, as wife, children, goods, and friends, which all I acknowledge to be thy gifts, given to the end I should serve thee. And now, Lord, that the world will not suffer me to enjoy them, except I offend thy laws, behold, I give unto thee my whole spirit, soul, and body; and, lo, I leave here all the pleasures of this life, and do now leave the use of them for the hope's sake of eternal life purchased in Christ's blood, and promised to all them that fight on his side, and are content to suffer with him for his truth, whensoever the world and the devil shall persecute the same.

"O Father, I do not presume unto thee in mine own righteousness; no, but only in the merits of thy dear Son, my Saviour. For the which excellent gift of salvation I cannot worthily praise thee, neither is my sacrifice worthy, or to be

accepted with thee, in comparison of our bodies mortified, and obedient unto thy will: and now, Lord, whatsoever rebellion hath been or is found in my members against thy will, yet do I here give unto thee my body to the death, rather than I will use any strange worshipping; which I beseech thee accept at my hand for a pure sacrifice. Let this torment be to me the last enemy destroyed, even death, the end of misery, and the beginning of all joy, peace, and solace; and when the time of resurrection cometh, then let me enjoy again these members then glorified, which now be spoiled and consumed by the fire. O Lord Jesus, receive my spirit into thy hands. Amen.

*NICHOLAS HALL and CHRISTOPHER WAID, Martyrs.*

The same month of July, next after the suffering of the Kentish men above-named, followed the death and martyrdom of *Nicholas Hall*, bricklayer, and *Christopher Waid*, of Dartford, which both were condemned by Maurice, bishop of Rochester, about the last day of the month of June. The six articles ministered to them were of the same ordinary course and effect with the articles of the other martyrs before specified.

*The Execution and Martyrdom of Christopher Waid.*

Christopher Waid, of Dartford, in the County of Kent, linen-weaver, was condemned by Maurice, bishop of Rochester, and appointed to be burned at Dartford aforesaid. At the day appointed for his execution, which was in the month of July, there was betimes in the morning carried out of the town in a cart, a stake, and therewith many bundles of reeds, to a place a quarter of a mile out of the town, called the Brinth, into a gravel-pit thereby, the common place of the execution of felons. Thither also was brought a load of broom faggots, with other faggots and tall wood. Unto which place resorted the people of the country in great number, and there tarried his coming; insomuch, as thither came divers fruiterers with horse loads of cherries, and sold them. About ten of the clock cometh riding the sheriff, with a great many other gentlemen and retinue, appointed to assist him therein, and with them Waid, riding, pinioned by one Margery Polley, of Tunbridge, both singing of a psalm; which Margery, as soon as she espied afar off the multitude gathered about the place where he should suffer, waiting his coming, she said unto him very loud and cheerfully, You may rejoice, Waid, to see such a company gathered to celebrate your marriage this day.

And so passing by the place, which joined hard to the highway, they were carried straight down to the town, where she was kept until the sheriff returned from Waid's execution. And Waid being made ready, and stripped out of his clothes in an inn, had brought in to him a fair long white shirt from his wife, which being put on, and he pinioned, was led up on foot again to the aforesaid place; and coming straight to the stake, he took it in his arms, and kissed it, setting his back unto it, and standing in a pitch-barrel, which was taken from the beacon, being hard by. Then a smith brought a hoop of iron, and with two staples made him fast to the stake under his arms.

As soon as he was thus settled, he spake, with his hands and eyes lifted up to heaven, with a cheerful and loud voice, the last verse of the 86th Psalm: "Shew some good token upon me, O Lord, that they which hate me may see it, and be ashamed: because thou, Lord, hast helped me and comforted me." Near unto the stake was a little hill, upon the top whereof were pitched up four stays, quadranglewise.

with a covering round about like a pulpit; into which place (as Waid was thus praying at the stake) entered a friar with a book in his hand; whom when Waid espied, he cried earnestly unto the people, to take heed of the doctrine of the Whore of Babylon, exhorting them to embrace the doctrine of the gospel preached in king Edward's days. Whom the sheriff, thus speaking to the people, often interrupted, saying, Be quiet, Waid, and die patiently. I am, said he, I thank God, quiet, Mr. Sheriff, and so trust to die. All this while the friar stood still, looking over the coverlet, as though he would have uttered somewhat. But Waid very mightily admonished the people to beware of that doctrine; which when the friar perceived, (whether he were amazed, or could have no audience of the people,) withdrew himself out of the place immediately, without speaking any word, and went away down to the town.

Then the reeds being set about him, he pulled them, and embraced them in his arms, always with his hands making a hole against his face, that his voice might be heard; which they perceiving that were his tormentors, always cast faggots at the same hole, which, notwithstanding, he still as he could put off, his face being hurt with the end of a faggot cast thereat. Then fire being put unto him, he cried unto God often, Lord Jesus, receive my soul! without any token or sign of impatience in the fire, till at length, after the fire was once thoroughly kindled, he was heard by no man to speak, still holding his hands up over his head towards heaven, even when he was dead, and altogether roasted, as though they had been stayed up by a prop under them.

This sign did God shew upon him, whereby his very enemies might perceive that God had, according to his prayer, shewed such a token upon him, even to their shame and confusion. And this was the order of this godly martyr's execution, this was his end; whereby God seemed to confound and strike with the spirit of dumbness the friar, who was risen up to have spoken against him; and also no less wonderfully sustained those hands which he lifted up to him for comfort in his torment.

*The Apprehension, Examination, Condemnation, and Burning, of DIRICK CARVER and JOHN LAUNDER.*

The 22d day of July, 1555, was burned at Lewes, within the county of Sussex, one *Dirick Carver*, late of the parish of Brighthamsted, in the same county. And the next day, being the 23d day of the same month, was also burned at Stening another, named *John Launder*, late of Godstone, in the county of Surry. Which two men were, with others, about the end of the month of October, anno 1554, apprehended by Edward Gage, gentleman, as they were at prayer within the dwelling-house of the said Dirick; and by him were sent up unto the queen's council. Who after examination, sent them as prisoners to Newgate, there to attend the leisure of Bonner, bishop of London. From whence (upon the bishop's receipt of a letter from the lord marquis of Winchester) they were brought by the keeper of the prison the 8th of June next after, into the bishop's chamber at his house in London; and there being examined upon divers points of religion, they made their several confessions, subscribing and signing them with their own hands. Which being read, the bishop objected unto them certain other articles, causing them to swear truly, and directly to answer thereunto: which articles they confessed to be true, referring themselves chiefly to their former confessions.

This done, after long persuasions and fair exhortations, they were demanded whether they would stand to their

answers? To whom Launder said, I will not go from these answers so long as I live. The other also affirmed the same; and therefore they were commanded to appear again before the bishop in the Consistory at Paul's the 10th of the same month; which articles and confession do here ensue.

*The Confession of Dirick Carver, before Bonner, bishop of London.*

Dirick Carver, beer-brewer, of Brighthamsted, in the county of Sussex, where he hath dwelled by the space of eight or nine years, born in the village of Dilson, by Stockom, in the land of Luke, forty years of age, or thereabout, and now prisoner in Newgate, where he hath remained at the council's commandment since Allhallow-day last past; being examined concerning his faith and belief in the sacrament of the altar, saith that he hath and doth believe, that the very substance of the body and blood of Christ is not in the said sacrament, and that there is no other substance remaining in the said sacrament, after the words spoken by the priest, but only the substance of bread and wine.

Item, Being examined concerning the mass in Latin, now used in the church of England, he believeth that there is no sacrifice in the said mass, and that there is in it no salvation for a Christian man, except it should be said in the mother tongue, that he might understand it; and concerning the ceremonies of the church, he saith and believeth that they be not profitable to a Christian man.

Item, Being examined concerning auricular confession, he answereth, that he hath and doth believe that it is necessary to go to a good priest for good counsel; but the absolution of the priest, laying his hand on any man's head, as is now used, is nothing profitable to a Christian's salvation. And further he saith, that he hath not been confessed, nor received the sacrament of the altar, since the coronation of the queen that now is.

Item, Concerning the faith and religion now taught, set forth, and believed, in the church of England, he answereth and believeth, that the faith and doctrine now taught, set forth, and used, in the said church of England, is not agreeable to God's word. And furthermore he saith, that bishop Hooper, Cardmaker, Rogers, and others of their opinion, which were of late burned, were good Christian men, and did preach the true doctrine of Christ, as he believeth, and did shed their blood for the same.

And further being examined, he saith, that since the queen's coronation, he hath had the Bible and Psalter in English read in his house at Brighthamsted divers times, and likewise since his coming into Newgate; but the keeper hearing thereof, did take them away. And saith also, that about a twelvemonth now past he had the English procession said in his house, with other English prayers. And further said, that Thomas Iveson, John Launder, and Wm. Vesie, being prisoners with him in Newgate, were taken with this examine in his house at Brighthamsted, as they were hearing of the gospel then read in English, a little before Allhallow-day last past, and brought into the court; and being examined thereupon by the council, were committed by them to prison in Newgate.

*The Confession of John Launder, before Bonner, bishop of London.*

John Launder, husbandman, of the parish of Godstone, in the county of Surry, of the age of twenty-five years, born at Godstone aforesaid, being examined, doth confess and say, that about two days next before Allhallow-tide last past, this examine and one Dirick Carver, Thomas Iveson,



William Vesie, with divers other persons to the number of twelve, (being all together in their prayers, saying the service in English, set forth in the time of king Edward VI. in the house of the said Dirick, situate at Brighthamsted, in Sussex,) were apprehended by one Mr. Edward Gage, and by him sent up hither to London, to the king and queen's council, and by them (upon his examination) committed to Newgate, where he with his said other fellows hath ever since remained in prison.

And further being examined, he doth confess and say, that the occasion of his coming to the said Brighthamsted was upon certain business there to be sped for his father; and so being there, and hearing that the said Dirick was a man that did much favour the gospel, this excommuni- cate did resort to his house and company, whom before that time he did never see or know, and by reason of that his resort he was apprehended as before. And further doth confess and believe, that there is here in earth one whole and universal Catholic church, whereof the members be dispersed through the world, and doth believe also that the same church doth set forth and teach only two sacraments, viz. the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of the supper of our Lord; and whosoever doth teach or use any more sacraments, or yet any ceremonies, he doth not believe that they be of the Catholic church, but doth abhor them from the bottom of his heart. And doth further say and believe, that all the services, sacrifices, and ceremonies, now used in this realm of England, yea, and in all other parts of the world, which hath been used after the same manner, be erroneous and naught, and contrary to Christ's institution.

Also he doth confess and believe, that in the sacrament (now called the sacrament of the altar) there is not really and truly contained, under the forms of bread and wine, the very natural body and blood of Christ in substance; but his belief and faith therein is as followeth, viz. that when he doth receive the material bread and wine, he doth receive the same in a remembrance of Christ's death and passion, and so receiving it, he doth eat and drink Christ's body and blood by faith, and none otherways, as he believeth.

And moreover he doth confess, say, and believe, that the mass now used in the realm of England, or elsewhere in all Christendom, is naught and abominable, and directly against God's word, and his Catholic church, and that there is nothing said or used in it good and profitable.

Also he doth believe and confess, that auricular confession is not necessary to be made to any priest, or to any other creature, but every person ought to acknowledge and confess his sins only to God; and also that no person hath any authority to absolve any man from his sins, and also believeth that the right and true way (according to the scripture) after a man hath fallen from grace to sin, to arise to Christ again, is to be sorry for his offences, and to do the same or the like no more; and not to make any auricular confession of them to the priest, either to take absolution for them at the priest's hands. All which his said opinions he hath believed by the space of these seven or eight years past, and in that time hath divers and many times openly argued and defended the same, as he saith, &c.

Upon Monday, being the tenth day of June, these two persons, with others, were brought by the keeper unto the bishop's consistory, as it was before commanded, at one of the clock in the afternoon, where the bishop first beginning with the said Dirick Carver, caused his confession, with the articles and answers, to be openly read unto him, (which order he kept as the condemnation of every prisoner,) asking him whether he would stand to the same? To whom the

said Dirick answered, that he would: For your doctrine (quoth he) is poison and sorcery; if Christ were here, you would put him to a worse death than he was put to before. You say, that you can make a god!—ye can make a pudding better. Your ceremonies in the church be beggary and poison. And further I say, that auricular confession is contrary to God's word, and even poison.

The bishop seeing his constancy, and that neither his accustomed flatteries nor yet his cruel threatenings could once move this good man to incline to their idolatry, pronounced his usual and general blessing, as well towards this Dirick, as also upon the said John Launder, although severally; who (after the like manner of process used with him) remained in the same constancy as did the other; and therefore were both delivered unto the sheriff's, who were there present, but afterwards were conveyed to the places above-named, and there most joyfully gave their bodies to be burned in the fire, and their souls into the hands of Almighty God, by Jesus Christ, who hath assured them to a better hope of life.

This Dirick was a man whom the Lord had blessed as well with temporal riches as with his spiritual treasures; which riches yet were no clog or let unto his true professing of Christ, the Lord by his grace so working in him; of which there was such havoc made by the greedy raveners of that time, that his poor wife and children had little or none thereof.

During his imprisonment, although he was well stricken in years, and as it were past the time of learning, yet he so spent his time, that being at his first apprehension utterly ignorant of any letter of the book, he could before his death read perfectly any printed English.—Whose diligence and zeal are worthy no small commendation, and therefore I thought it good not to pass it over in silence, for the encouragement and example of others.

Moreover, at his coming into the town of Lewes to be burned, the people called upon him, beseeching God to strengthen him in the faith of Jesus Christ. He thanked them, and prayed unto God that of his mercy he would strengthen them in the like faith. And when he came to the sign of the Star, the people drew near unto him, where the sheriff said, that he had found him a faithful man in all his answers. And as he came to the stake, he kneeled down and made his prayers, and the sheriff made haste.

Then his book was thrown into the barrel, and when he had stripped himself, as a joyful member of God, he went into the barrel himself. And as soon as ever he came in, he took up the book, and threw it among the people; and then the sheriff commanded in the king and queen's name, on pain of death, to throw in the book again. And immediately that faithful member spake with a joyful voice, saying:

"Dear brethren and sisters, I witness to you all, that I am come to seal with my blood Christ's gospel, because I know that it is true; it is not unknown unto all you, but that it hath been truly preached here in Lewes, and in all places of England, and now it is not. And because that I will not deny here God's gospel, and be obedient to man's laws, I am condemned to die. Dear brethren and sisters, as many of you as do believe upon the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, unto everlasting life, see you do the works appertaining to the same. And as many of you as do believe upon the pope of Rome, or any of his laws, which he sets forth in these days, you do believe to your utter condemnation, and except the great mercy of God prevent, you shall burn in hell perpetually."



Immediately the sheriff spake unto him, and said, If thou dost not believe on the pope thou art damned, body and soul. And further the sheriff said unto him, Speak to thy God, that he may deliver thee now, or else to strike me down to the example of this people: but this faithful member said, The Lord forgive you your sayings.

And then spake he again to all the people there present, with a loud voice, saying, "Dear brethren, and all you whom I have offended in words or in deed, I ask you for the Lord's sake to forgive me, and I heartily forgive all you which have offended me in thought, word, or deed." And he said further in his prayer, "O Lord my God, thou hast written, He that will not forsake wife, children, house, and all that ever he hath, and take up thy cross, and follow thee, is not worthy of thee: but thou, Lord, knowest that I have forsaken all, to come unto thee. Lord, have mercy upon me, for unto thee I commend my spirit; and my soul doth rejoice in thee." These were the last words of that faithful member of Christ, before the fire was put to him. And after that the fire came to him, he cried, O Lord, have mercy upon me! and sprung up in the fire, calling upon the name of Jesus; and so he ended.

#### THOMAS IVESON, *Martyr*.

At Chichester, about the same month, was burned one *Thomas Iveson*, of Godstone, in the county of Surry, carpenter; whose apprehension, examination, and condemnation, forasmuch as it was at one time, and in one form, with Derrick Carver and John Launder, I do here omit, referring the reader to their history and process before mentioned, saving only this his several confession and private answers made before bishop Bonner at his last examination in the Consistory, I thought not good to omit; who being examined upon the aforesaid articles, answered as followeth:

1. First, That I believed that there is but one Catholic, Universal Church of Christ, through the whole world, which hath and holdeth the true faith, and all the necessary articles of Christian belief, and all the sacraments of Christ, with the true use and administration of the same.

2. Item, That he is necessarily bounden to believe, and give credit, in all the said faith, articles of belief, religion, and the sacraments of Christ, and the administration of the same.

3. Item, That the faith, religion, and administration of sacraments, which now is believed, used, taught, and set forth, in this our church of England, is not agreeing with the truth and faith of Christ, nor with the faith of the said Catholic and Universal Church of Christ.

4. Item, Concerning the sacrament of the altar, he believeth that it is a very idol, and detestable before God as it is now ministered.

5. Item, That the mass is wicked, and not of the institution of Christ, but that it is of man's invention. And being demanded whether any thing used in the mass be good, he said that he would answer no further.

6. Item, That he had not received the sacrament of the altar since it had been ministered as now it is in England, neither was confessed at any time within these seven years; nor he hath not heard mass by the same space.

7. Item, That auricular confession is not necessary to be made to a priest; for that he cannot forgive nor absolve from his sins.

8. Item, Concerning the sacrament of baptism, that it is a sacrament and token of Christ, as circumcision was, and none otherwise; and he believeth that his sins are not washed

away thereby, but his body only washed: for his sins be washed away only by Christ's blood.

9. Item, That there be in the Catholic Church of Christ only two sacraments, that is to say, the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of the supper of the Lord, and no more, which are not rightly used at this present time in England, and therefore be unprofitable.

10. Item, He believeth that all ceremonies now used in the church of England are vain, superfluous, superstitious, and wicked.

Furthermore, the said Iveson being earnestly desired to recant, said in this wise: "I would not recant and forsake my opinion, and belie, for all the goods in London; I do appeal to God's mercy, and will be none of your church, nor submit myself to the same; and that I have said, I will say again. And if there came an angel from heaven, to teach me any other doctrine than that which I am now in, I would not believe him." Which answer thus made, he was condemned as an heretic, and with the same persons was committed to the secular power, as they term it; and at the place above mentioned was burned, persevering still in his faith unto the end.

#### JOHN ALEWORTH.

In the latter end of this month of July, *John Aleworth* died in prison, at the town of Reading, being there in bonds for the cause and testimony of the truth of the Lord's gospel.—Whom although the Catholic prelates, according to their usual solemnity, did exclude out of their Catholic burial; yet we see no cause why to exclude him out of the number of Christ's holy martyrs, and heirs of his holy kingdom.

#### JAMES ABBES, a *Martyr of blessed memory, suffering for the true cause of Christ's Gospel*.

Among many that travelled in these troublesome days to keep a good conscience, these was one *James Abbes*, a young man, which through compulsion of the tyranny then used, was enforced to have his part with his brethren in wandering and going from place to place, to avoid the peril of apprehending. But when time came that the Lord had another work to do for him, he was caught by the hands of wicked men, and brought before the bishop of Norwich, Dr. Hopton; who examining him of his religion, and charging him therewith very sore, both with threats and fair speeches, at the last the said poor James did yield, and relented to their naughty persuasions, although his conscience consented not thereto.

Now when he was dismissed, and should go from the bishop, the bishop calling him again, gave him a piece of money, either 60d. or 20d. whether I know not; which when the said James had received, and was gone from the bishop, his conscience began to throb, and inwardly to accuse his fact, how he had displeased the Lord by consenting to their illusions: in which grievous combat with himself being piteously vexed, he went immediately to the bishop again, and there threw him his said money which he had received at his hand, and said, it repented him that he ever gave his consent to their wicked persuasions, and that he gave his consent in taking of his money.

Now this being done, the bishop with his chaplains did labour afresh to win him again, but in vain: for the said James Abbes would not yield for any of them, although he had played Peter before through infirmity; but stood manfully in his Master's quarrel to the end, and abode the force

of the fire, in the consuming of his body into ashes; which tyranny of burning was done in Bury the 2d day of August, anno 1555.

*A Discourse of the Apprehension, Examination, and Condemnation of JOHN DENLEY, Gentleman, JOHN NEWMAN, and PATRICK PACKINGHAM, martyred for the Testimony of Christ's Gospel.*

In the midst of this tempestuous rage of malignant adversaries, persecuting and destroying the poor flock of Christ, many there were, which, though they were not spiritual men, yet thought to help forward for their parts, and, as one would say, to heap up more coals to this furious flame of persecution; whether of a blind zeal or a pharisaical flattery, I know not. Amongst which was one Edmund Tyrel, esq. and at that time a justice of peace within the county of Essex, an assister, as it seemeth, to cruel murderers of God's saints: who, as he came from the burning and death of certain godly martyrs, met with *John Denley*, gentleman, and one *John Newman*, both of Maidstone, in Kent, travelling upon the way, and going to visit such their godly friends as then they had in the county of Essex. And upon the sight of them, first upon suspicion apprehended and searched them, and at last finding the confessions of their faith in writing about them, sent them up unto the queen's commissioners.

Forsomuch as mention is made of a certain writing in paper found about them of their faith; what this writing was, and what were the contents of it, the copy thereof ensueth:

*Certain Notes collected and gathered out of the Scriptures by John Denley, Gentleman, with a Confession of his Faith touching the Sacrament of Christ's body and blood, found about him ready written at his apprehension.*

*Christ is in the sacrament, as he is where two or three are gathered together in his name.*

The difference of doctrine between the faithful and the Papists concerning the sacrament, is, that the Papists say that Christ is corporally under or in the forms of bread and wine; but the faithful say, that Christ is not there, neither corporally nor spiritually; but in them that worthily eat and drink the bread and wine, he is spiritually, but not corporally.

For figuratively he is in the bread and wine, and spiritually he is in them that worthily eat and drink the bread and wine; but really, carnally, and corporally, he is only in heaven, from whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

*My belief in the sacrament of the blessed body and blood of my Saviour Jesus Christ.*

And concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, my belief is this, that the bread and wine is appointed unto a sacrament; and that after thanks be given to God the Father, then it doth represent unto me the very body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ; not that the bread is the body, or the wine the blood, but that I in faith do see that blessed body of our Saviour broken on the cross, and his precious blood plentifully shed for the redemption of my sins. Also in faith I hear him call us unto him, saying, "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are laden, and I will refresh you," Isa. lv. a. b. Matt. xi. &c. In faith I come unto him, and I am re-

freshed; so that I believe that all that do come unto the table of the Lord in this faith, fear, and love, being sorry for their offences, intending earnestly to lead a godly conversation in this vale of misery, do receive the fruit of the death of Christ, which fruit is our salvation.

I do understand (spiritually) that as the outward man doth eat the material bread which comforteth the body, so doth the inward man (through faith) eat the body of Christ, believing that as the bread is broken, so was Christ's body broken on the cross for our sins; which comforteth our souls unto life everlasting, and signifying thereby, that even as that bread was divided among them, so should his body and fruit of his passion be distributed unto as many as believed his words. But the bread broken and eaten in the supper, moveth and putteth us in remembrance of his death, and so exciteth us to thanksgiving, to laud and praise God for the benefits of our redemption.

And thus we there have Christ present; in the inward eye and sight of our faith we eat his body, and drink his blood; that is, we believe surely that his body was crucified for our sins, and his blood shed for our salvation.

Christ's body and blood is not contained in the sacramental bread and wine, as the Papists have said, and as some do yet say, as ye read in these scriptures following: First, read in St. Matt. ix. Luke v. Matt. xxiv. and xxvi. Mark xvi. Luke xxiv. John xiii. Luke xxiii. in the end, John xiv. xv. xvi. xvii. Acts i. iii. vii. ix. Rom. viii. Psal. viii. 1 Cor. x. xi. Exod. xiii. Col. i. Eph. i. iv. Phil. ii. 1 Thes. i. iv. Heb. i. v. viii. ix. x. xii. 1 Pet. iii. Psal. xi. lxxvii. ciii. x.

*Christ's material body is not in all places, as these scriptures do testify hereafter.*

First, read St. Matthew the last, Mark the last, Luke the last, John xi. 20, 21. These places of the scriptures do plainly declare, that his body that was born of the Virgin Mary, cannot be in more places than one, and that is in heaven, on the right hand of God, and not in the sacrament, nor in all places, as the Papists have affirmed and yet do affirm.

Therefore, whosoever they be that do worship the creatures of bread and wine, do commit idolatry, and make abominable idols of them, and take the glory from God, and give it to his creatures, which is contrary to the mind of God; as these scriptures hereafter do testify, first in Exod. xx. 22, 23, 24. Lev. xix. Deut. iv. vi. Psal. lxxx. Isa. xlv. Mal. ii. Mat. iv. Luke iv. Acts xiv. Rev. xiv. Psal. xcvi. 1 Cor. i. Eph. iv. 1 Tim. ii. 1 John v. Rev. xix. xxii.

JOHN DENLEY.

Now to return to the commissioners again: They receiving these prisoners before mentioned, after they saw they could little prevail with their own persuasions, sent them unto bishop Bonner, to be handled after his fatherly and charitable discretion; which how discreet and favourable it was, as well the history of others, as also the sequel of this, doth manifestly declare. For the 28th of June next following, he caused the said Denley and Newman, with one Patrick Packingham, to be brought into his chamber within his palace, there examining them upon their confessions, (which Tyrel had found about them,) objecting also unto them certain other articles of his own. To which they all answered in effect one thing, although Denley answered more largely than the others, and therefore I thought it enough only to manifest his, as sufficient, and in no part differing from the others, except that Packingham had one article of no great force objected to him, which the rest had not.

This done, the bishop used with them his accustomed persuasions; to which Mr. Denley said, God save me from your counsel, and keep me in the mind that I am in, for that you count heresy I take to be the truth: and thereupon they were commanded to appear in the bishop's consistory the fifth of July then next coming, in the afternoon, where these articles were objected against them:

*The Articles objected by Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, against John Denley, John Newman, and Patrick Packer, jointly and severally, the 28th of June, 1555.*

First, That the said Denley now is of the diocese of London, and the jurisdiction of the bishop of London.

Secondly, That the said Denley hath not believed, nor doth believe, there is any Catholic church of Christ here in earth.

Thirdly, That the said D. hath not believed, nor doth believe, that this church of England is any part or member of the said Catholic church.

Fourthly, That the said D. hath believed and doth believe, that the mass now used in this realm of England is naught and full of idolatry and evil, and plain against God's word, and therefore he, the said D. hath not heard it, nor will hear it.

Fifthly, That the said D. hath believed, and doth so believe, that auricular confession used now in this realm of England, is not good, but contrary to God's word.

Sixthly, That the said D. hath believed, and doth so believe, that absolution given by the priest hearing confession, is not good, nor allowable by God's word, but is contrary thereto.

Seventhly, That the said D. hath believed, and doth so believe, that Christening of children, as it is now used in the church of England, is not good, nor allowable by God's word, but against it; likewise, confirming of children, giving of orders, saying of matins and even-song, anointing or anelling of sick persons, making of holy bread and holy water, with the rest of the church.

Eighthly, That the said D. hath believed, and doth so believe, that there are but two sacraments in Christ's Catholic church, that is to say, the sacrament of baptism and sacrament of the altar.

Ninthly, That the said D. hath believed, and doth so believe, that forasmuch as Christ is ascended up into heaven, therefore the very body of Christ is not in the sacrament of the altar.

Tenthly, That thou Patrick Packer, now being of the age of 21 at the least, being within the house of the bishop of London, at Paul's, and by him brought to the great chapel to hear mass there, the said 23d of June, the year of our Lord 1555, didst irreverently stand in the said chapel, having thy cap on thy head all the mass while; and didst also refuse to receive holy water and holy bread at the priest's hands, there contemning and despising both the mass, and the said holy water and holy bread.

*Answer of John Denley, and the rest, to the Articles objected.*

To the first article I answer, it is very true. To the second article I answer, that it is not true: for I believe the holy Catholic church, which is builded upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Christ being the head; which holy church is the congregation of the faithful people, dispersed through the whole world, the which church doth teach God's holy word truly, and doth also minister the sacraments, that is to say, baptism and the supper of the Lord, according to his blessed word.

To the third article I answer, that I do believe that this church of England, using the faith and religion which is now used, is no part or member of the aforesaid Catholic church, but is the church of Antichrist, the bishop of Rome being the head thereof; for it is plain that they have altered the testament of God, and set up a testament of their own devising, full of blasphemy and lies; for Christ's testament is, that he would have all things done to the edifying of the people, as it appeareth when he taught them to pray, Matt. iv. and also it appeareth by St. Paul, 1 Cor. xiv.

Also it is written in the 46th Psalm, "For God is King of all the earth: O sing praises unto him with understanding," &c. So it doth appear that this church of England, now used, is not builded upon Christ, if St. Paul's words be true, and also the Psalms; therefore this church is not builded on the prophets, apostles, or Christ, as I before declared.

To this fourth article I answer, and I do believe, (as I have afore said,) that the mass, now used in this realm of England, is wicked and abominable idolatry, and blasphemy against God's holy word; for Christ in his holy supper instituted the sacraments of bread and wine, to be eaten together in remembrance of his death till he come, and not to have them worshipped, and make an idol of them: for God will not be worshipped in his creatures, but we ought to give him praise for his creatures, which he hath created for us. For he saith in the second commandment, "Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath; thou shalt not bow down to them nor worship them." So that it appeareth by this commandment, that we ought not to worship the sacrament of bread and wine; for it is plain idolatry. For he saith, "No similitude;" therefore, "Thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them." I pray you what do you call kneeling down, holding up the hands, knocking of the breast, putting off the cap, and making courtesy, with other like superstition? You would make men to be so blind, that this is no worshipping.

Peradventure you will object and say, You do not worship the bread and wine, but Christ's body which was born of the Virgin Mary, contained under the forms of bread and wine. But that is a very lie: for Christ's body that was born of the Virgin Mary is in heaven, if St. Paul's words be true, as undoubtedly they are: for he saith in the 10th of the Hebrews, "But this man, after he hath offered one sacrifice for sins, is set down for ever on the right hand of God, and from thence tarrieth till his foes be made his footstool."

Also, in the 9th chapter he saith, "For Christ is not entered into holy places that are made with hand, which are similitudes of true things, but is entered into very heaven, to appear now in the sight of God for us," &c. Also Phil. iii. "But our conversation is in heaven, from whence we look for the Saviour, even the Lord Jesus Christ," &c. 1 Thes. i. "For they themselves shew of you, what manner of entering in we had unto you, and how ye turned to God from images, to serve the living God, and to look for his Son from heaven, whom he raised from death, even Jesus, which delivered us from the wrath to come," &c. Also John xvi. "I went out from the Father, and came into the world." Again, "I leave the world, and go to the Father," &c. John xvii. "Now I am not in the world, and they are in the world, and I come to thee." All these places of the scripture, with other more, prove plainly to them that have ears to hear, that Christ's body that was born of the Virgin Mary is in heaven, and not in the sacramental bread and wine; and therefore it is idolatry to worship them, &c.

To this fifth article I answer, that I do believe, as I have afore said, that auricular confession is not good as it is now used. Touching my sins, wherein I have offended God, I must seek to him for remission thereof: for our Saviour Christ saith in the 11th of St. Matthew, "Come unto me, all ye that labour and are laden, I will ease you," &c. The prodigal son (Luke xv.) saith, "I will arise and go to my father, and I will say to him, Father, I have sinned against heaven, and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy son," &c. Psalm xxxi. "I said, I will acknowledge mine offences, and accuse myself unto the Lord; and so thou forgavest me the wickedness of my sins," &c. Job xiii. "But I will reprove mine own ways in his sight; he shall make me whole: and there may no hypocrite come before him." Sirach (xxxiv.) saith, "Who can be cleansed of the unclean?" And there was but one of the ten lepers that were cleansed that came to Christ to give him thanks: he asked for the other nine. But if I have offended my neighbour, I must reconcile myself to my neighbour; and if I be a notorious sinner, after the first and second admonition, it ought to be declared to the congregation, and the minister of the congregation hath power by the word to excommunicate me, and I am to be taken as an heathen person, not for a day or forty days, but unto such time as I do openly in the congregation acknowledge my fault; then the minister hath power by the word to preach to me or them the remission of our sins in the blood of Jesus Christ, as it is written in the 13th of the Acts of the Apostles, and Matt. xviii. Other confession I know none.

To the sixth article, I, the said John Denley, have answered in the fifth.

To the seventh article I answer, that as touching the sacrament of baptism, (which is the christening of children,) it is altered and changed; for St. John used nothing but the preaching of the word and the water, as it doth appear, when Christ required to be baptized of him, and others also which came to John to be baptized, as it appeareth, Matt. iii. Mark i. Luke iii. And Acts viii. the chamberlain said, "See, here is water, what letteth me to be baptized?" It appeareth here that Philip had preached unto him; for he said, "Here is water." We do not read that he asked for any cream, nor oil, nor for spittle, nor conjured water, nor conjured wax, nor yet crosom, nor salt; for it seemeth that Philip had preached no such things to him; for he would us well have asked for them as for water: and the water was not conjured, but even as it was afore. Also Acts x. "Then answered Peter, Can any man forbid water, that these should not be baptized? &c. Acts xvi. And Paul and Silas preached unto him the word of the Lord, and to all that were in his house; and he took them the same hour of the night, and washed their wounds; and so was he baptized, and all they of his household straightway." Where ye see nothing but preaching the word, and the water. The like also is to be said of the rest of the ceremonies of your church.

To the eighth article I answer shortly, that there be sacraments no more but two; baptism, and the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, except ye will make the rainbow a sacrament: for there is no sacrament but hath a promise annexed to it.

To the ninth article I do answer you, that ye have my mind written already. For it was found about me when I was taken, and also ye know my mind in the fourth article, plainly expressed concerning the bodily presence: for Christ's body is in heaven, and will not be contained in so small a piece of bread. And as the words which Christ spake are true indeed, so must they also be understood by other of the

scriptures which Christ spake himself, and also the apostles after him. And thus I make an end, &c.

By me, JOHN DENLEY.

The first day of the month of July, the said three prisoners were brought into the Consistory in St. Paul's church, where he proceeded against them after the usual form and manner of law, reading first their confessions, articles, and answers, and then tempting them, sometime with fair promises, other whiles with threatenings, which were always his chiefest arguments and reasons to persuade withal. In the end, seeing their unmoveable constancy, upon the 5th of July he condemned them as heretics, and gave them unto the sheriffs of London, as to his common executioners, who kept them until they were commanded by writ to send them to their several places of suffering; which was for Mr. Denley, Uxbridge, where the 8th day of August he was burned; and being set in the fire with the burning flame about him, he sung in it a psalm.

Then cruel Dr. Story, being there present, commanded one of the tormentors to hurl a faggot at him; whereupon being hurt therewith upon the face that he bled again, he left his singing, and clapt both his hands on his face. Truly, quoth Dr. Story to him that hurled the faggot, thou hast marred a good old song!

The said John Denley being yet still in the flame of fire, put his hands abroad, and sung again, yielding at last his spirit into the hands of God through his Son Jesus Christ.

After the martyrdom of Mr. Denley at Uxbridge, which was the 8th of August, suffered also not long after Patrick Packingham, at the same town of Uxbridge, about the 28th of that month. This man was charged by Bonner, as ye heard in the 10th article before, for his behaviour shewed in the bishop's chapel, who at the mass-time there standing, would not put off his cap; which was taken for a heinous offence. The said Packingham also being strongly exhorted by Bonner to recant, protested in these words to the bishop, That the church which he believed was no Catholic church, but was the church of Satan, and therefore he would never turn to it, &c.

Furthermore, as touching the other, (who was John Newman, pewterer, dwelling at Maidstone in Kent,) he was burned the last of August, at Saffron Walden, in the county of Essex, whose examination, and confession of his faith and belief, for which he was cruelly burnt and persecuted, hereunder followeth:

John Newman first was apprehended in Kent, dwelling in the town of Maidstone, and there was examined before Dr. Thorntou, suffragan, and others, at Tenderden. From thence he was brought to Bonner, and there condemned with Mr. Denley and Mr. Packingham, and burned at Saffron Walden, as is before storied. But because his examination and answers before the suffragan came not then to my hands, I thought here in this place to bestow them, rather than they should be utterly suppressed. And first what his answer was by writing to the said suffragan, after his apprehension, you shall hear by the tenor of his own words, as follow:

"It may please you to understand, that for the space of all the time of king Edward's reign, we were diligently instructed with continual sermons, made by such men whose faith, wisdom, learning, and virtuous living, was commended unto all men under the king's hand and seal, and under the hands of the whole council. These men taught diligently a long time, persuading us, by the allegations of God's word, that there was no transubstantiation, nor corporal presence in the sacrament. Their doctrine was not believed of

suddenly, but by their continual preaching, and also by our continual prayer unto God, that we might never be deceived : but if it were true, that God would incline our hearts unto it ; and if it were not true, that we might never believe it. We weighed that they laboured with God's word, and we asked the advice of our friends, neither could we find that they preached false doctrine. We considered also, as we did learn, that the king's grace and his council, and the most part of the whole realm, believed as they taught, because no man preached the contrary. Also we know that the preachers were commanded by the king and laws of the realm, to preach unto us such doctrine as was to the authority of God's word agreeable, and no other, and by their diligent setting forth of it by the king's commandment, and the consent of the whole council, and by the authority of the parliament, we embraced it, and received it as a very infallible truth, taught unto us for the space of seven years. Wherefore, until such time as our consciences are otherwise taught and instructed by God's word, we cannot with safeguard of our consciences take it, as many suppose at this time. And we trust in God that the queen's merciful highness, neither yet her most honourable council, will in a matter of faith use compulsion nor violence, because faith is the gift of God, and cometh not of man, neither of man's laws, neither at such time as men require it, but at such time as God giveth it."

*The Examination and Answers of J. Newman, martyr, before Dr. Thornton and others.*

First, one of the doctors beginneth, asking in this wise : How say you to this, "This is my body which is given for you ?"

*Newman.* It is a figurative speech, one thing spoken and another meant ; as Christ saith, "I am a vine, I am a door, I am a stone," &c. Is he therefore a material stone, a vine, or a door ?

*Doc.* This is no figurative speech : for he saith, "This is my body which is given for you ;" and so saith he not of the stone, vine, or door ; but that is a figurative speech.

*New.* Christ saith, "This cup is the new testament in my blood." If ye will have it so meant, then let them take and eat the cup.

*Doc.* Nay, that is not so meant ; for it is a common phrase of speech among ourselves : we say to our friend, Drink a cup of drink ; and yet we mean he should drink the drink in the cup.

*New.* Why, if ye will have the one so understood, ye must so understand the other.

*Doc.* Nay, it is a common use of speech to say, Drink a cup of ale or beer ; and therefore it is no figurative speech.

*New.* The often using of a thing doth not make that thing otherwise than it is ; but wheresoever one thing is spoken, and another meant, it is a figurative speech.

*Doc.* Well, we will not stand hereabout.—How say ye of the real presence ? is not Christ's natural body there, that was born of the Virgin Mary ?

*New.* No, I do not so believe, neither can I so believe ; for the soul of man doth not feed upon natural things, as the body doth.

*Doc.* Why, how then doth it feed ?

*New.* I think the soul of man doth feed as the angels in heaven, whose feeding is only the pleasure, joy, felicity, and delectation, that they have of God : and so the soul of man doth feed and eat, through faith, the body of Christ.

*Gollins.* Yea, but if the body do not feed upon natural things, the soul cannot continue with the body : therefore

the body must needs feed upon natural things, that both may live together.

*New.* I grant it to be true ; but yet the soul doth live otherwise than the body which doth perish : therefore natural things do but feed the body only. I pray you what did Judas receive at the supper ?

*Col.* Marry, Judas did receive the very body of Christ, but it was to his damnation.

*New.* Why, was the devil entered into him before ? Then he had the devil and Christ in him at one time.

*Col.* Nay, the devil did enter into him afterward.

*New.* Yea, and before too : what do ye think ? had he but one devil ? Nay, I think he had rather a legion of devils at the latter end.

*Col.* Well, put the case it be so : what say you to that ?

*New.* Marry, if Christ and the devil were both in Judas at once, I pray you how did they two agree together ?

*Col.* We grant that they were both in Judas at that time : for Christ may be where the devil is, if he will ; but the devil cannot be where Christ is, except it please Christ.

*New.* Christ will not be in an unclean person that hath the devil.

*Thornton.* Why, will ye not believe that Christ was in hell ? and ye will grant that the devil is there ; and so might he be in Judas, if it pleased him.

*New.* Christ would not suffer Mary Magdalen to touch him, which sought him at his grave, and did love him entirely ; much less will he suffer an ungodly man to receive him into his unclean body.

*Thorn.* Yes, seeing God may do all things, he may do what he list, and be where he will. And doth not the Psalm say, he is in hell, and in all places ? why should we then doubt of his being there ?

*New.* Though his Godhead be in all places, yet that is not sufficient to prove that his humanity is in all places.

*Thorn.* No ! do you not believe that God is omnipotent, and may do all things ?

*New.* I do believe that God is almighty, and may do all that he will do.

*Thorn.* Nay, but if he be omnipotent, he may do all things, and there is nothing impossible for him to do.

*New.* I know God is almighty, and can do all that he will : but he cannot make his Son a liar, he cannot deny himself, nor can he restore virginity once violated and defiled.

*Thorn.* What is that to your purpose ? God doth not defile virginity : we speak but of things that God doth.

*New.* Why, will ye have the humanity of Christ in all places as the Deity is ?

*Thorn.* Yea, he is in all places as the Deity is, if it please him.

*New.* I will promise you that seemeth to me a very great heresy, for heaven and earth are not able to contain the divine power of God ; for it is in all places, as here and in every place. And yet ye say, that wheresoever the Deity is, there is also the humanity, and so ye will make him no body, but a fantastical body, and not a body indeed.

*Thorn.* Nay, we do not say he is in all places as the Deity is, but if it please him he may be in all places with the Deity.

*New.* I promise you, that seemeth to me as great an heresy as ever I heard in my life, and I dare not grant it, lest I should deny Christ to be a very Man, and that were against all the scriptures.

*Thorn.* Tush, what shall we stand reasoning with him ? I dare say he doth not believe that Christ came out of his mother, not opening the matrix. Do you believe that Christ rose from death, and came through the stone ?



*New.* I do believe that Christ rose from death ; but I do not believe that he came through the stone, neither doth the scripture so say.

*Thorn.* No, how say you ! he doth not believe that Christ came through the stone ; and if he doth not believe this, how shall he believe the other ? If he could believe this, it were easy for him to believe the other.

*New.* The scripture doth not say he went through the stone, but it saith the angel of God came down and rolled away the stone, and for fear of him the keepers became even as dead men.

*Thorn.* Ah, fool, fool, that was because the women should see that he was risen again from death.

*New.* Well, the scripture maketh as much for me as it doth for you, and more too.

*Thorn.* Well, let us not stand any longer about this : back again to the real presence. How say ye, is the body of Christ really in the sacrament, or no ?

*New.* I have answered you already.

*Thorn.* Well, do ye not believe that it is there really ?

*New.* No, I believe it not.

*Thorn.* Well, will ye stand to it ?

*New.* I must needs stand to it, till I be persuaded by a further truth.

*Thorn.* Nay, ye will not be persuaded, but stand to your own opinion.

*New.* Nay, I stand not to mine own opinion, God I take to witness, but only to the scriptures of God, and that can all those that stand here witness with me, and nothing but the scriptures : and I take God to witness, that I do nothing of presumption, but that that I do is only my conscience ; and if there be a further truth than I see, except it appear a truth to me, I cannot receive it as a truth. And seeing faith is the gift of God, and cometh not of man, (for it is not you that can give me faith, nor no man else,) therefore I trust ye will bear the more with me, seeing it must be wrought by God ; and when it shall please God to open a further truth to me, I shall receive it with all my heart, and embrace it as his great gift.

#### *The Arguments of John Newman.*

If the body of Christ were really and bodily in the sacrament, then whosoever received the sacrament, received also the body : The wicked receiving the sacrament, receive not the body of Christ : *Ergo*, the body of Christ is not really in the sacrament.

*Arg.* They which eat the flesh and drink the blood of Christ, dwell in him, and he in them. The wicked dwell not in Christ, nor he in them : *Ergo*, the wicked eat not the flesh, nor drink the blood, of Christ.

*Arg.* They that have Christ dwelling in them bring forth much fruit, John xv. "He that dwelleth in me, and I in him, bringeth forth much fruit : " The wicked bring forth no fruit of goodness : *Ergo*, they have not Christ's body dwelling in them.

*Arg.* Where remembrance is of a thing, there is imported the absence thereof : Remembrance of Christ's body is in the sacrament, "Do this in remembrance of me," &c. *Ergo*, Christ's body there is imported to be absent.

Marry, they will say, we see him not with our outward eyes, but he is commended under the forms of bread and wine, and that we see is nothing but a quality, or an accident. But let them shew me a quality or an accident without a substance, and I will believe them.

Thus much concerning Newman's examinations and arguments.

*The Examinations, Answers, and Condemnation of WILLIAM COKER, WM. HOPPER, HENRY LAWRENCE, RICHARD COLLIAR, RICHARD WRIGHT, and WILLIAM STERE, before the Bishop of Dover.*

Mention was made a little before of certain other Kentish men, called forth and examined by Thornton, bishop of Dover, N. Harpsfield, R. Faucet, and R. Collins : The names of these were *William Coker, William Hopper, Henry Lawrence, Richard Colliar, Richard Wright, and W Stere*. To the articles brought against them they answered for themselves as followeth :

First, William Coker said, he would answer no otherwise than he had already answered ; and being offered to have longer respite of six days after, he refused to take it ; and so upon the same, sentence of condemnation was read against him the 11th of July.

William Hopper first seemed to grant to the faith and determination of the Catholic church ; after calling himself better to mind, constantly sticking to the truth, he was condemned the next week after, the 16th of July.

Henry Lawrence examined the 16th of July, and partly deferred to the 2d of August, answered to the articles objected against him, first denying auricular confession, and that he neither had nor would receive the sacrament ; because, saith he, the order of the holy scriptures is changed in the order of the sacrament.

Moreover, the said Lawrence was charged for not putting off his cap when the suffragan made mention of the sacrament, and did reverence to the same ; the said Lawrence answering in these words, "What ! ye shall not need to put off your cap : for it is not so holy that you need to put off your cap thereunto."

Further, being opposed concerning the verity of the sacrament given to Christ's disciples, he affirmed, that even as Christ gave his very body to his disciples, and confessed it to be the same ; so likewise Christ himself said he was a door, &c. adding, moreover, that as he had said before, so he saith still, that the sacrament of the altar is an idol, and no remembrance of Christ's passion, and contrary he knoweth not. At last, required to put to his hand in subscribing to his answers, he wrote these words under the bill of their examinations, *Ye are all of Antichrist, and him ye fol—* (an here they held his hand ; belike he would have written out follow, &c.) And so upon the same, sentence was given against him the 2d of August.

Richard Colliar, of Ashford, having the 16th of August to appear, examined of the sacrament of the popish altar, answered and said, that he did not believe that after the consecration there is the real and substantial body of Christ, but only bread and wine, and that it is most abominable, most detestable, and most wicked, to believe otherwise, &c. Upon this the sentence was read against him, and he condemned the 16th of August. After his condemnation he sang a psalm. Wherefore the priests and their officers railed at him, saying he was out of his wits.

Richard Wright, the same place and day, being the 16th of August, appearing, and required of the judge what he believed of the real presence in the sacrament, answered again, that as touching the sacrament of the altar and the mass, he was ashamed to speak of it, or to name it, and that he allowed it not, as it was used in the church. Against whom the sentence was also read the day and place afore said.

William Stere, of the aforesaid parish of Ashford, likewise detected and accused, was brought to appear the said 16th.

day of August; where he in the said chapter-house of Canterbury, being required to make answer to the positions laid unto him by the judge, made answer again, that he should command his dog, and not him: and further declared, that Dick of Dover (so they termed Richard Thornton, bishop of Dover,) had no authority to sit against him in judgment, and asked where his authority was? Who then shewed him certain bulls and writings from Rome, as he said. William Store denying that to be of sufficient force, the said Dick said also he had authority from the queen. Then the martyr alleging that the bishop of Canterbury (who then was in prison) was his diocesan, urged him to shew his authority from the archbishop, or else he denied his authority to be sufficient. And as touching the sacrament of the altar, he found it not, he said, in the scripture, and therefore he would not answer thereunto.

And, moreover, the judge speaking of the sacrament of the altar, with reverence thereof and putting off his cap, he said, that he needed not to reverence that matter so highly. And thus (saying to the judge, that he was a bloody man, &c.) the sentence was pronounced against him; after which sentence being read, he said, that the sacrament of the altar was the most blasphemous idol that ever was, &c.

And thus these six heavenly martyrs and witness-bearers to the truth, being condemned by the bloody suffragan and archdeacon of Canterbury, Mr. Collins, and Mr. Fawcett, were burned all together in the same town of Canterbury, at three stakes and one fire, about the latter end of August.

#### RICHARD HOOK.

Likewise, *Richard Hook*, about the same season, and for the like matter, was burned at Chichester.

#### *The Persecution of TEN MARTYRS together, sent by certain of the Council to Bonner, to be examined.*

After the burning of these six above named, next followed the persecution of ten other true servants and saints of the Lord; not such saints as the pope maketh, or which are mentioned in *Legenda Sanctorum*, or in *Vitis Patrum*, or in the fabulous book *De Vita Sanctorum Wallensium*, &c. but such as are spoken of in the holy Apocalypse, of whom it is written, "These be they that follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth, and which have washed their robes in the blood of the Lamb."—The names of these were *Elizabeth Warne*, *George Tankerfield*, *Robert Smith*, *Stephen Harwood*, *Thos. Fust*, *William Hale*, *Thos. Leyes*, *George King*, *John Wade*, and *Joan Lashford*.

The prisons of London beginning now to be replenished with God's saints, and still more and more coming in, the council and commissioners thinking to make ready despatch with the poor prisoners, caused these ten above named to be sent with their letter directed to Bonner, bishop of London, by him to be examined and rid out of the way. The copy of which their letter, with their names subscribed, here followeth to be read and noted:

#### *A Letter sent by the Commissioners to the Bishop of London, Dr. Bonner.*

"After our hearty commendations to your good lordship, we send you here John Wade, William Hale, George King, Thomas Leyes, of Thorpe, in Essex, Thomas Fust, hosier, Robert Smith, painter, Stephen Harwood, brewer, George Tankerfield, cook, Elizabeth Warne, Joan Lashford, of London, sacramentaries; all which we desire your lordship to

examine, and to order according to the ecclesiastical laws: praying your lordship to appoint some of your officers to receive them at this bearer's hand.—And thus most heartily fare your lordship well. From London this 2d of July.

"Your lordship's loving friends,

Nicholas Hare,	Richard Rede.
William Roper,	William Cooke."

#### *The History of ELIZABETH WARNE, Widow, burnt at Stratford Bow.*

*Elizabeth Warne*, widow, late the wife of John Warne, upholsterer, and martyr, who also was burned in the end of the month of May last past, as before in his story is recorded. This Elizabeth had been apprehended, amongst others, the first day of January, in a house in Bow-church yard, in London, as they were gathered together in prayer, and at that present was carried to the Compter, where she lay as prisoner until the 11th day of June; at which time she was brought into Newgate, and remained there in the like case unto the second day of July. Then she was sent by the king and queen's commissioners unto Bonner, bishop of London, who the 6th day of the same month caused her with divers others (as Robert Smith, George Tankerfield, &c.) to be brought before him into his palace, and there examined her upon sundry articles, such as of common order be ministered unto the poor saints and martyrs of God, as you may more plainly perceive by other more large and ample processes already mentioned.

The chiefest objection that he used either towards her, or the most part of those, was touching the real and corporal presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, as the chief ground and foundation for their Catholic dignity. Many other matters he objected against them, as for not coming to the church, for speaking against the mass, for despising their ceremonies and new-found sacraments, with divers other fond and trifling toys, not worthy any mentioning.

In the end, when she had been divers times brought before him and other his adherents, and there earnestly exhorted to recant, she said, "Do what ye will: for if Christ were in an error, then am I in an error." Upon which answer, she was the 12th day of the same month of July adjudged and condemned as an heretic, and so delivered unto the secular power, as they term it, to be by them put to death; which thing was accomplished in her the same month above mentioned.

The chief procurer of her death was Dr. Story, being as it is thought of some alliance either to her the said Elizabeth, or else to her late husband. Who, though he was at the first apprehension of his said kinswoman a very earnest suitor for her deliverance to Dr. Martin, then one of the king and queen's commissioners in matters of religion, (himself not being as yet made commissioner,) and had by his suit obtained her deliverance for that present, as Dr. Martin himself hath reported; yet afterwards, upon what occasion God only knoweth, except upon some burning charity, the said Dr. Story obtaining now the room of one of the commissioners, caused not only the said John Warne, but also his wife, and afterwards his daughter, to be again apprehended, never leaving them until he had brought them all to ashes. Such was the rage of that devout Catholic and white child of the mother church, that neither kindred nor any other consideration could prevail with him. The Lord rid his poor church from all such hydras!

*GEORGE TANKERFIELD, a faithful Martyr and Witness of the Gospel.*

*George Tankerfield*, of London, cook, born in the city of York, about the age of 27 or 28 years, was in king Edward's days a papist, till the time queen Mary came in, and then perceiving the great cruelty used by the pope's side, was brought into a misdoubt of their doings, and began (as he said) in his heart to abhor them. And as concerning the mass, whereof he had but a doubtful opinion before, and much striving with himself in that case; at length he fell to prayer, desiring God in mercy to open to him the truth, that he might be thoroughly persuaded therein, whether it were of God or no: if not, that he might utterly hate it in his heart, and abhor it. Which according to his prayer the Lord mercifully heard, working daily more and more in him to detest and abhor the same; and so he was moved to read the Testament, whereby (as he said) the Lord enlightened his mind with the knowledge of the truth, working lively faith in him to believe the same, and utterly to detest all papistry; and so he came no more to their doings. And not only that, but also this lively faith (said he) kindled such a flame in him, as would not be kept in, but utter itself by confession thereof, reproving his own former doings to his friends, exhorting them likewise to convert, and turn to the truth with him. And thus he began to be noticed among them, till at the last he was sent for, as followeth:

It pleased God to strike him with sickness, whereby he lay long; and on a certain day, to take the air abroad, he rose up, and went and walked into the Temple fields. In the mean season came Beard home to his house, and inquired for him, pretending to his wife, that he came only to have him to come and dress a banquet at the lord Paget's. The wife, because of his apparel, which was very brave, took him to be some honest gentleman, and so with all speed prepared herself to fetch her husband, having a good hope he should now earn some money; and lest this gentleman should be annoyed with tarrying, she fetched him a cushion to sit him soft, and laid a fair napkin before him, and set bread thereon, and came to her husband, who when he heard it, said, "A banquet, woman! indeed it is such a banquet as will not be very pleasant to the flesh: but God's will be done." And when he came home, he saw who it was, and called him by his name: which when his wife perceived, and wherefore he came, like a tall woman, would play Peter's part, and instead of a sword took a spit, and had run him through, had not the constable, which Beard had sent for by his man, come in withal, who rescued him; yet she sent a brickbat after him, and hit him on the back. And so Tankerfield was delivered to the constable, and brought to Newgate, about the last day of February, anno 1555, by the said Beard, yeoman of the guard, and Simon Ponder, pewterer, constable of St. Dunstan's in the West, sent in by Roger Chomley, knight, and by Dr. Martin.

Tankerfield thus being brought to prison by his adversaries, at length, with the others above named, was brought to his examination before Bonner; who, after his accustomed manner, brought his articles and positions unto him.

And after many fair words of exhortation, which Bonner then used, after his ordinary manner, to convert, or rather pervert, him, he answered boldly again, saying moreover, That the church whereof the pope is supreme head, is no part of Christ's Catholic church; and adding thereunto, and pointing to the bishop, spake to the people, saying, Good people, beware of him, and such as he is, for these be the people that deceive you, &c.

These, with other words more, he spake; whereupon the bishop, reading the sentence of the popish condemnation, gave him to the secular power.

And so this blessed servant of God was had to St. Alban's, and there with much patience and constancy ended his life the 26th day of August, for the defence of the truth, which at length will have the victory.

*Certain Notes concerning G. Tankerfield, after he came to suffer martyrdom at St. Alban's.*

He was brought unto St. Alban's by the high sheriff of Hertfordshire, Edward Brocket, esq. and one Pulter of Hitchin, who was under-sheriff. Their inn was the Cross-keys, where was a great concourse of people to see and hear the prisoner; among which multitude some were sorry to see so godly a man brought to be burned, others praised God for his constancy and perseverance in the truth. Contrariwise, some there were which said, it was pity he did stand in such opinions; and others, both old women and men, cried against him; one called him heretic, and said it was pity that he lived. But George Tankerfield did speak unto them so effectually out of the word of God, lamenting their ignorance, and protesting unto them his unspotted conscience, that God did mollify their hardened hearts, inso-much that some of them departed out of the chamber with weeping eyes.

There came unto him a certain schoolmaster, who retained unto Sir Thomas Pope, knt. This man had a certain communication with George Tankerfield the day before he was coming towards St. Alban's, as touching their sacrament of the altar, and other points of papistical religion; but as he urged Tankerfield with the authority of the doctors, wresting them after his own will; so on the other side Tankerfield answered him mightily by the scriptures, not wrested after the mind of any man, but being interpreted after the will of the Lord Jesus, &c. So that as he would not allow such allegations as Tankerfield brought out of the scriptures, without the opinions of the doctors; so again Tankerfield would not credit his doctrine to be true, except he could confirm it by the scriptures. In the end Tankerfield prayed him that he would not trouble him in such matters, for his conscience was established, &c. and so he departed from him, wishing him well, and protesting that he meant him no more hurt than his own soul.

When the hour drew on apace that he should suffer, he desired the wine-drawer that he might have a pint of malmsey and a loaf, that he might eat and drink that in remembrance of Christ's death and passion, because he could not have it ministered unto him by others in such a manner as Christ commanded; and then he kneeled down, making his confession unto the Lord with all which were in the chamber with him; and after that he had prayed earnestly unto the Lord, and had read the institution of the holy supper by the Lord Jesus out of the evangelists, and out of St. Paul, he said, "O Lord, thou knowest it, I do not this to derogate authority from any man, or in contempt of those which are thy ministers, but only because I cannot have it ministered according to thy word," &c. and when he had spoken these and such like words, he received it with giving of thanks.

When some of his friends willed him to eat some meat, he said he would not eat that which should do others good, that had more need, and that had longer time to live than he.

He prayed his host to let him have a good fire in the chamber: he had so; and then he, sitting on a form before the fire, put off his shoes and hose, and stretched out his legs to the flame, and when it had touched his foot, he

quickly withdrew his legs, shewing how the flesh did persuade him one way, and the spirit another way. The flesh said, O thou fool, wilt thou burn, and needest not? The spirit said, Be not afraid, for this is nothing in respect of fire eternal. The flesh said, Do not leave the company of thy friends and acquaintance which love thee, and will let thee lack nothing. The spirit said, The company of Jesus Christ, and his glorious presence, doth exceed all fleshly friends. The flesh said, Do not shorten thy time, for thou mayest live, if thou wilt, much longer. The spirit said, This life is nothing unto the life in heaven, which lasteth for ever, &c. All this time the sheriffs were at a certain gentleman's house at dinner not far from the town, whither also resorted knights and many gentlemen out of the country, because his son was married that day; and until they returned from dinner, the prisoner was left with his host to be kept and looked unto. And George Tankerfield was all that time kindly treated by his host; and considering that his time was short, his saying was, That although the day was never so long,—yet at the last it ringeth to evening song.

About two of the clock, when the sheriffs were returned from dinner, they brought George Tankerfield out of his inn unto the place where he should suffer, which is called Rome-land, being a green place nigh unto the west end of the abbey church; unto which when he was come, he kneeled down by the stake that was set up for him, and after he had ended his prayers he arose, and with a joyful faith he said, that although he had a sharp dinner, yet he hoped to have a joyful supper in heaven.

While the faggots were set about him, there came a priest unto him, and persuaded him to believe on the sacrament of the altar, and he should be saved. But George Tankerfield cried out vehemently, and said, "I defy the Whore of Babylon, I defy the Whore of Babylon: fie on that abominable idol. Good people, do not believe him; good people, do not believe him." And then the mayor of the town commanded to set fire to the heretic, and said, if he had but one load of faggots in the whole world, he would give them to burn him. There was a certain knight by, who went unto Tankerfield, and took him by the hand, and said, Good brother, be strong in Christ. This he spake softly; and Tankerfield said, O sir, I thank you: I am so, I thank God.

Then fire was set unto him, and he desired the sheriff and all the people that they would pray for him: the most part did so. And so embracing the fire, he bathed himself in it, and calling on the name of the Lord Jesus, he was quickly out of pain, &c.

After the martyrdom was ended, and that he was fallen asleep in the Lord, there were some superstitious old women, who did blasphemously say, that the devil was so strong with him, and all such heretics as he was, that they could not feel any pain almost, nor yet be sorry for their sins.

*The History and Examinations of ROBERT SMITH, constantly maintaining the truth of God's word, and suffering for the same in the month of August.*

Robert Smith was brought unto Newgate the 5th of November, in the first and second year of the king and queen by John Matthew, yeoman of the guard of the queen's side, by the commandment of the council. This Smith first gave himself unto service in the house of sir Thomas Smith, knight, being then provost of Eaton; from thence he was preferred to Windsor, having there in the college a clerkship of ten pounds a year. Of stature he was tall and slender, active about many things, but chiefly delighting in

the art of painting, which many time (rather for his mind's sake than for any living or lucre) he did practise and exercise. In religion he was fervent, after he had once tasted the truth; wherein he was much confirmed by the preachings and readings of one Mr. Turner, of Windsor, and others. Whereupon at the coming of queen Mary he was deprived of his clerkship by her visitors, and not long after he was apprehended, and brought to examination before Bonner, as here followeth, written and testified with his own hand.

*The first Examination of Robert Smith before Bishop Bonner.*

About nine o'clock in the morning, I was amongst the rest of my brethren brought to the bishop's house, and I first of all was brought before him into his chamber, to whom the bishop said as followeth, after he had asked my name.

*Bonner.* How long is it ago since the time that ye were confessed to any priest?

*Smith.* Never since I had years of discretion; for I never saw it needful, neither commanded of God, to come to shew my faults to any of that sinful number whom ye call priests.

*Bonner.* Thou shewest thyself even at the first chop to be a rank heretic, which being weary of painting, art entered into divinity, and so fallen, through thy departing from thy vocation, into heresy.

*Smith.* Although I have understanding in the said occupation, yet I praise God, I have had little need all my life hitherto to live by the same, but have lived without the same in mine own house as honestly in my vocation as ye have lived in yours, and yet used the same better than ever you used the pulpit.

*Bonner.* How long is it ago since ye received the sacrament of the altar, and what is your opinion in the same?

*Smith.* I never received the same since I had years of discretion, nor ever will, by God's grace: neither do esteem the same in any point, because it hath not God's ordinance, neither in name, nor in other usage, but rather is set up and erected to mock God withal.

*Bonner.* Do ye not believe that it is the very body of Christ that was born of the Virgin Mary, naturally, substantially, and really, after the words of consecration?

*Smith.* I shewed you before, it was none of God's ordinance, as ye use it; then much less to be God, or any part of his substance, but only bread and wine erected to the use aforesaid; yet nevertheless, if ye can approve it to be the body ye speak of by the word, I will believe it; if not, I will, as I do, account it a detestable idol, not God, but contrary to God and his truth.

Then after many raging words and vain objections, he said, there was no remedy, but I must be burned.

*Smith.* Ye shall do no more unto me than ye have done to better men than either of us both. But think not thereby to quench the Spirit of God, neither thereby to make your matter good: for your sore is too well seen to be healed so privily with blood. For even the very children have all your deeds in derision; so that although ye patch up one place with authority, yet shall it break out in forty to your shame.

Then after much ado, and many railing sentences, he said, (throwing away the paper of mine examination,) Well, even now, by my truth, even in good earnest, if thou wilt go and be shriven, I will tear this paper in pieces.

To which I answered, it would be too much to his shame to shew it to men of discretion.

After which answer I was carried down to the garden with my gaoler, and there remained until my brother Harwood was examined; and then being again brought up be-



fore the said Bonner, he demanded if I agreed with Harwood in his confession upon these articles following.

**Bonner.** What say you to the Catholic church? Do ye not confess there is one in earth?

**Smith.** Yes, verily, I believe that there is one Catholic church, or faithful congregation, which (as the apostle saith) is builded upon the prophets and apostles, Christ Jesus being the head corner-stone. Which church in all her words and works maintaineth the word, and bringeth the same for her authority, and without it doth nothing, nor ought to do; of which I am assured I am by grace made a member.

**Bonner.** Ye shall understand I am bound when my brother offendeth, and will not be reconciled, to bring him before the congregation: now, if your church be the same, where may a man find it, to bring his brother before the same?

**Smith.** It is written in the Acts of the Apostles, that when the tyranny of the bishops was so great against the church in Jewry, they were fain to congregate in houses and private places, as they now do; and yet were they nevertheless the church of God. And seeing they had their matters redressed, being shut up in a corner, may not we do the like now-a-days?

**Bonner.** Yea, their church was known full well. For St. Paul writ to the Corinthians, to have the man punished and excommunicate; that had committed evil with his father's wife. Whereby we may well perceive it was a known church; but yours is not known.

**Smith.** Then could you not persecute it as ye do: but as ye say the church of God at Corinth was manifest both to God and Paul, even so is this church of God in England, whom ye persecute, both known to God, and also even to the very wicked, although they know not, nor will not know, their truth nor conversation; yea, and your sinful number have professed their verity, and maintained the same a long season.

**Bonner.** Well, thou sayest that the church of God was only at Corinth, when Paul writ unto them, and so will I put in writing, shall I?

**Smith.** I do marvel greatly, my lord, that ye are not ashamed to lay snares for your brethren on this manner. This is now the third snare you have laid for me: first, to make me confess that the church of England is not the church of Christ? secondly, to say it is not known; thirdly, to say the church of God is not universal, but particular. And this is not the office of a bishop: for if an innocent had come in your way, you would have done your best, I see, to have entangled him.

**Harpsf.** Well, friend, (quoth one of my lord's chaplains) you are no innocent, as it appeareth.

**Smith.** By the grace of God I am what I am, and this grace in me I hope is not in vain.

Well, (quoth my lord, laughing,) tell me how sayest thou of the church?

**Smith.** I told you whereupon the true church is builded, and I affirm in England to be the congregation of God, and also in *omnem terram*, as it is written, "Their sound is gone forth into all lands, and that this is the afflicted and persecuted church, which ye cease not to imprison, slay, and kill. And in Corinth was not all the congregation of God, but a number of those holy and elect people of God. For neither Paul nor Peter were present at Corinth when they wrote, and yet were they of the church of God, as many thousands more, which also communicate in that holy Spirit.

**Bon.** What call ye Catholic, and what call you Church?

**Smith.** Catholic is universal, and Church is a congregation knit together in unity.

Then after much like vain talk, it was laid to my charge, that my fellow and I spake one thing. Whereof I praised God, and was sent again to a garden.

Then brought they up my lord mayor to hear our matter above in the chamber, and I first of all was called into the chamber, where my lord intended to sup. Where my lord mayor being set with the bishop and one of the sheriffs, wine was walking on every side; I stand before them as an out-cast; which made me remember how Pilot and Herod were made friends, but no man was sorry for Joseph's hurt. But after my lord had well drunk, my articles were sent for and read, and he demanded whether I said not as was written?

**Smith.** That I have said, I have said; and what I have said, I do mean utterly.

**Bon.** Well, my lord mayor, your lordship hath heard somewhat, what a stout heretic this is, and that his articles have deserved death; yet nevertheless, forsomuch as they report me to seek blood, and call me bloody Bonner, whereas God knoweth I never sought any man's blood in all my life, I have kept him from the Consistory this day, whither I might have brought him justly: and yet here before your lordship I desire him to turn, and I will w'th all speed despatch him out of trouble: and this I profess before your lordship and all this audience.

**Smith.** Why, my lord, do ye put on this fair vizard before my lord mayor, to make him believe that ye seek not my blood, to cloak your murders through my stoutness, as ye call it? Have ye not had my brother Tomkins before you, whose hand when you had burned most cruelly, ye burnt also his body; and not only of him, but of a great many of the members of Christ, men that feared God and lived virtuously, and also the queen's majesty's most true subjects, as their goods and bodies have made manifest! And seeing in these saints ye have shewed so little mercy, shall it seem to my lord and his audience, that ye shew me more favour? No, no, my lord. But if ye mean as ye say, why examine me of that I am not bound to answer you unto?

**Bon.** Well, what sayest thou by the sacrament of the altar? is it not the very body of Christ, flesh, blood, and bone, as it was born of the Virgin?

**Smith.** I have answered, that it is none of God's order, neither any sacrament, but man's own vain invention; and shewed him the Lord's institution. But when he was so earnest before the audience, declaring that we know nothing, bringing out his *Hoc est corpus meum*, (This is my body,) to lay in my dish, I proved before the audience that it was a dead god, declaring the distinction appointed between the two creatures of bread and wine, and that a body without blood hath no life.

At which Harpsfield found himself much offended, and took the tale out of my lord's mouth, saying, I will prove by the scriptures that ye blaspheme God in so saying: for it is given in two parts, because there is two things shewed, that is to say his body and his passion, as saith St. Paul; and therefore is the bread his body, and the wine the representation of his death and blood-shedding.

**Smith.** Ye falsify the word, and wreck it, to serve your purpose. For the wine was not only the shewing of his passion, but the bread also: for our Saviour saith, "So oft as ye do this, do it in remembrance of me." And St. Paul saith, "So oft as ye eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall shew the Lord's death till he come.—And here is as much reverence given to the one as to the other.

Wherefore, if the bread be his body, the cup must be his blood, and as well ye make his body in the cup, as his blood in the bread.



Then up rose my lord, and went to the table, where my lord mayor desired me to save my soul. To whom I answered, I hope it was saved through Christ Jesus; desiring him to have pity on his own soul, and remember whose sword he carried.

At which I was carried into the garden, and there abode until the rest of my friends were examined; and so were we sent away with many foul farewells to Newgate again, my lord bishop giving the keeper a charge to lay me in limbo.

*Another Examination of Robert Smith.*

Upon Saturday, at eight of the clock, I was brought to his chamber again, and there by him examined as followeth:

*Bon.* Thou Robert Smith, &c. sayest that there is no Catholic church here on earth.

*Smith.* Ye have heard me both speak the contrary, and ye have written as a witness of the same.

*Bon.* Yea, but I must ask thee this question. How sayest thou?

*Smith.* Must ye of necessity begin with a lie? it maketh manifest that ye determine to end with the same. But there shall no liars enter into the kingdom of God. Nevertheless, if ye will be answered, ask mine articles that were written yesterday, and they shall tell you that I have confessed a church of God, as well in earth as in heaven, and yet all one church, and one man's members, even Christ Jesus.

*Bon.* Well, what sayest thou to auricular confession? is it not necessary to be used in Christ's church, and wilt thou not be shriven of the priest?

*Smith.* It is not needful to be used in Christ's church, as I answered yesterday. But if it be needful for your church, it is to pick men's purses. And such pick-purse matters is all the whole rabble of your ceremonies: for all is but money matters that ye maintain.

*Bon.* Why, how art thou able to prove that confession is a pick-purse matter? Art thou not ashamed so to say?

*Smith.* I speak by experience: for I have both heard and seen the fruits of the same. For first it hath been, we see, a bewrayer of king's secrets, and the secrets of other men's consciences; who being delivered, and glad to be discharged of their sins, have given to priests great sums of money to absolve them, and sing masses for their soul's health.

And for ensample, I began to bring in a pageant, that by report was played at St. Thomas of Acre's, and where I was sometime a child waiting on a gentleman of Norfolk, which being bound in conscience through the persuasion of the priest, gave away a great sum of his goods, and forgave unto Mr. Gresham a great sum of money, and to another as much. The priest had for his part a sum, and the house had an annuity to keep him; the which thing when his brother heard, he came down to London, and after declaration made to the council, how by the subtlety of the priest he had robbed his wife and children, recovered a great part again, to the value of two or three hundred pounds, of Mr. Gresham and his other friend; but what he gave to the house could not be recovered. This tale began I to tell. But when my lord saw it savoured not to his purpose, he began to revile me, and said, By the mass, if the queen's majesty were of his mind, I should not come to talk before any man, but should be put into a sack, and a log tied unto the same, and so should be thrown into the water.

To which I answered again, saying, I know you speak by practice, as much as by speculation: for both you and your predecessors have sought all means possible to kill Christ secretly: record of Mr. Hunne, whom your predecessor caused to be thrust in at the nose with hot burning needles,

and then to be hanged, and said the same Hunne to have hanged himself; and also a good brother of yours, a bishop of your profession, having in his prison an innocent man, whom because he saw he was not able by the scriptures to overcome, he made him privily to be snarled, and his flesh to be torn and plucked away with a pair of pincers, and bringing him before the people, said the rats had eaten him. Thus according to your oath is all your dealing, and hath been; and as you, taking upon you the office, do not without oaths open your mouth, no more do you without murder maintain your traditions.

*Bonner.* Ah, ye are a generation of liars; there is not one true word that cometh out of your mouths.

*Smith.* Yes, my lord, I have said that Jesus Christ is dead for my sins, and risen for my justification; and this is no lie.

Then made he his man to put in my tale of the gentleman of Norfolk, and would have had me recite it again; which when I would not do, he made his man to put in such sums as he imagined. At the end of this cometh in Mr. Mordant, knight, and sat down to hear my examination. Then said my lord, How sayest thou, Smith, to the seven sacraments? believest thou not that they be God's order, that is to say, the sacrament of, &c.

*Smith.* I believe, that in God's church are but two sacraments, that is to say, the sacrament of regeneration, and the sacrament of the Lord's supper: and as for the sacrament of the altar, and all your sacraments, they may well serve your church, but God's church hath nothing to do with them, neither have I any thing to do to answer them, nor you to examine me of them.

*Bonner.* Why, is God's order changed in baptism? In what point do we dissent from the word of God?

*Smith.* First, in hallowing your water; in conjuring of the same; in baptizing children with anointing and spitting in their mouths, mingled with salt; and with many other lewd ceremonies, of which not one point is able to be proved in God's order.

*Bonner.* By the mass, that is the most unshamefaced heretic that ever I heard speak.

*Smith.* Well sworn, my lord; ye keep a good watch.

*Bonner.* Well, Mr. Controller, ye catch me at my words; but I will watch thee as well, I warrant thee.

By my troth, my lord, (quoth Mr. Mordant,) I never heard the like in all my life. But I pray you, my lord, mark well his answer for baptism. He disallowed therein holy ointment, salt, and such other laudable ceremonies, which no Christian man will deny.

*Smith.* That is a shameful blasphemy against Christ, so to use any mingle-mangle in baptizing young infants.

*Bonner.* I believe, I tell thee, that if they die before they be baptized, they be damned.

*Smith.* Ye shall never be saved by that belief: but I pray you, my lord, shew me, are we saved by water or by Christ?

*Bonner.* By both.

*Smith.* Then the water died for our sins; and so must ye say, that the water hath life, and it being our servant, and created for us, is our saviour! This, my lord, is a good doctrine, is it not?

*Bonner.* Why, how understandest thou the scriptures? "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God." And again, "Suffer (saith our Saviour) these children to come unto me:" and if thou wilt not suffer them to be baptized after the laudable order, thou hinderest them to come unto Christ.

*Smith.* Where ye allege St. John, Except a man, &c. and will thereby prove the water to save, and so the deed or work

to save and put away sins, I will send you to St. Paul, which asketh of the Galatians, Whether they received the Spirit by the deeds of the law, or by the preaching of faith; and there concludeth that the Holy Ghost accompanieth the preaching of faith, and with the word of faith entereth into the heart. So now if baptism preach to me the washing in Christ's blood, so doth the Holy Ghost accompany it, and it is unto me as a preacher, and not a saviour. And where ye say, I hinder the children to come unto Christ, it is manifest by our Saviour's words that ye hinder them to come, that will not suffer them to come to him without the necessity of water. For he saith, Suffer them to come unto me, and not unto water; and therefore if ye condemn them, ye condemn both the merits and words of Christ: for our Saviour saith, "Except ye turn and become as children, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of God." And so brought I out many other ensamples, to make manifest that Christ hath cleansed original sin, bringing in ensamples out of the scriptures for the same.

*Bonner.* Then thou makest the water of none effect, and then put away water.

*Smith.* It is not, saith St. Peter, the washing away of the filth of the flesh, but in that a good conscience consenteth unto God. And to prove that water only bringeth not the Holy Ghost, it is written in the 8th of the Acts, that Simon received water, but would have received the Holy Ghost for money. Also, that the Holy Ghost hath come before baptism, it is written that John had the Holy Ghost in his mother's womb. Cornelius, Paul, and the queen of Candace's servant, with many others, received the Holy Ghost before baptism. Yea, and although your generation have set at naught the word of God, and like swine turned his words upside down, yet must his church keep the same in that order which he left them, which his church dare not break; and to judge children damned that be not baptized, it is wicked.

*Mord.* By our Lady, sir, but I believe that if my child die without water he is damned.

*Bonner.* Yea, and so do I, and all Catholic men, good Mr. Mordant.

*Smith.* Well, my lord, such catholic such salvation.

*Bonner.* Well, sir, what say you to the sacrament of orders?

*Smith.* Ye may call it the sacrament of misorders: for all orders are appointed of God. But as for your shaving, anointing, greasing, polling, and rounding, there are no such things appointed in God's book, and therefore I have nothing to do to believe your orders. And as for you, my lord, if ye had grace and intelligence, ye would not so disfigure yourself as ye do.

*Bonner.* Sayest thou so? now by my troth I will go shave myself to anger thee withal. (And so sent for his barber, which immediately came; and before my face at the door of the next chamber he shaved himself, desiring me before he went to answer to these articles:) What say you to holy bread and holy water, to the sacrament of anointing, and to all the rest of such ceremonies of the church?

*Smith.* I say they be baubles for fools to play withal, and not for the children of God to exercise themselves in; and therefore they may go among the refuse.

Then went away Mr. Mordant, and my lord went to shaving, leaving there certain doctors, as he called them, to assay what they could do, of whom I was baited for half an hour; of whom I also asked this question, Where were all you in the days of king Edward, that ye spake not that which ye speak now?

*Doct.* We were in England.

*Smith.* Yea, but then ye had the faces of men, but now ye have put on lions' faces again; as saith St. John, Ye shew yourselves as full of malice as ye may be. For ye have for every time a visor; yea, and if another king Edward should arise, ye would then say, Down with the pope, for he is Antichrist, and so are all his angels.

Then was I reviled, and so sent away, and brought in again to come before these men; and one of them that baited me before, asked if I disallowed confession? To whom I answered, Look in mine articles, and they shall shew you what I allow.

*Doct.* Your articles confess that you allow not auricular confession.

*Smith.* I allow it not, because the word alloweth it not, nor commandeth it.

*Doct.* Why, it is written, Thou shalt not hide thy sins and offences.

*Smith.* No more do I, when I confess them to Almighty God.

*Doct.* Why, ye cannot say that ye can hide them from God, and therefore you must understand the words are spoken to be uttered to them that do not know them.

*Smith.* Ye have made a good answer: then must the priest confess himself to me, as I to him. For I know his faults and secrets no more than he knoweth mine. But if ye confess you to the priest, and not unto God, ye shall have the reward that Judas had: for he confessed himself to the priest, and yet went and hanged himself by and by; and so, as many as do not acknowledge their faults to God, are said to hide them.

*Doct.* What did they that came to John to be baptized?

*Smith.* They confessed their sins unto Almighty God.

*Doct.* And not unto John?

*Smith.* If it were unto John, (as ye are not able to prove,) yet was it to God, before John and the whole congregation.

*Doct.* Why, John was alone in the wilderness.

*Smith.* Why, and yet the scriptures say he had many disciples, and that many Pharisees and Sadducees came to his baptism. Here the scriptures and you agree not. And if they confessed themselves to John, as ye say, it was to all the congregation, as St. Paul doth to Timothy, and to all that read his epistle, in opening to all the hearers, that he was not worthy to be called an apostle, because he had been a tyrant. But as for ear confession, ye never heard it allowed by the word: for the prophet David maketh his confession unto God, and saith, I will confess my sins unto the Lord. Daniel maketh his confession unto the Lord; Judith, Tobit, Jeremiah, Manasseh, with all the forefathers, did even so. For the Lord hath said, "Call upon me in the time of trouble, and I will deliver thee; Knock, ask, seek; with such like; and this is the word of God. Now bring somewhat of the word to help yourself withal. Then they raged, and called me dog, and said I was damned.

Nay, ye are dogs, (said I,) that because holy things are offered, will slay your friends. For I may say with St. Paul, "I have fought with beasts in the likeness of men:" for here I have been baited these two days, of my lord and his great bulls of Bashan, and in his hall beneath have been baited of the rest of his band.

With this came my lord from shaving, and asked me how I liked him?

*Smith.* Forsooth, ye are even as wise as ye were before ye were shaven.

*Bonner.* How standeth it, master doctors; have ye done any good?

*Doct.* No, by my troth, my lord, we can do no good.

*Smith.* Then it is fulfilled which is written, "How can an evil tree bring forth good fruit?"

*Bonner.* Nay, naughty fellow, I set these gentlemen to bring thee home to Christ.

*Smith.* Such gentlemen, such Christs; and as truly as they have that name from Christ, so truly do they teach Christ.

*Bonner.* Well, wilt thou neither hear them nor me?

*Smith.* Yes, I am compelled to hear you; but ye cannot compel me to follow you.

*Bonner.* Well, thou shalt be burnt at a stake in Smithfield, if thou wilt not turn.

*Smith.* And ye shall burn in hell, if ye repent not. But, my lord, to put you out of doubt, because I am weary, I will strain courtesy with you: I perceive you will not with your doctors come unto me, and I am determined not to come unto you, by God's grace; for I have hardened my face against you as hard as brass.—Then, after many railing sentences, I was sent away. And thus have I left the truth of mine answers in writing, being compelled by my friends to do it: that ye may see how the Lord hath, according to his promise, given me a mouth and wisdom to answer his cause, for which I am condemned, and my cause not heard.

#### *The last Examination of Robert Smith.*

The 12th of July I was with my brethren brought into the Consistory, and mine articles read before my lord mayor and the sheriffs, with all the assistants, to which I answered as followeth:

*Bonner.* By my faith, my lord mayor, I have shewed him as much favour as any man living might do: but I perceive all is lost, both on him and all his company.

At this word, which he coupled with an oath, came I in; and taking him with the manner, said, My lord, it is written, "Ye must not swear."

*Bonner.* Ah, master controller, are ye come? Lo, my lord mayor, this is master speaker, (pointing to my brother Tankerfield,) and this is master controller, (pointing to me.) And then beginning to read my articles, he persevered till he came at my tale of the gentleman of Norfolk, and then demanded of my lord mayor, if he heard of the same before. To which he answered, No.

To whom I answered, My lord mayor, will it please you to hear me recite it, as I heard it, and I told it, and then shall you hear the truth; for this tale that my lord hath told is untrue.

*Bonner.* How say you, good Mr. Mordant, spake he not this as here it is written? were ye not by?—*Mord.* Yes, my lord, that it is: I heard him say it.

*Smith.* How heard you me say it, and were not present when I spake it? Should such a man make a lie? It is manifestly proved that the prophet saith, Even as the king saith, so saith the judge, that he may do him a pleasure again. And so was brought out my gaoler for trial thereof, who there openly professed, that neither Mr. Mordant, nor the doctors beforementioned, were present when I spake it. At which Mr. Mordant with blushing cheeks said, he heard them read, and heard them affirm the same; which was also not true. Then proceeded my lord with the rest of mine articles, demanding of me if I said not as was written? To the which I answered, No; and turning to my lord mayor, I said, I require you, my lord mayor, in God's behalf, unto whom pertaineth your sword and justice, that I may here before your presence answer to these objections that are laid against me, and have the probation of the same; and if any thing that I

have said, or will say, be proved (as my lord saith) heresy, I shall not only with all my heart forsake the same, and cleave to the truth, but also recant wheresoever ye shall assign me, and all this audience shall be witness to the same.

*Mayor.* Smith, thou canst not deny but this thou saidst.

*Smith.* Yes, my lord, I deny that which he hath written, because he hath both added to and diminished from the same: but what I have spoken I will never deny.

*Mayor.* Why, thou spakest against the blessed sacrament of the altar.

*Smith.* I denied it to be any sacrament, and I do stand here to make probation of the same: and if my lord here, or any of his doctors, be able to prove either the name or usage of the same, I will recant mine error.

Then spake my brother Tankerfield, and defended the probation of things, which they called heresy: to the which the bishop answered, By my troth, master Speaker, ye shall preach at a stake.—*Smith.* Well sworn, my lord, ye keep a good watch.—*Bonner.* Well, master Controller, I am no saint.

*Smith.* No, my lord, nor yet a good bishop: for a bishop, saith St. Paul, should be faultless, and a dedicate vessel unto God; and are ye not ashamed to sit in judgment, and be a blasphemer, condemning innocents?

*Bonner.* Well, master Controller, ye are faultless.

*Smith.* My lord mayor, I require you in God's name, that I may have justice. We be here to-day a great many innocents, that are wrongfully accused of heresy; and I require you, if you will not seem to be partial, let me have no more favour at your hands than the apostle had at the hands of Festus and Agrippa, which being heathen and infidels, gave him leave not only to speak for himself, but also heard the probation of his cause. This require I at your hands, which being a Christian judge, I hope will not deny me that right, which the heathen have suffered; if ye do, then shall all this audience, yea, and the heathen, speak shame of your fact. "For a city, saith our Saviour, that is builded on a hill, cannot be hid: if they therefore have the truth, let it come to light, for all that do well come to the light, and they that do evil hate the light."

Then my lord mayor, hanging down his head, said nothing; but the bishop told me I should preach at a stake; and so the sheriff cried, with the bishop, Away with me.

Thus came I in before them four times, desiring justice, but could have none; and at length my friends requiring with one voice the same, and could not have it, we had sentence; and then being carried out, were brought in again, and had it every man severally given. But before the bishop gave me sentence, he told me, in derision of my brother Tankerfield, a tale between a gentleman and his cook. To which I answered, My lord, ye fill the people's ears with fancies and foolish tales, and make a laughing matter at blood; but if ye were a true bishop, ye would leave these railing sentences, and speak the words of God.

*Bonner.* Well, I have offered to that naughty fellow, Mr. Speaker, your companion the cook, that my chancellor should here instruct him; but he hath here with great disdain forsaken it. How sayest thou, wilt thou have him instruct thee, and lead thee in the right way?

*Smith.* My lord, if your chancellor shall do me any good, and take any pains, as ye say, let him take mine articles in his hands that ye have objected against me, and either prove one of them heresy, or any thing that you do to be good; and if he be able so to do, I stand here with all my heart to hear him: if not, I have no need, I praise God, of his sermon; for I come to answer for my life, and not to hear a sermon.

Then began the sentence, *In Dei nomine*, (in the name of God,) &c. To which I answered, that he began in a wrong name; requiring of him where he learned in scripture to give sentence of death against any man for his conscience sake. To the which he made no answer, but went forward to the end, and immediately cried, Away with him. Then I turned me to the mayor, and said, Is it not enough for you, my lord mayor, and ye that are the sheriffs, that ye have left the straight way of the Lord, but that ye must condemn Christ causeless?

*Bonner.* Well, master Controller, now ye cannot say but I have offered you fair to have instruction; and now I pray thee call me bloody bishop, and say I seek thy blood.

*Smith.* Well, my lord, although neither I nor any of this congregation do report the truth of your fact, yet shall these stones cry it out, rather than it shall be hidden.

*Bonner.* Away with him, away with him.

*Woodroffe.* Away with him, take him away.

*Smith.* Well, good friends, ye have seen and heard the great wrong that we have received this day, and ye are all records that we have desired the probation of our cause by God's book, and it hath not been granted; but we are condemned, and our cause not heard. Nevertheless, my lord mayor, forasmuch as here ye have exercised God's sword causeless, and will not hear the right of the poor, I commit my cause to Almighty God, that shall judge all men according unto right, before whom we shall both stand without authority; and there will I stand in the right, and have true judgment, to your great confusion, except ye repent; which the Lord grant you to do, if it be his will. And then was I with the rest of my brethren carried away to Newgate.

Thus, gentle reader, as near as I can, I have set out the truth of my examination, and the verity of mine unjust condemnation for the truth, requiring God that it may not be laid to the charge of thee, O England; requiring your hearty prayers unto God for his grace and spirit of boldness, with hope even shortly to set to my seal, at Uxbridge, the 8th of August, by God's grace. Pray that it may be his honour, my salvation, and your consolation, I pray you. Give glory to God.

ROBERT SMITH.

Thus hast thou, good reader, not only to note, but also to follow, in this man a singular example of Christian fortitude, which so manfully and valiantly did stand in the defence of his Master's cause. And as thou seest him here boldly stand in examination before the bishop and doctors, so was he no less comfortable also in the prison, among his fellows: which also is to be observed no less in his other prison-fellows; who being there together cast in an outward house within Newgate, had godly conference with themselves, with daily praying and public reading, which they to their great comfort used in that house together, amongst whom this aforesaid Smith was chief doer; whose industry was always solicitous, not only for them of his own company, but also his diligence was careful for other prisoners, whom he ceased not to exhort and dissuade from their old accustomed iniquity; and many he converted unto his religion. Divers letters he wrote there in prison to sundry his friends, partly in metre, and partly in prose; from which the following are selected:

*O ye that love the Lord, see that ye hate the thing that is evil.*

The God that giveth life and light,  
And leadeth into rest:  
That breaketh bonds, and bringeth out  
The poor that are oppress'd;

And keepeth mercy for the meek,  
His treasure and his store;  
Increase thy life in perfect love,  
Both now and evermore.

That as thou hast begun to ground  
In faith and fervent love,  
Thou may'st be made a mighty mount,  
That never may remove.

That thine ensample may be shew'd  
Among all thine increase,  
That they may live and learn the like,  
And pass their time in peace.

Thy salutations that were sent,  
I heartily retain,  
And send thee seventy times as much,  
To thee and thine again.

And now, because I know the goal  
That thou dost most desire,  
I send thee here a paper full,  
As fined in the fire;

In hope thou wilt accept it well,  
Although it be but small;  
Because I have no other good,  
To make amends withal.

For all thy free and friendly acts  
Which thy good-will hath wrought,  
I send thee surely for a shift  
The thing that cost me nought.

Abstain from all ungodliness,  
In dread direct your days;  
Possess not sin in any wise,  
Beware of wicked ways.

Hold fast your faith unfeignedly,  
Build as you have begun;  
And arm yourself in perfect faith,  
To do as we have done.

Lest that the wicked make a mock  
That ye have taken in hand,  
In leaving of the perfect Rock,  
To build upon the sand.

Beware these filthy Pharisees,  
Their building is in blood:  
Eat not with them in any wise,  
Their leaven is not good.

Their salt is all unsavoury;  
And under good intents  
They maintain all their knavery,  
And murder innocents.

They seek to sit in Christ his seat,  
And put him out of place,  
And make all means that may be made  
His doings to deface.

They keep him down with bills and bats,  
That made the blind to see:  
They make a god for mice and rats,  
And say the same is he.

They shew like sheep, and sweat like wolves,  
Their baits be all for blood;  
They kill and slay the simple souls,  
And rob them of their good.

The dark illusions of the devil  
Have dimmed so their eyes,  
That they cannot abide the truth  
To stir in any wise.

And if ye keep the perfect path,  
(As I have hope ye do,)

Ye shall be sure to have such shame,  
As they may put you to.

For all that lead a godly life,  
Shall surely suffer loss;  
And eke the world will seek their shame,  
And make them kiss the cross.

Ye shall be killed all, saith Christ,  
Your sorrows shall not cease;  
And yet in your afflictions,  
I am your perfect peace.

For in the world ye shall have wo,  
Because ye are unknown;  
And eke because ye hate the world,  
The world will love his own.

Be fervent therefore to the death  
Against all their decrees;  
And God shall surely fight for thee  
Against thine enemies.

Commit your cause unto the Lord,  
Revenge not any evil;  
And thou shalt see the wicked want,  
When thou shalt have thy will.

For all afflictions that may fall,  
That they can say or do,  
They are not surer of the wealth  
That they attain unto.

For I have seen the sinners spread  
Their branches like a bay;  
And yet ere one could turn his head,  
Were withered clean away.

Beware that money make ye not  
In arrogance to rise  
Against the goodness of the Lord,  
Among the worldly wise.

For many mischiefs hath it made,  
That may not be exprest;  
And many evils it hath done,  
Which may not be redrest.

It maketh kings to kill and slay  
And waste their wits in war;  
In leaving of the wolf at home,  
To hunt the fox afar:

And where they should see justice done,  
And set their realm in rest,  
By money they be made a mean  
To see the poor oppress.

It maketh lords obey the laws,  
That they do ill and naught;  
It maketh bishops suck the blood  
That God hath dearly bought.

The priest doth make a money-mean  
To have again his whores;  
To put away his wedded wife,  
And children out of doors.

The husband he would have a wife,  
With nobles new and old;  
The wife would have the husband hang'd,  
That she might have his gold.

It maketh murders many a one,  
And beareth much with blood;  
The child would see the parents slain,  
To seize upon their good.

For whoso playeth with the pitch,  
His fingers are defil'd;  
And he that maketh gold a god,  
Shall surely be beguil'd.

Be friendly to the fatherless,  
And all that are oppress;  
Assist them always out of hand,  
And see them set at rest.

In all your doings and your deeds  
Let mercy still remain:  
For with the measure that ye mete,  
Shall ye be met again.

Be always lowly in your life,  
Let love enjoy her own:  
The highest trees are seldom sure,  
And soonest overthrown.

The bee is but a little beast  
In body or in sight:  
And yet she bringeth more increase  
Than either crow or kite.

Therefore beware in any wise,  
Keep well your watch alway;  
Be sure of oil within your lamp,  
Let not your light decay.

Exhort your children to be chaste,  
Rebuke them for their ill;  
And let them not in any wise  
Be wedded to their will.

And let your light and living shine,  
That ye be not suspect  
To have the same within yourself,  
For which they are correct.

Be meek and modest, in a mean  
Let all your deeds be done;  
That they which are without the law,  
May see how right you run.

Keep well the member in your mouth,  
Your tongue see that ye tame:  
For out of little sparks of fire  
Proceedeth out a flame.

And seeing God hath giv'n a tongue,  
And put it under power,  
The surest way it is to set  
A hatch before the door

For God hath set you in a seat  
Of double low degree;  
First unto God, and then to man,  
A subject for to be.

I write not, that I see in you  
These things to be suspect;  
But only set before your face  
How sin should be correct.

For flesh and blood I know ye are,  
As other women be:  
And if ye dwell in flesh and blood,  
There is infirmity.

Receive a warning willingly,  
That to thy teeth is told;  
Account the gift of greater price  
Than if he gave thee gold.

A wise man, saith Solomon,  
A warning will embrace:  
A fool will sooner, as he saith,  
Be smitten on the face.

Thus farewell, free and faithful friend:  
The Lord that is above  
Increase in thee a perfect faith,  
And lead thee in his love.

And as I pray with perfect love,  
And pour out bitter tears,



For you and all that are at large  
Abroad among the briars :

Even so I pray thee to prefer  
My person and my bands  
Unto the everlasting God,  
That hath me in his hands.

That as he hath begun in me  
His mercies many one,  
I may attain to overtake  
My brethren that be gone.

That when the death shall do his worst  
Where he shall 'point a place,  
I may be able like a man  
To look him in the face.

For my Redeemer, I am sure,  
Doth live for evermore,  
That sitteth high upon the heavens  
For whom I hunger sore :

Even as the deer, with deadly wound's  
Escaped from the spoil,  
Doth haste by all the means he may  
To seek unto the soil.

Of whom I hope to have a crown  
That always shall remain ;  
And eke enjoy a perfect peace,  
For all my wo and pain.

For though the fire do consume  
Our treasure and our store ;  
Yet shall the goodness of the Lord  
Endure for evermore.

*Written at the Request of a Lady, in her Book.*

If you will walk the way  
That Christ hath you assign'd,  
Then learn this little verse  
Which I have left behind.

Be fervent in the truth,  
Although it bear the blame ;  
And eke apply your youth  
To stick unto the same.

That when old age is come,  
And death begins to call,  
The truth may be your staff,  
To stay you up withal.

And though it bring rebuke,  
And cause you kiss the cross ;  
Yet is it a reward  
To all that suffer loss.

For here we do lay out  
The things that be but vain ;  
But we are sure to reap  
The things that do remain.

For all that ye do lose,  
Is but a sinful slime,  
And like unto a rose,  
That tarrieth but a time.

But if ye carry Christ,  
And walk the perfect way,  
Ye shall possess the gold  
That never shall decay.

And all your Father's goods  
Shall be your recompense,  
If ye confess the word  
With double diligence.

Not only for to hear  
His pure and perfect word,

But also to embrace

The fire, and eke the sword.

And if ye keep this path,  
And do not run a-crook,  
Then shall ye meet the man  
That wrote this in your book,

In that eternal joy,  
That always shall remain :  
Thus farewell, faithful friend,  
Till we do meet again.

*A Letter sent to his Wife.*

The God and Father eternal, which brought again from death our Lord Jesus Christ, keep thee, dear wife, now and ever, Amen ; and all thy parents and friends. I praise God for his mercy, I am in the same state that ye left me in, rather better than worse, looking daily for the living God, before whom I hunger full sore to appear, and receive the glory, of which I trust thou art willing to be a partaker. I give God most hearty thanks therefore, desiring thee of all loves to stand in that faith which thou hast received, and let no man take away the seed that Almighty God hath sown in thee, but lay hands on everlasting life, which shall ever abide, when both the earth and all earthly friends shall perish ; desiring them also to receive thankfully our trouble, which is momentary and light, and, as St. Paul saith, not worthy of the things which shall be shewed on us ; that we, patiently carrying our cross, may attain to the place where our Saviour Christ is gone before, to the which I beseech God of his mercy bring us speedily. I have been much troubled about your deliverance, fearing much the persuasions of worldlings, and have found a friend, which will, I trust, find a mean for you, if you be not already provided, desiring you in any case to abide such order as those my friends shall appoint in God. And bear well in mind the words which I spake at our departing, that as God hath found us, and also elected us, worthy to suffer with him ; we may endeavour ourselves to follow uprightly in this our vocation, desiring you to present my hearty commendations to all our friends, and especially to your parents, keeping your matter close in any wise. Give most hearty thanks to my friend, which only for our cause is come to Windsor. Continue in prayer. Do well. Be faultless in all things. Beware of abominations. Keep you clean from sin. Pray for me, as I do for you. I have sent you a piece of gold for a token, and most entirely desire you to send me word if ye lack any thing. The Lord Jesus preserve you and yours. Amen.—From Newgate the 15th of April.

By your husband here and in heaven,

ROBERT SMITH.

The aforesaid Robert Smith, the valiant and constant martyr of Christ, thus replenished, as ye have heard, with the fortitude of God's Spirit, was condemned at London by Bonner, their bishop, the 12th of July, and suffered at Uxbridge the 8th day of August ; who, as he had been a comfortable instrument of God before to all them that were in prison with him, so now also being at the stake, he did no less comfort the people there standing about him, willing them to think well of his cause, and not to doubt but that his body dying in that quarrel, should rise again to life ; and, said he, I doubt not but that God will shew you some token thereof. At length, he being well nigh half burnt, and all black with fire, clustered together as in a lump like a black coal, all men thinking him for dead, suddenly rose upright before the people, lifting up the stumps of his arms, and

clapping the same together, declaring a rejoicing heart unto them; and so bending down again, and hanging over the fire, slept in the Lord, and ended his mortal life.

*A sententious Letter of Robert Smith, to Anne Smith, his wife.*

Seek first to love God, dear wife, with your whole heart, and then shall it be easy to love your neighbour.

Be friendly to all creatures, and especially to your own soul.

Be alway an enemy to the devil and the world, but especially to your own flesh.

In hearing of good things, join the ears of your head and heart together.

Seek unity and quietness with all men, but especially with your conscience: for he will not easily be entreated.

Love all men, but especially your enemies.

Hate the sins that are past, but especially those to come.

Be as ready to further your enemy as he is to hinder you, that ye may be the child of God.

Defile not that which Christ hath cleansed, lest his blood be laid to your charge.

Remember that God hath hedged in your tongue with the teeth and lips, that it might speak under correction.

Be ready at all times to look to your brother's eye, but especially in your own eye: for he that warneth other of that he himself is faulty, doth give his neighbour the clear wine, and keepeth the dregs to himself.

Beware of riches and worldly honour: for without understanding, prayer, and fasting, it is a snare, and also poverty, all which are like to consuming fire, of which if a man take a little, it will warm him; but if he take too much, it will consume him. For it is hard for a man to carry fire in his bosom, and not to be burnt.

Shew mercy unto the saints for Christ's sake, and Christ shall reward you for the saints' sake. Among all other prisoners visit your own soul; for it is enclosed in a perilous prison.

If you will love God, hate evil, and ye shall obtain the reward of well-doing.

Thus fare you well, good Anne. Have me heartily commended to all that love the Lord unfeignedly. I beseech you have me in your prayer while I am living, and I am assured the Lord will accept it. Bring up my children and yours in the fear of God, and then shall I not fail but receive you together in the everlasting kingdom of God, which I go unto.

Your husband, ROBERT SMITH.

*The Burning of STEPHEN HARWOOD and THOMAS FUST, for the Testimony of the Gospel.*

About this time *Stephen Harwood* was burnt at Stratford, and *Thomas Fust* at Ware; both about one time with the aforesaid Robert Smith and George Tankerfield, although in different places; yet they were examined and openly condemned together with them. Their process, because it was joined all in one with the process of Robert Smith, and others of the same company above mentioned, I thought it superfluous to repeat, except the following speech of Thomas Fust: As he, in his last appearance the 12th of July, was moved by the bishop to revoke his opinion, he answered, "No, my lord; for there is no truth cometh out of your mouth; all is lies. Ye condemn men, and will not hear the truth. Where can ye find any anointing or greasing in God's book? I speak nothing but the truth, and am certain

that it is the truth that I speak." This answer only I find noted by the register; although how slenderly these registers have dealt in uttering such matters, that is, in omitting those things which were most worthy to be known, by their doings it is easy to be seen. But, to be short: after their answers made, both he and Harwood were for their faithful perseverance condemned together by the bishop, in his accustomed pity, as heretics, to be burned; and so finished they their martyrdom, the one at Stratford, and the other at Ware, in the month of August, and year abovesaid.

*The Martyrdom of WILLIAM HALE, burnt at Barnet.*

Of the same company of these ten above recorded, which were sent up to bishop Bonner by Sir Nicholas Hare and other commissioners, in the company of George Tankerfield and Robert Smith, was also *William Hale*, of Thorp, in the county of Essex, who likewise being examined with the rest, the 12th of July, received with them also the sentence of condemnation, giving this exhortation withal to the lookers on; "Ah, good people, beware of this idolatry, and this Antichrist," pointing to the bishop of London; and so was he delivered to the sheriffs as an heretic to be burned, who sent him to Barnet, where, about the latter end of August, he most valiantly sealed up his faith with the consuming of his body by fire, yielding his soul unto the Lord Jesus, his only and most sure Redeemer.

*GEORGE KING, THOMAS LEYES, and JOHN WADE, sickened in Prison, and were buried in the Fields.*

Ye heard before of ten persons sent out of Newgate by Mr Hare, and other commissioners, to be examined by Bonner; of whom six were executed in several places, as hath been shewed. Other three, to wit, *George King*, *Thomas Leyes*, and *John Wade*, sickening in Lollard's Tower, were so weak, that they were removed into different houses within the city of London, and there died, and were cast out into the fields, and there buried by night by the faithful brethren, when none in the day durst do it, for fear of the Papists.

The last that remained of this aforesaid company was *Joan Laysh*, or *Lashford*, the daughter-in-law to John Warne and Elizabeth Warne, martyrs: but she was reprieved to a longer day, and burnt the following year.

WILLIAM ANDREW.

The like Catholic charity was also shewed upon *William Andrew*, of Horsley, in the county of Essex, carpenter, who was brought to Newgate the 1st day of April, 1551, by John Motham, constable of Mauldon, in Essex. The first and principal promoter of this was the lord Rich, who sent him first to prison. Another great enemy to him was Sir Richard Southwell, knight, as appears by a letter written by him to Bonner; which is as follows:

*A Letter sent to Bonner, bishop of London, from Sir Richard Southwell.*

"Pleaseth your lordship to understand, that the lord Rich did, about seven or eight weeks past, send up unto the council one William Andrew, of Thorp, within the county of Essex, an arrogant heretic. Their pleasure was to command me to commit him unto Newgate, where he remaineth and, as I am informed, hath infected a number in the prison with his heresy. Your lordship shall do very well, if it please you to convent him before you, and to take order with him,

as his case doth require. I know the council meant to have writ herein unto your lordship, but by occasion of other business the thing hath been omitted. Wherefore, knowing their good pleasure, I did advise the keeper of Newgate to wait upon you with these few lines; and so referring the rest to your virtuous consideration, I remain your good lordship's to command, this 12th of June, 1555.

"RICHARD SOUTHWELL."

This William Andrew being twice brought before Bonner to examination, there manfully stood in defence of his religion. At length, through severe handling in the prison of Newgate, he lost his life, which else his adversaries would have taken away by fire. And so after the popish manner he was cast out into the field, and by night was privately buried by the hands of good men and faithful brethren.

*The Martyrdom of ROBERT SAMUEL, Preacher of the Gospel.*

Mr. Foster, justice, of Cobdock, in the county of Suffolk, and a little from Ipswich, being in continual hatred against the truth and professors of the same, did not cease day or night to study how to bring those in thrall and captivity that were honest and godly inclined to religion; but also whatsoever they were that once came into his claws, they easily escaped not without clog of conscience, or else loss of life, so greedy was he of blood. Among many whom he had troubled, there was one *Samuel*, in king Edward's days, a very godly and right faithful preacher of God's word, who for his valiant and steady behaviour in his sermons seemeth worthy of high admiration. He was minister at Barfold, in Suffolk, where he taught faithfully and fruitfully that flock which the Lord had committed to his charge, so long as the time would suffer him to do his duty.

At the last, being removed from the ministry and put from his benefice, (as many other good pastors were beside,) when he could not avoid the raging violence of the time, yet would he not give over his care that he had for his flock, but would teach them privily and by stealth, when he could not openly be suffered so to do. At what time order was taken by the queen, to be published by the commissioners, that all priests which had married in king Edward's days, putting their wives from them, should be compelled to return again to their chastity and single life; this decree would not Samuel stand to, for he knew it to be manifestly wicked and abominable; but, determining with himself that God's laws were not to be broken for man's traditions, kept his wife still at Ipswich, and gave his diligence in the mean time to the instructing of others which were about him, as occasion served. At the last Mr. Foster having intelligence hereof, being a great actor in those quarters, he spared neither time nor diligence, but soon sent out his espials abroad, laying hard wait for Samuel, that if he came home to his wife at any time, they might apprehend him, and carry him to prison.

In conclusion: when such as should betray him espied him at home with his wife, they bringing word to the officer, came immediately flocking about his house, and beset it with a great company, and so took him in the night season, because they durst not do it in the day time, for fear of trouble and tumult; although good Samuel did not withstand them at all, but meekly yielded himself into their clutches of his own accord. When they had thus caught him, they put him into Ipswich gaol, where he passed his time meekly among his godly brethren, so long as he was permitted to continue there. Howbeit, not long after being taken from

thence, he was carried to Norwich, where the said bishop, Dr. Hopton, like an unmerciful prelate, exercised great cruelty against him, as indeed he and his chancellor were men in that time of persecution as had not their matches for straitness and cruel tormenting the bodies of the saints, among all the rest beside. For although the other were sharp enough in their generation, yet could they be satisfied with imprisonment and death, and would go no farther. Neither did I ever yet hear of any besides these which so far exceeded all bounds of pity and compassion in tormenting their poor brethren, as this bishop did; in such sort, that many of them he perverted, and brought quite from the truth, and some from their wits also.

The bishop, therefore, or else his chancellor, thinking that he might as easily prevail with Samuel as he had done with the other before, kept him in a very strait prison at his first coming, where he was chained bolt-upright to a great post, in such sort, that standing only on tip-toe, he was fain to stay up the whole poise or weight of his body thereby. And to make amends for the cruelty or pain that he suffered, they added a far more grievous torment, keeping him without meat and drink, whereby he was unmercifully vexed through hunger and thirst; saving that he had every day allowed two or three mouthfuls of bread, and three spoonfuls of water, to the end rather that he might be reserved to farther torment, than that they should preserve his life.—O worthy constancy of the martyr! O pitiless hearts of Papists, worthy to be complained of, and to be accused before God and nature! O the wonderful strength of Christ in his members!—Whose stomach, though it had been made of adamant stone, would not have relented at the intolerable vexations, and extreme pains, above nature? How oftentimes would he have drunk his own water! but his body was so dried up with his long emptiness, that he was not able to make one drop!

At the last, when he was brought forth to be burned, (which was but a trifle in comparison of those pains that he had passed,) certain there were that heard him declare what strange things had happened unto him during the time of his imprisonment; to wit, that after he had been famished or pined with hunger two or three days together, he then fell into a sleep, as it were one half in a slumber, at which time one clad all in white seemed to stand before him, which ministered comfort unto him by these words, Samuel, Samuel, be of good cheer, and take courage: for after this day shalt thou never be either hungry or thirsty. Which thing came even to pass accordingly, for speedily after he was burned, and from the time he had the vision till he suffered, he felt neither hunger nor thirst. And this declared he, to the end (as he said) that all men might behold the wonderful works of God. Many more like matters concerning the great comfort he had of Christ in his afflictions he could utter, he said, besides this, but that shamefacedness and modesty would not suffer him to utter it.

No less memorable it is, and worthy also to be noted, concerning the three ladders which he told to divers he saw in his sleep, set up toward heaven; of which there was one somewhat longer than the rest, but yet at length they became one, joining as it were all three together. This was a forewarning revealed unto him, declaring undoubtedly the martyrdom first of himself, and then the death of two honest women, which were brought forth and suffered in the same town anon after.

As this godly martyr was going to the fire, there came a certain maid to him, which took him about the neck and kissed him; who being marked by them that were present,

was sought for the next day after to be had to prison and burned, as the very party herself informed me. Howbeit, as God of his goodness would have it, she escaped their fiery hands, keeping herself secret in the town a good while after. But though this maid, called Rose Nottingham, was marvellously preserved by the providence of God, yet there were other two honest women who fell in the rage and fury of that time. The one was a brewer's wife, the other was a shoemaker's wife; but both together now espoused to a new husband, even Christ.

With these two was this maid aforesaid very familiar: who on a time giving counsel to the one of them, that she should convey herself away while she had time and space, seeing she could not away with the queen's unjust proceedings, had this answer: "I know well, saith she, that it is lawful enough to fly away; which remedy you may use if you list. But my case standeth otherwise: I am tied to an husband, and have beside a number of young children at home; and then I know not how my husband, being a carnal man, will take my departure from him. Therefore I am minded, for the love of Christ and his truth, to stand to the extremity of the matter."

And so the next day after Samuel suffered, these two godly wives, the one called *Anne Potten*, the other called *Joan Trunchfield*, the wife of Michael Trunchfield, shoemaker, of Ipswich, were apprehended, and had both to prison together; which as they were both by sex and nature somewhat tender, so were they at first less able to endure the straitness of the prison, and especially the brewer's wife was cast into marvellous great agonies and troubles of mind thereby. But Christ, beholding the infirmity of his servant, did not fail to help her when she was in this necessity. So at length they both suffered after Samuel, anno 1556, February 19. And these, no doubt, were those two ladders, which being joined with the third, Samuel saw stretched up into heaven. This blessed Samuel, the servant of Christ, suffered the 31st of August, anno 1555.

The report goeth among some that were there present, and saw him burn, that his body in burning did shine as bright and white as new tried silver, in the eyes of them that stood by, as I am informed by some which were there, and did behold the sight.

*A Letter written to the Christian Congregation by Robert Samuel, wherein he declareth the Confession of his Faith.*

"Fear not the curse of men, be not afraid of their blasphemies and revilings; for worms and moths shall eat them up like cloth and wool, but my righteousness shall endure for ever, and my saving health from generation to generation." Isa. li.

"Considering with myself these perilous times, perishing days, and the unconstant and miserable state of man, the decay of our faith, the sinister report and false slander of God's most holy word; these urgent causes in conscience do constrain me to confess and acknowledge my faith and meaning in Christ's holy religion, as St. Peter teacheth me, saying, 'Be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you, and that with meekness and fear, having a good conscience, that when they backbite you as evil-doers, they may be ashamed, forasmuch as they have falsely accused your good conversation in Christ.'

"As touching my doctrine: for that little talent that God hath given me, God I take to record, mine own conscience and mine auditory knoweth, that I neither in doctrine nor manners willingly taught any other thing than I received of

the holy patriarchs, prophets, Christ, and his apostles. For it were not only sin, but also the very part of a cursed miscreant, to deny, belie, or betray, the innocency of that heavenly doctrine, or to be ashamed to confess and stand to the defence of the same; seeing that Christ planted it with his most precious blood, and all good men have more esteemed the true and infallible word of God, than all this transitory world, or their own mortal lives. And I believe this doctrine of the patriarchs, prophets, Christ, and his apostles, to be sufficient and absolutely perfect to instruct and teach me, and all the holy church, of our duties towards God, the magistrates, and our neighbours.

"First and principally I do assuredly believe, without any doubting, that there is one Deity or Divine Essence and infinite Substance; which is both called, and is indeed, God everlasting, unbodily, unpartable, unmeasurable in power, wisdom, and goodness, the maker and preserver of all things, as well visible as invisible; and yet there be three distinct Persons, all of one Godhead or Divine Being, and all of one power, co-equal, consubstantial, co-eternal, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

"I believe in God the Father Almighty, &c. As touching God the Father of heaven, I believe as much as holy scripture teacheth me to believe. The Father is the first Person in the Trinity, first cause of our salvation; which hath blessed us with all manner of blessings in heavenly things by Christ; which hath chosen us before the foundations of the world were laid, that we should be holy and without blame before him; who hath predestinated us and ordained us to be his children of adoption, through Christ Jesus; in him, as it is said, we live, we move, and have our being; he nourisheth, feedeth, and giveth meat to every creature.

"And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord. I believe that the Word, that is, the Son of God, the second Person in the Trinity, did take man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin Mary: so that there be in him two natures, a divine nature and an human nature, in the unity of one Person inseparable, conjoined and knit in one Christ, truly God, and truly man, the express and perfect image of the invisible God, wherein the will of God the Father shineth apparently, and wherein man, as it were in a glass, may behold what he ought to do, that he may please God the Father.

"Born of the Virgin Mary, truly suffered, was crucified, dead, and buried: to the intent to bring us again into favour with God the Father Almighty, and to be a sacrifice and oblation, not only for original sin, but also for all actual sins of the whole generation of mankind. For all the works, merits, deservings, doings, and obedience of man towards God, although they be done by the Spirit of God, in the grace of God, yet being thus done, be of no validity, worthiness, nor merit, before God, except God for his mercy and grace account them worthy for the worthiness and merits of Christ Jesus.

"The same Christ went down to the hells, and truly rose again the third day, and ascended into the heavens, that he might there still reign, and have dominion over all creatures: and from thence shall come, &c.

"I believe in the Holy Ghost, co-equal with God the Father and the Son, and proceeding from them both; by whose virtue, strength, and operation, the true Catholic church, which is the communion and society of saints, is guided in all truth and verity, and kept from all errors and false doctrine, the devil, and all power of sin. Which church is sanctified and hallowed with the precious blood

and spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ; which hath also her sign and mark, and she heareth and followeth the voice of her only and true Pastor, Christ, and no strangers. This church also is the house of God, the congregation of the living God, the pillar of truth, the lively body of Christ, a church both in name and in deed.

"I believe the remission of sins, by the only means and merits of Christ's death and passion; which is made unto us of God that only sacrifice and oblation offered once for all and for ever, for all men.

"I believe the resurrection of the body, whereby in the last day all men shall rise again from death, the souls joined again to the bodies; the good to everlasting life, the wicked to everlasting pain and punishment. And nothing may more certainly stablish and confirm our faith, that we shall rise again immortal both in body and soul, than the resurrection of Christ our Saviour, and first-fruits of the dead. Now that Christ our head is risen, we being his body and members, must follow our head. Death, hell, and sin, cannot sunder nor pluck us from him; for as the Son cannot be divided nor sundered from the Father, nor the Holy Ghost from them both, no more may we, being the faithful members of Christ, be separated from Christ. And for a confirmation of our resurrection, Christ would be seen after his resurrection in his most glorious body, his wounds being handled and felt, speaking and teaching, eating and drinking, &c. We look, saith St. Paul, for Jesus Christ our Saviour, which shall transfigure our vile bodies, and conform them to his glorious body by the same power and virtue wherewith he is able to subdue all things; even like as the grain of wheat sown in the ground is first purified and brought as into a thing of nought, yet after that it springeth up freshly with a more goodly colour, form, and beauty, than it had before. The body is sown in corruption, and riseth in incorruption; it is sown in dishonour, and riseth in honour.

"Thus I verily know, and assuredly believe, the resurrection of our bodies, and to have life eternal by Christ, and for Christ's sake, Verily, verily, I say unto you, (saith Christ,) he that heareth my word, and believeth on him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into damnation, but is escaped from death to life. It is Christ that died once for our sins, and is risen again, never more to die. It is he that swalloweth up death, and hath cast it under his feet for ever. What now can death do unto us? Verily, nothing else but for a little time separate our precious souls from our wretched bodies, that divine substance from a mass of sin, that eternal life from a body of death, and so send our souls out of this miserable, wretched, and sorrowful life, cumbered with all calamities, unto that most blessed felicity and joys eternal.

"As concerning the holy and reverend sacraments of Christ's church, which be in number two, the sacrament of baptism, and the supper of the Lord; I believe them to be, as St. Paul calleth them, confirmations or seals of God's promises, which have added to them a promise of grace; and therefore they are called visible signs of invisible grace.

"The sacrament of baptism is a mark of Christ's church, a seal and confirmation of our acceptance into the grace and favour of God for Christ's sake. For his innocency, his righteousness, his holiness, his justice, is ours given us of God, and our sins and unrighteousness, by his obedience and abasing of himself to the death of the cross, are atoned for: whereof baptism is the sign, seal, and confirmation.

"Baptism is also a sign of repentance, to testify that we be born to the wave of perils and changes of life, to the

intent that we should die continually, as long as we live, from sin, and rise again new men unto righteousness and true holiness, Rom. vi.

"The other sacrament, which is the supper of our Saviour Christ, whereby the church of Christ is known, I believe to be a remembrance of Christ's death and passion, a seal and confirmation of his most precious body given unto death, even to the vile death of the cross, wherewith we are redeemed and delivered from sin, death, hell, and damnation. It is a visible word, because it worketh the same thing in the eyes which the word worketh in the ears. For like as the word is a mean to the ears, whereby the Holy Ghost moveth the heart to believe, Rom. x. so this sacrament is a mean to the eyes, whereby the Holy Ghost moveth the heart to believe: it preacheth peace between God and man, it exhorteth to mutual love and all godly life, and teacheth to condemn the world for the life to come, when as Christ shall appear, which now is in heaven, and no where else as concerning his human body.

"Yet do I believe assuredly, that his very body is present in his most holy supper at the contemplation of our spiritual eyes, and so verily eaten with the mouth of our faith. For as soon as I hear the most comfortable and heavenly words spoken and pronounced by the mouth of the minister, 'This is my body which is given for you;' when I hear, I say, this heavenly harmony of God's infallible promises and truth, I look not upon, neither do I behold, bread and wine; for I take and believe the words simply and plainly, even as Christ spake them. For hearing these words, my senses be wrapt and utterly excluded; for faith wholly taketh place, and not flesh, nor the carnal imaginations of our gross, fleshly, and unreverent eating, after the manner of our bodily food, which profiteth nothing at all, as Christ witnesseth, John vi. but with a sorrowful and wounded conscience, an hungry and thirsty soul, a pure and faithful mind, do fully embrace, behold, and feel, and look upon, that most glorious body of Christ in heaven, at the right hand of God the Father, very God and very Man, which was crucified, and slain, and his blood shed for our sins, there now making intercession, offering and giving his holy body for me, for my body, for my ransom, for my full price and satisfaction, who is my Christ, and all that ever he hath; and by this spiritual and faithful eating of this lively and heavenly bread, I feel the most sweet fruits, benefits, and unspeakable joys of Christ's death and passion fully manifested in my soul. For my mind is quieted from all worldly adversities, tumults, and troubles; my conscience is pacified from sin, death, hell, and damnation; my soul is full, and hath even enough, and will no more: for all things are but loss, vile dung, and dross, vain vanity, for the excellent knowledge sake of Christ Jesus my Lord and Saviour.

"Thus now is Christ's flesh my very meat indeed, and his blood my very drink indeed, and I am become flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bones. Now I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me; yea, I dwell in him, and he in me. For through faith in Christ, and for Christ's sake, we are one, that is, of one consent, mind, and fellowship, with the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, John xvii. Thus am I assuredly and fully persuaded, and on this rock have I builded, by God's grace, my dwelling and resting-place for body and soul, life and death. And thus I commit my cause unto Christ, the righteous and just Judge, who will another day judge these debates and controversies; whom I humbly beseech to cast his tender and merciful eyes upon the afflicted and ruinous churches, and shortly to reduce them into a godly and perpetual concord. Amen.



"Thus do I believe, and this is my faith and my understanding in Christ my Saviour, and his true and holy religion. And this whosoever is ashamed to confess among this adulterous and sinful generation, of him shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father with the holy angels.

"ROBERT SAMUEL."

WILLIAM ALLEN, *Martyr.*

Now, after the suffering of Robert Samuel, about the beginning of September, was burned *William Allen*, in Walsingham, labouring man, servant sometime to John Houghton, of Somerton. He, being brought before the bishop, and asked the cause why he was imprisoned? answered, That he was put in prison because he would not follow the cross; saying that he would never go on procession.

Then being willed by the bishop to return again to the Catholic church, he answered, that he would turn to the Catholic church, but not to the Romish church: and said, that if he saw the king and queen, and all other, follow the cross, or kneel down to the cross, he would not. For which, sentence of condemnation was given against him the 12th of August, and he burned at Walsingham about the beginning of September; who declared such constancy at his martyrdom, and had such credit with the justices, by reason of his upright and well-tryed conversation among them, that he was permitted to go untied to his suffering, and there being fastened with a chain, stood quietly without shrinking until he died.

*The Martyrdom of ROGER COO, of Melford, in Sufflk, sheerman; first examined before the Bishop of Norwich, and by him condemned, August 12th, 1555.*

Roger Coo brought before the bishop, first was asked why he was imprisoned?

Coo. At the justice's commandment.

Bishop. There was some cause why.

Coo. Here is my accuser, let him declare.

And his accuser said, that he would not receive the sacrament. Then said the bishop, that he thought he had transgressed a law.

But Coo answered, that in his case, there was no law to transgress.

The bishop then asked, what he said to the law that then was?

He answered, how he had been in prison a long time, and knew it not.

No, (said his accuser,) nor will not. My lord asked him when he received the sacrament.

When Coo heard him say so, he said, I pray you, my lord, let him sit down and examine me himself. But the bishop would not hear that; but said, Coo, why will ye not receive?

He answered him, that the bishop of Rome had changed God's ordinances, and given the people bread and wine instead of the gospel, and the belief of the same.

Bishop. How prove you that?

Coo. Our Saviour said, "My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed: he that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him;" and the bread and wine doth not so.

Bishop. Well, Coo, thou dost slander our holy fathers. Did not Christ take bread, give thanks, and brake it, and said, "This is my body?"

Coo. Yes; and so he went further with the text, saying, "Which shall be given for you: do this in remembrance of me."

Bishop. You have said the truth.

Then Coo replied further, and said, Christ willed to do this in remembrance of him; and not to say this in remembrance of him; neither did the Holy Ghost so lead the apostles, but taught them to give thanks, and to break bread from house to house, and not to say as the bishop said.

Bishop. How prove you that?

Coo. It is written in the 2d of the Acts.

Then the bishop's chaplain said it was true.

The bishop asked him if he could say his Belief? He answered, Yea; and so said part of the Creed; and then after he said he believed more, for he believed the Ten Commandments: that it was meet for all such as looked to be saved to be obedient unto them.

Bishop. Is not the holy church to be believed also?

Coo. Yes, if it be builded upon the word of God.

The bishop said to Coo, that he had the charge of his soul.

Coo. Have you so, my lord? Then if ye go to the devil for your sins, where shall I be?

Bishop. Do you not believe as your father did? Was not he an honest man?

Coo. It is written, that after Christ hath suffered, there shall come a people with the prince that shall destroy both city and sanctuary: I pray you shew me whether this destruction was in my father's time, or now?

The bishop not answering his question, asked him whether he would not obey the king's laws?

Coo. As far as they agree with the word of God, I will obey them.

Bishop. Whether they agree with the word of God or not, we be bound to obey them, if the king were an infidel.

Coo. If Shadrach, Meshech, and Abednego, had so done, Nebuchadnezzar had not confessed the living God.

Then the bishop told him that these twenty-two years we had been governed with such kings.

Coo. My lord, why were ye then dumb, and did not speak or bark?

Bishop. I durst not, for fear of death. And thus they ended.

But after this done, it was reported that I railed; wherefore I called it to memory, and wrote this my railing, that light should not be taken for darkness, nor sin for holiness, and the devil for God, who ought to be feared and honoured both now and ever. Amen.

This Roger Coo, an aged father, after his sundry troubles, and conflicts with his adversaries, at length was committed to the fire at Yexford, in the county of Suffolk, where he most blessedly ended his aged years, anno 1555, in the month of September.

THOMAS COBB, of *Haverhill, Butcher, Martyr.*

Over and beside this aforesaid Roger Coo, William Allen, James Abbes of Stokeneyland, Robert Samuel, and others more, in the same year, upon the 12th of August, was also with them condemned *Thomas Cobb*, of Haverhill, butcher, executed in the month of September aforesaid. Who being brought and examined by Michael Dunning, the bloody chancellor of Norwich; first, whether he believed that Christ is really and substantially in the sacrament of the altar? answered, That the body of Christ, born of the blessed Virgin, was in heaven, and otherwise (he said) he would not answer, because he had read it in scripture that Christ did

ascend, and did never descend since; and therefore said, that he had not learned in the scripture that Christ should be in the sacrament. Furthermore, being demanded whether he would obey the laws of the realm of England, made for the unity of faith, or no? he answered, That his body should be at the king and queen's commandment, so far as the law of God would suffer, &c. In fine, the said Thomas Cobb being condemned the same 12th day of August, with the other his fellow-martyrs, was burned in the town of Thetford, anno 1555, in the month of September.

#### FIVE MARTYRS burned at Canterbury.

Now from Norfolk and Suffolk to return again into the diocese of Canterbury, we have to treat of five worthy martyrs, whose blood in the same year and month of September was spilt for the true testimony of Christ, and his gospel's cause. The names of which five martyrs were these: *George Catmar* of Hith, *Robert Streater* of Hith, *Anthony Burward* of Calet, *George Brodbridge* of Bromfield, *James Tutty* of Brenchley.

Who upon the 3d day of August were brought before Thornton, the aforesaid bishop of Dover, and his accomplices, and there were both jointly and severally examined upon certain articles touching the sacrament of the altar, auricular confession, and other such like. To which the said Catmar, (being first examined) made answer on this wise: Christ (quoth he) sitteth in heaven on the right hand of God the Father; and therefore I do not believe him to be in the sacrament of the altar, but he is in the worthy receiver spiritually; and the sacrament, as you use it, is an abominable idol.

Next unto him was called forth Robert Streater, who being also asked, whether he did believe the real presence of Christ in the sacraments of the altar? said, That he did not so believe: for you do maintain heresy and idolatry (quoth he) in that ye teach to worship a false god in the sacrament, enclosed in a box. It is you that are the malignant church; for in your church there are twenty things used against the law of God.

The like objection was articulate also against Anthony Burward, who also said that their sacrament was made an idol.

After him was George Brodbridge demanded what he said to those articles? Who answered, That he would not be confessed of a priest, because he could not forgive his own sins; and further said, that in the sacrament of the altar there is not the real body of our Saviour Christ, but bread, given in the remembrance of him. Moreover, as for your holy bread, your holy water, and your mass, I do (quoth he) utterly defy them.

And last of all did also James Tutty make and confirm their said former answers.

And therefore they were all five condemned to be burned as heretics; and so were they all in one fire, at Canterbury aforesaid, about the 6th day of September next following.

#### THOMAS HAYWARD and JOHN GOREWAY, Martyrs.

Although the rage and vehemency of this terrible persecution in queen Mary's days did chiefly light in London, Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Kent, as hath already been declared? yet notwithstanding, besides the same we find but few parts of this realm free from this fatal storm, but some good martyrs or other there shed their blood. And, first, to begin with the diocese of Litchfield and Coventry,

there we find these two to be condemned and also burned, about the middle of the said month of September at the town of Litchfield, whose names were *Thomas Hayward* and *John Goreway*.

#### The Martyrdom of Mr. ROBERT GLOVER, Gentleman.

In the month of September, 1555, *Mr. Robert Glover*, gentleman, in the diocese of Litchfield and Coventry, was martyred. Of whose apprehension and troubles, because I cannot well treat but I must also intermix some mention of his brother John Glover, forso much as the privy commission was chiefly sent down for the said John, and not for Robert Glover, (although it pleased Almighty God that John escaped, and Robert was apprehended,) I thought therefore in one story to comprehend them both, in describing some part of their virtuous institution and order of life. And first to begin with John, the eldest brother; who being a gentleman, and heir to his father, dwelling in the town of Mancetor, was endued fair with possessions of worldly goods, but yet much more plentifully enriched with God's heavenly grace and inward virtues; which grace of God so working in him, he with his other brethren, Robert and William, not only received and embraced the light of Christ's holy gospel, but also most zealously professed, and no less diligently in their living and conversation followed, the same.

And as touching this aforesaid John Glover, who through his manifold afflictions seemed to have a deeper taste and contemplation of spiritual things, joined with mortification from all worldly cares, more than the other had; so it pleased God to lay his heavy hand of inward afflictions upon this man, that though he suffered not the pains of the outward fire, as his brother and other martyrs did, yet if we consider what inwardly in spirit and mind this man felt and suffered, and that for so long a time, he may well be counted with his brother Robert for a martyr, being no less desirous with him of the same martyrdom; yea, and in comparison may seem to be chronicled for a double martyr.

For as the said Robert was speedily despatched with the sharp and extreme torments of the fire in a short time; so this no less blessed saint of God, what and how much more grievous pangs, what sorrowful torments in his spirit inwardly he felt and sustained, no speech outwardly is able to express. Being young, I remember I was once or twice with him, who partly by his talk I perceived, and partly by mine own eyes saw, to be so worn and consumed by the space of five years, that neither almost any brooking of meat, quietness of sleep, pleasure of life, yea, and almost no kind of senses, was left in him. And doubtless I have greatly wondered oftentimes at the marvellous works and operations of Christ shewed upon him, who unless he had relieved betimes his poor wretched servant, so far worn, with some opportune consolation now and then betwixt, it could not possibly be that he should have sustained so intolerable pains and torments; and yet the occasion thereof was not of so great moment and weight. But this we see common among holy and blessed men, how the more devout and godly they are, having the fear of God before their eyes, the more suspicion and mistrust they have of themselves; whereby it cometh to pass, that often they are so terrified and perplexed with small matters, as though they were huge mountains; whereas contrary, others there be whom most heinous and very sore crimes indeed do nothing touch or stir at all.

The occasion of this was, that he being first called by the light of the Holy Spirit to the knowledge of the gospel, and having received a wondrous sweet feeling of Christ's be-

venly kingdom, his mind after that falling a little to some cogitation of his former affairs belonging to his vocation, began by and by to misdoubt himself upon the occasion of these words written in the 7th to the Hebrews, "For it cannot be that they which were once illuminated, and have tasted the heavenly gift," &c. Upon the consideration of which words, he fully persuaded himself that he had sinned verily against the Holy Ghost; even so much, that if he had been in the deepest pit of hell, he could almost have despaired no more of his salvation. Here readily every good man may judge of himself what terrors, boilings, and convulsions turmoiled in the mean time in his woful breast; although it be hard for any man to judge the grievousness thereof, unless he which hath experience of the like.

In comparing now the torments of all martyrs with his pains, I pray you what pains, punishment, and flames, would not he willingly have suffered to have had some time of refreshing? Who in such intolerable griefs of mind, although he neither had nor could have any joy of his meat, yet was he compelled to eat against his appetite, to the end to defer the time of his damnation so long as he might, thinking with himself no less but that he must needs be thrown into hell, the breath being once out of his body. Albeit Christ he thought did pity his case, and was sorry for him; yet he could not, as he imagined, help, because of the verity of the word which said, "It cannot be," &c.

And this I rehearse of him, not so much to open his wounds and sorrows, as for that by his example all we with him may glorify the Son of God, who suffereth none to be tempted above his strength, but so tempereth and seasoneth the asperity of evils, that what seemeth to us intolerable, not only he doth alleviate the same that we may bear it, but also turneth it to our further advantage. Which well appeared in this good servant of God, in no man more; who although he suffered many years so sharp temptations and strong buffetings of Satan, yet the Lord, who graciously preserved him all the while, not only at last did rid him out of all discomfort, but also framed him thereby to such mortification of life, as the like hath not been seen; in such sort as he, being like one placed in heaven already, and dead in this world, both in word and meditation, led a life altogether celestial, abhorring in his mind all profane doings; neither was his talk different from the fruits of his life, never speaking any idle, vile, or vain word. The most part of his lands he distributed to the use of his brethren, and committed the rest to the guiding of his servants and officers, whereby the more quietly he might give himself to his godly study, as to a continual Sabbath rest. This was about the latter end of king Henry's reign, and continued a great part of the time of king Edward VI.

After this, in the persecuting days of queen Mary, as soon as the bishop of Coventry heard the fame of this John aforesaid, being so ardent and zealous in the gospel of Christ, soon he wrote his letter to the mayor and officers of Coventry, to apprehend him as soon as might be. But it chanced otherwise, by God's holy providence disposing all things after his own secret pleasure; who seeing his old and trusty servant so many years with so extreme and many torments broken and dried up, would in no wise heap too many sorrows upon one poor man; neither would commit him to the flames of fire, who had been already baked and scorched with the sharp fires of inward affliction, and had sustained so many burning darts and conflicts of Satan for so many years: God, therefore, of his divine providence, thinking it too much that one man should be so much overcharged with so many plagues and torments, did graciously provide that

Robert his brother (being both stronger of body, and also better furnished with helps of learning to answer the adversaries, being a master of arts in Cambridge) should sustain that conflict; and so it came to pass, as ye shall hear.

For as soon as the mayor of Coventry had received the bishop's letters for the apprehending of Mr. John Glover, he sent forthwith a private watch-word to the said John to convey away himself; who with his brother William was not so soon departed out of his house, but that yet in the sight of the sheriff and others the searchers came and rushed in to take him, according to the bishop's commandment.

But when the said John could in no place be found, one of the officers going into an upper chamber, found there Robert, the other brother, lying on his bed, and sick of a long disease, who was by him incontinent brought before the sheriff. Which sheriff notwithstanding favouring Robert and his cause, would indeed fain have dismissed him, and wrought what means he could, saying, He was not the man for whom they were sent. Yet nevertheless, being tempted with the stout words of the officer, contending with him to have him stayed till the bishop's coming, he was constrained to carry him away against his will; and so laid him fast while the bishop came. And thus much by the way of preambles first concerning the worthy remembrance of Mr. John Glover.

Now to consider the story and martyrdom of Mr. Robert Glover, the whole narration of the same by his own record and testimony being written to his wife; I shall exhibit his own letter, the contents whereof here follow:

*A Letter of Mr. Robert Glover to his Wife, containing the whole Discourse and Description of his Troubles sustained in Prison, and of his sundry Conflicts between the Bishop and him about Religion.*

*To my entirely beloved wife, Mary Glover.*—The peace of conscience which passeth all understanding, the sweet consolation, comfort, strength, and boldness, of the Holy Ghost, be continually increased in your heart, through a fervent, earnest, and steadfast faith in our most dear and only Saviour Jesus Christ. Amen.

I thank you heartily, most loving wife, for your letters sent unto me in my imprisonment. I read them with tears more than once or twice, with tears, I say, for joy and gladness that God had wrought in you so merciful a work; first, an unfeigned repentance; secondly, an humble and hearty reconciliation; thirdly, a willing submission and obedience to the will of God in all things. Which when I read in your letters, and judged them to proceed from the bottom of your heart, I could not but be thankful to God, rejoicing with tears for you, and these his great mercies poured upon you.

So long as God shall lend you continuance in this miserable world, above all things give yourself continually to prayer, lifting up (as St. Paul saith) clean or pure hands, without anger, wrath, or doubting; forgiving (as he saith also) if you have any thing against any man, as Christ forgiveth us. And because God's word teacheth us not only the true manner of praying, but also what we ought to do, or not to do, in the whole discourse and practice of this life, what pleaseth or displeaseth God, and that, as Christ saith, the word of God that he hath spoken, shall judge in the last day; let your prayer be to this end especially, That God of his great mercy would open and reveal more and more daily to your heart and true sense, knowledge, and understanding of his most holy word, and give you grace in your living to express the fruits thereof.

And forasmuch as it is, as the Holy Ghost calleth it, the

word of affliction, that is, it is seldom without hatred, persecution, peril, danger of loss of life and goods, and whatsoever seemeth pleasant in this world, as experience teacheth you in this time; call upon God continually for his assistance, as Christ teacheth, casting your accounts what it is like to cost you, endeavouring yourself through the help of the Holy Ghost, by continuance of prayer, to lay your foundation so sure, that no storm of tempest shall be able to overthrow or cast it down; remembering always (as Christ saith) Lot's wife; that is, to beware of looking back to that thing that displeaseth God. And because nothing displeaseth God so much as idolatry, that is, false worshipping of God otherwise than his word commandeth; look not back, I say, nor turn your face to their idolatrous and blasphemous massing, manifestly against the word, practice, and example of Christ; as it is most manifest to all that have any taste of the true understanding of God's word, that there remaineth nothing in the church of England at this present, profitable or edifying to the church and congregation of the Lord, all things being done in an unknown tongue, contrary to the express commandment of the Holy Ghost.

They object that they be the church, and therefore they must be believed. My answer was, The church of God knoweth and acknowledgeth no other head but Jesus Christ the Son of God; whom ye have refused, and chosen the man of sin, the son of perdition, enemy to Christ, the devil's deputy and lieutenant, the pope.

Christ's church heareth, teacheth, and is ruled, by his word; as he saith, "My sheep hear my voice. If you abide in me, and my word in you, you be my disciples." Their church repelleth God's word, and forceth all men to follow their traditions.

Christ's church dare not add or diminish, alter or change, his blessed testament; but they be not afraid to take away all that Christ instituted, and go a whoring (as the scripture saith) with their own inventions, and to glory and rejoice in the works of their own hands.

The church of Christ is, hath been, and shall be in all ages, under the cross, persecuted, molested, and afflicted; the world ever hating them, because they be not of the world. But these persecute, murder, slay, and kill, such as profess the true doctrine of Christ, be they in learning, living, conversation, and other virtues, never so excellent.

Christ and his church reserved the trial of their doctrine to the word of God, and gave the people leave to judge thereof by the same word, Search the scriptures. But this church taketh away the word from the people, and suffereth neither learned nor unlearned to examine or prove their doctrine by the word of God.

The true church of God laboureth by all means to resist and withstand the lusts, desires, and motions of the world, the flesh, and the devil: these for the most part give themselves to all voluptuousness, and secretly commit such things, which (as St. Paul saith) it is shame to speak of.

By these and such like manifest probations, they do declare themselves to be none of the church of Christ, but rather of the synagogue of Satan. It shall be good for you oftentimes to confer and compare their proceedings and doings with the practice of those whom the word of God doth teach to have been true members of the church of God, and it shall work in you both knowledge, erudition, and boldness, to withstand with suffering their doings. I likened them, therefore, to Nimrod, whom the scripture calleth a mighty hunter, or a stout champion; telling them, that which they could not have by the word they would have by the sword, and be the church whether men will or no; and called

them with good conscience (as Christ called their forefathers) the children of the devil; and as their father the devil is a liar and a murderer, so their kingdom and church, as they call it, standeth by lying and murdering.

Have no fellowship with them therefore, my dear wife, nor with their doctrine and traditions, lest you be partaker of their sins; for whom is reserved a heavy damnation, without speedy repentance. Beware of such as shall advertise you something to bear with the world, as they do, for a season. There is no dallying with God's matters; It is a fearful thing, as St. Paul saith, to fall into the hand of God. Remember the prophet Elias, Why halt ye between two opinions? Remember what Christ saith, He that putteth his hands to the plough, and looketh back, is not worthy of me. And seeing God hath hitherto allowed you as a good soldier in the forward, play not the coward, neither draw back to the rereward. St. John numbereth among them that shall dwell in the fiery lake, such as be fearful in God's cause. Set before your eyes always the examples of such as have behaved themselves boldly in God's cause, as Stephen, Peter, Paul, Daniel, the three children, the widow's sons; and in your days, Ann Askew, Lawrence Saunders, John Bradford, with many other faithful witnesses of Christ. Be afraid in nothing, saith St. Paul, of the adversaries of Christ's doctrine, the which is to them the sign of perdition, but to you of everlasting salvation. Christ commandeth the same, saying, Fear them not. Let us not follow the example of him which asketh time first to take leave of his friends; if we so do, we shall find few of them that will encourage us to go forward in our business, please it God never so much. We read not that James and John, Andrew and Simon, when they were called, put off the time till they had known their fathers' and friends' pleasure. But the scripture saith, They forsook all, and immediately followed Christ. Christ likened the kingdom of God to a precious pearl, the which whosoever findeth, selleth all that he hath to buy it. Yea, whosoever hath but a little taste or glimmering how precious a treasure the kingdom of heaven is, will gladly forego both life and goods for the obtaining of it. But the most part now-a-days be like to Æsop's cock, which when he had found a precious stone, wished rather to have found a barley-corn: so ignorant be they how precious a jewel the word of God is, that they choose rather the things of this world, which being compared to it, be less in value than a barley-corn.

If I would have given place to worldly reasons, these might have moved me: First, the foregoing of you and my children; the consideration of the state of my children, being yet tender of age and young, apt and inclinable to virtue and learning, and so having the more need of my assistance, being not altogether destitute of gifts to help them withal; possessions above the common sort of men; because I was never called to be a preacher or minister and (because of my sickness) fear of death in imprisonment before I should come to my answer, and so my death be unprofitable.

But these, and such like, (I thank my heavenly Father, which of his infinite mercy inspired me with his Holy Ghost for his Son's sake, my only Saviour and Redeemer,) prevailed not in me; but when I had by the wonderful permission of God fallen into their hands, at the first sight of the sheriff nature a little abashed; yet, ere I came to the prison, by the working of God, and through his goodness, fear departed. I said to the sheriff at his coming unto me, What matter have you, master sheriff, to charge me withal? He answered, You shall know when you come before the masters. And so taking me with him, I looked to have been brought before



the masters, and to have heard what they could have burdened me withal: but contrary to my expectation, I was committed forthwith to the gaol, not being called to my answer, little justice being shewed therein. But the less justice a man findeth at their hands, the more consolation in conscience shall he find from God; for whosoever is of the world, the world will love him.

After I came into prison, and had reposed myself there awhile, I wept for joy and gladness, musing much of the great mercies of God, and, as it were, saying to myself after this sort: O Lord, who am I, on whom thou shouldest bestow this thy great mercy, to be numbered among the saints that suffer for the gospel sake! And so beholding and considering on the one side my imperfection, unability, sinful misery, and unworthiness, and on the other side the greatness of God's mercy, to be called to so high promotion, I was as it were amazed and overcome for a while with joy and gladness, concluding thus with myself in my heart: O Lord, thou shewest power in weakness, wisdom in foolishness, mercy in sinfulness; who shall hinder thee to choose where and whom thou wilt? As I have zealously loved the confession of thy word, so ever thought I myself to be most unworthy to be partaker of the affliction for this same.

Not long after came unto me Mr. W. Brasbridge, Mr. C. Phineas, and Mr. N. Hopkins, labouring with me to be dismissed upon bonds. To whom my answer was, to my remembrance, after this sort: Forasmuch as the masters have imprisoned me, having nothing to burthen me withal, if I should enter into bonds I should in so doing accuse myself; and seeing they have no matter to lay to my charge, they may as well let me pass without bonds as with bonds.

Secondarily, If I shall enter bonds, covenant, and promise, to appear, I shall do nothing but excuse, colour, and cloke their wickedness, and endanger myself, nevertheless, being bound by my promise to appear. They alleged many worldly persuasions to me to avoid the present peril, and also how to avoid the forfeiture, if I brake promise. I said unto them, I had cast up my pennyworth by God's help. They undertook also to make the bond easy.

And when they were somewhat importunate, I said to Mr. Hopkins, that liberty of conscience was a precious thing; and took, as it were, a pause, lifting up my heart to God earnestly for his aid and help, that I might do the thing that might please him. And so when they had let their suit fall, my heart, methought, was wonderfully comforted. Mr. Dudley communed with me in like manner; whom I answered in effect as I did before.

Afterward debating the matter with myself, these considerations came into my head: I have from time to time with good conscience, God I take to record, moved all such as I had conference withal, to be no dalliers in God's matters, but to shew themselves, after so great a light and knowledge, hearty, earnest, constant, and stable, in so manifest a truth, and not to give place one jot contrary to the same. Now, thought I, if I shall withdraw myself, and make any shifts to pull my own neck out of the collar, I shall give great offence to my weak brethren in Christ, and advantage to the enemies to slander God's word. It will be said, He hath been a great encourager of others to be earnest and fervent, to fear no worldly perils or dangers, but he himself will give no such example.

Wherefore I thought it my bounden duty, both to God and man, being, as it were, by the great goodness of God marvellously called and appointed hereunto, to set aside all fear, perils, and dangers, all worldly respects and considerations; and like as I had heretofore, according to the mea-

sure of my small gift, within the compass of my vocation and calling, from the bottom of my heart unfeignedly moved, exhorted, and persuaded, all that profess God's word, manfully to persist in the defence of the same, not with sword and violence, but with suffering and loss of life, rather than to defile themselves again with the whorish abomination of the Romish Antichrist; so the hour being come, with my fact and example to ratify, confirm, and protest, the same to the hearts of all true believers. And to this end, by the mighty assistance of God's holy Spirit, I resolved myself, with much peace of conscience, willingly to sustain whatsoever the Romish Antichrist should do against me, and the rather, because I understood the bishop's coming to be at hand, and considered that poor men's consciences should be then sharply assaulted. So remained I a prisoner in Coventry by the space of ten or eleven days, being never called to my answer of the masters, contrary to the laws of the realm, they having neither statute, law, proclamation, letter, warrant, nor commandment, for my apprehension. They would have laid all the matter upon the sumner; who being examined, denied it before their faces, (as one of my friends told me,) saying that he had no commandment concerning me, but for my elder brother. God lay not their extreme doings against me to their charge at the great day.

The second day after the bishop's coming to Coventry, Mr. Warren came to the Guildhall, and willed the chief gaoler to carry me to the bishop. I laid to Mr. Warren's charge the cruel seeking of my death; and when he would have excused himself, I told him he could not wipe his hands so: he was as guilty of my blood before God, as though he had murdered me with his own hands.

And so he departed from me, saying, I needed not to fear, if I would be of his belief. God open their eyes, who cruelly, maliciously, and spitefully persecute, molest, and afflict, the members of Christ, for their conscience sake, and for the true testimony of Christ's word, and cause them most unjustly to be slain and murdered; without speedy repentance they shall dwell with the devil and his angels in the fierce lake everlastingly, where they shall wish and desire, cry and call, but in vain, (as the rich man did,) to be refreshed of them, whom in this world they contemned, despised, disdained, as slaves, misers, and wretches.

When I came before the bishop, in one Denton's house, he began with this protestation, That he was my bishop for lack of a better, and willed me to submit myself.

I said to him, I am not come to accuse myself; what have you to lay to my charge?

He asked me, whether I was learned? I answered, In a small measure.

Master chancellor standing by, said, I was a master of arts.

Then my lord laid to my charge my not coming to church.

Here I might have dallied with him, and put him to his proofs, forasmuch as I had not been for a long season in his diocese, neither was any of the citizens able to prove any such matter against me. Notwithstanding, I answered him through God's merciful help, that I neither had nor would come at their church as long as their mass was used there, to save (if I had them) five hundred lives. I willed him to shew me one jot or tittle in the scriptures for the proof and defence of the mass.

He answered, he came to teach, and not to be taught. I was content, I told him, to learn of him, so far as he was able to teach me by the word of God.

*Bishop.* Who shall judge the word?

*Glover.* Christ was content that the people should judge his doctrine by searching the scriptures, and so was Paul;



methinketh ye should claim no further privilege nor pre-eminence than they had.

Thus spake Robert Glover, offering him further, that he was content the primitive church, next to the apostles' time, should judge betwixt the bishop and him. But he refused also to be judged by that. Then he said, he was his bishop, and therefore he must believe him.

*Glover.* If you say black is white, my lord, must I also say as you say, and believe the same, because you say it is so?

Master chancellor here noted me to be arrogant, because I would not give place to my bishop.

*Glover.* If you will be believed because you be a bishop, why find you fault with the people that believed Mr. Latimer, Mr. Ridley, Mr. Hooper, and the residue of them that were bishops?

*Bishop.* Because they were heretics.

*Glover.* And may not you err as well as they? I looked for learning at my lord's hand to persuade me, and he oppressed me only with his authority. He said I dissented from the church; and asked me where my church was before king Edward's time?

I desired him to shew me where their church was in Elias's time, and what outward shew it had in Christ's time.

*Bishop.* Elias's complaint was only of the ten tribes that fell from David's house, whom he called heretics.

*Glover.* You be not able to shew any prophets that the other two tribes had at that same time.

My lord making no answer to that, Mr. Rogers, one of the masters of the city, cometh in the mean season, taking upon him as though he would answer to the text. But my lord forthwith commanded me to be committed to some tower, if they had any besides the common gaol, saying, he would at the end of his visitation of his diocese weed out such wolves. Mr. Rogers willed him to content himself for that night, till they had taken further order for me. Even where it pleaseth you, said I to my lord, I am content; and so I was returned at that time to the common gaol again from whence I came.

On the Friday morning, being the next day after, I had warning by one of the prisoners to prepare myself to ride with my fellow-prisoners the same day to Litchfield, there to be disposed of at the bishop's pleasure. Which tidings at the first something discouraged me, fearing lest I should, by the means of my great sickness, through extreme handling, (which I looked for,) have died in the prison before I should come to my answer. But I rebuked immediately with God's word this infidelity in myself, and by the same corrected mine own mistrust and fancy after this manner: What make I of God? Is not his power as great in Litchfield as in Coventry? Doth not his promise extend as well to Litchfield as to Coventry? Was he not with Habakkuk, Daniel, Meshach, and Jeremiah, in their most dangerous imprisonments? He knoweth what things we have need of. He hath numbered all the hairs of our head. The sparrow falleth not on the ground without our heavenly Father's will; much more will he care for us, if we be not faithless, whom he hath made worthy to be witnesses of his truth. So long as we put our trust in him, we shall never be destitute of his help, neither in prison, neither in sickness nor in health, neither in life nor in death, neither before kings, nor before bishops; nor the devil himself, much less one of his ministers, shall be able to prevail against us. With such like meditations I waxed cheerful, of good comfort: so that hearing one say that they could not provide horses enough for us, I said, Let them carry us in a dung-cart for lack of horses, if they list; I am well content for my part.

Notwithstanding, at the request of my friends, I wrote to Mr. Mayor and his brethren, briefly requiring them that I might make answer here to such things as should be laid to my charge; the contents of which letter were these:

*A Letter of Mr. Robert Glover to the Mayor of Coventry and his Brethren.*

I beseech you to understand, that it is not unknown, as well to the keeper of the gaol as to the inhabitants about me where I dwell, that I am a man subject to very great sickness, and have been by the space of seven years and more, so that it is not like that I shall be removed without peril and danger of life. And because I was here committed to ward by your appointment, I would gladly here answer to such things as should be laid to my charge. If I may obtain this of you, I have cause thankfully to acknowledge your indifferency; if otherwise, I pray God it be not laid to your charge at the great day, where every man shall have just judgment without respect of person.

Your prisoner in the Lord, always  
mindful of you in my poor prayer,

ROBERT GLOVER.

But I received no answers of my letters to nor fro; I conjectured, that when the bishop and the chancellor had seen them, it moved them the rather to have me away, being more desirous, as I suppose, to have had me despatched privily in prison than to come openly to my answer. The manner of treating and using me at my first coming to prison did partly declare the same.

Certain sergeants and constables of Coventry being appointed to convey us to Litchfield, to be delivered there to one Jephcot, the chancellor's man, sent from Coventry with us for the same purpose, we were commanded to horseback about eleven or twelve of the clock on Friday, being market-day, that we might be the more gazed and wondered at; and to kindle the people's hearts more against us, they did proclaim a letter concerning a proclamation made for calling in and annulling of all such books as truly expound and interpret the scriptures. We came to Litchfield about four of the clock at even, and had leave to repose ourselves till our supper time. We inned at the sign of the Swan, where we were entertained friendly and gently.

After supper, Jephcot repaired to us, whom we entreated that upon sureties we might rest ourselves that night, being unprovided of any thing to help ourselves withal in the prison at that present. He was content at the first, but afterwards (whether it was by persuasion, or rather, as it seemed to me, he did but of policy put off the time till he had gathered a multitude to stare and wonder upon us, and also that we should provide nothing to cheer ourselves withal,) he revoked his promise, and so by consent we were had to the prison, the multitude wondering at us. I willed Jephcot before to execute his office with mercy, telling him that they should have judgment without mercy that shewed no mercy. And this mercy I found at his hand.

He put me into a prison that same night, where I continued till I was condemned, in a place next to the dungeon, narrow of room, strong of building, and very cold, with small light, and there allowed he me a bundle of straw instead of my bed, without chair, form, or any other thing else to rest myself withal. God of his mercy gave me great patience through prayer that night, so that if it had been his pleasure I could have been contented to have ended my life. But Jephcot, and one Persey, the bishop's man, (which afterwards was my continual keeper for the most part,) came to me in

the morning ; to whom I said, This is a great extremity, God send us patience : and no more.

Then they were content that I should have a bed of mine own procurement. But I was allowed no help, neither night nor day, nor company of any man, notwithstanding my great sickness ; nor yet paper, pen, nor ink, or books, saving my New Testament in Latin, and a prayer-book which I privily stole in.

Within two days after, master Chancellor and one Temsey, a prebendary there, came to me into my prison. Master Chancellor exhorted me to conform myself to my lord and to the church. He wished to my soul no more hurt than to his own ; belike because I had laid to his charge at Coventry the seeking of my blood unjustly and wrongfully.

Now thus the second time I answered Mr. Chancellor to his exhortation, That I refused not to be ruled by that church that was content to be ordered and governed by the word of God. He asked me how I knew the word of God, but by the church ?

*Glover.* You say, the church sheweth which is the word of God ; therefore the church is above the word of God. This is no good reason in learning, said I ; for it is like unto this : John shewed the people who was Christ ; *ergo* John was above Christ. Or else, I have a man that knoweth not the king, and I tell him who was the king : am I therefore above the king ?

Mr. Chancellor said, he came not to reason with me ; and so departed. So remained I without any further conference of any man by the space of eight days, till the bishop's coming. In the which time I gave myself continually to prayer and meditation of the merciful promises of God, made unto all, without exception of persons, that call upon the name of his dear Son Jesus Christ. I found in myself daily amendment of health of body, increase of peace in conscience, and many consolations from God, by the help of his holy Spirit, and sometimes as it were a taste and glimmering of the life to come ; all for his only Son Jesus Christ's sake. To him be all praise for ever and ever.

The enemy ceased not many times sundry ways to assault me, often objecting to my conscience mine own unworthiness through the greatness of the benefit to be counted among the number of them that should suffer for Christ, for his gospel's sake. Against him I replied with the word of God, on this sort : What were all those whom God had chosen from the beginning, to be his witnesses, and to carry his name before the world ? Were they not men, as Paul and Barnabas said, as well subject to wickedness, sin, and imperfections, as other men be ? Even such were Noah, Abraham, David, and all the rest ; as Paul saith, Who gave first unto him ? And also speaking to every man, What hast thou that thou receivest not ? Likewise John, All have received of his fulness. They were no bringers of any goodness to God, but altogether receivers. They chose not God first, but he chose them. They loved not God first, but he loved them first ; yea, he both loved and chose them when they were his enemies, full of sin and corruption, and void of all goodness. He is and will be still the same God, as rich in mercy, as mighty, as able, as ready, as willing, to forgive sins without respect of person, to the world's end, of all them that call upon him. God is near, he is at hand, he is with all, in all, and refuseth none, excepteth none that faithfully in true repentance call upon him, in what hour, what place, or what time, soever it be. It is no arrogancy nor presumption in any man to burden God, as it were, with his promise, and is a duty to claim and challenge his aid, help, and assistance, in all our perils, dangers, and distress ; call-

ing upon him, not in the confidence of our own godliness, but in the trust of his promises made in Christ, in whom, and by whom, and for whose sake, whosoever boldly approacheth to the mercy-seat of the Father, is sure to receive whatsoever is expedient or necessary either for body or soul, in more ample wise, and large manner, than he can well wish or dare desire. His word cannot lie, Call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will hear thee, and thou shalt praise me.

I answered the enemy also on this manner : I am a sinner, and therefore unworthy to be a witness of his truth. What then ? must I deny his word, because I am not worthy to profess it ? What bring I to pass in so doing, but add sin to sin ? What is greater sin than to deny the truth of Christ's gospel ? as Christ himself beareth witness, " He that is ashamed of me or of my words, of him I will also be ashamed before my Father and all his angels. I might also by like reason forbear to do any of God's commandments.

When I am provoked to pray, the enemy may say to me, I am not worthy to pray, therefore I shall not pray : and so in like manner of all the commandments, I shall not forbear swearing, stealing, murdering, because I am not worthy to do any commandment of God. These be the delusions of the devil, and Satan's suggestions, which must be overcome by continuance of prayer, and with the word of God applied, according to the measure of every man's gift, against all assaults of the devil.

At the bishop's first coming to Litchfield, after mine imprisonment, I was called into a by-chamber next to my prison, to my lord. Before whom when I came, and saw none but his officers, chaplains, and servants, except it were an old priest, I was partly amazed, and lifted up my heart to God for his merciful aid and assistance.

My lord asked me how I liked my imprisonment ? I gave him no answer touching that question. He proceeded to persuade me to be a member of his church, which had continued so many years. As for our church, as he called it, it was not known, he said, but lately in king Edward's time.

I profess myself to be a member of that church (said I) that is builded upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ being the head corner-stone ; and so alleged the place of St. Paul to the Ephesians. And this church hath been from the beginning, said I, though it bear no glorious show before the world, being ever for the most part under the cross and affliction, condemned, despised, and persecuted. My lord, on the other side, contended that they were the church.

*Glover.* So cried all the clergy against the prophets of Jerusalem, saying, *Templum Domini, Templum Domini* : The church, the church of the Lord, are we. But always when I was about to speak any thing, my lord cried, Hold thy peace ; I command thee by the virtue of obedience to hold thy peace ; calling me a proud arrogant heretic.

I willed my lord to lay to my charge some particulars, and then to convince me with some scriptures and good learning.

Then my lord began to move certain questions. I refused to answer him in corners, requiring that I might make my answers openly. He said I should answer him there. I stood with him upon that point, until he said I should go to prison again, and there have neither meat nor drink till I had answered him.

Then I lifted up my heart to God, that I might stand and agree with the doctrine of his most holy word.

The first question was this, How many sacraments Christ instituted to be used in the church ?

The sacrament of baptism, (said I,) and the sacrament that he instituted at his last supper.

No more? said he.

*Glover.* To all those that declare a true and unfeigned repentance, a sure hope, trust, and confidence, in the death of Christ, to such, ministers I grant have authority to pronounce, by the power of God's word, the remission of sins.

Here, interrupting me, he would needs bear me in hand that I called this a sacrament. I would not much contend with him in that point, because that matter was of no great weight or importance; although he in so doing did me wrong, for I called it not a sacrament.

He asked me further, whether I allowed their confession? I answered, No.

Then he would know my mind what I thought of the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament.

I answered, that their mass was neither sacrifice nor sacrament, because (said I) you have taken away the true institution, which when you restore again, I will tell you my judgment, concerning Christ's body in the sacrament.

And thus much did this worthy martyr of God leave behind him by his own hand in writing concerning the manner of his using and treating in prison, and also of his conflicts had with the bishop and his chancellor. More examinations he had, no doubt, with the bishop in the public consistory, when he was brought forth to be condemned, which also he would have left unto us, if either length of life, or leisure of time, or haste of execution, had permitted him to finish that he intended; but by reason of the writ of his burning being come down from London, lack of time neither did serve him so to do, neither could I get the records of his last examinations.

Only this which I could learn by relation of one Austen Bernher, a minister, and a familiar friend of his, concerning the going to his death: I can report, that the said blessed servant of the Lord, Mr. Robert Glover, after he was condemned by the bishop, and was now at a point to be delivered out of this world, it so happened, that two or three days before, his heart being lumpish, and desolate of all spiritual consolation, felt in himself no aptness nor willingness, but rather a dulness and heaviness of spirit, full of much discomfort to bear the bitter cross of martyrdom ready to be laid upon him. Whereupon fearing in himself lest the Lord had utterly withdrawn his wonted favour from him, he made his moan to this Austen, his friend above remembered, signifying unto him how earnestly he had prayed day and night unto the Lord, and yet could receive no motion nor sense of any comfort from him.

Unto whom the said Austen answering again, willed and desired him patiently to wait the Lord's pleasure, and howsoever his present feeling was, yet seeing his cause was just and true, he exhorted him constantly to stick to the same, and to play the man, nothing misdoubting but the Lord in his good time would visit him, and satisfy his desire with plenty of consolation; whereof, he said, he was right certain and sure, and therefore desired him, whensoever any such feeling of God's heavenly mercies should begin to touch his heart, that then he should shew some signification thereof, whereby he might witness with him the same; and so departed from him.

The next day, when the time came of his martyrdom, as he was going to the place, and was now come to the sight of the stake, although all the night before praying for strength and courage he could feel none, suddenly he was so mightily replenished with God's holy comfort and heavenly joys that he cried out, clapping his hands, to Austen,

and saying in these words, "Austen, he is come! he is come!" &c. and that with such joy and alacrity, as one seeming rather to be risen from some deadly danger to liberty of life, than as one passing out of the world by any pains of death. Such was the change of the marvellous working of the Lord's hand upon that good man.

*CORNELIUS BUNGEY, fellow Martyr with Mr. R. Glover.*

In the same fire with him was burned also *Cornelius Bungey*, a capper, of Coventry, and condemned by the said Radulph, bishop of Coventry and Litchfield. As concerning the articles which were to him objected, the effect thereof was this:

First, it was articulated against him, that these three years last, in the city of Coventry and Litchfield, and other places about, he did hold, maintain, argue, and teach, that the priest hath no power here to absolve any sinner from his sins.

Secondly, That by baptism sins be not washed away, because, he said, that the washing of the flesh purgeth the flesh outwardly, and not the soul.

Thirdly, That there be in the church only two sacraments, that is, baptism and the Lord's supper.

Fourthly, That in the sacrament of the popish altar was not the real body and blood of Christ, but the substance of bread and wine there remaining still, because St. Paul calleth it bread and wine, &c.

Fifthly, That he within the compass of the said years and time, did hold, maintain, and defend, that the pope is not the head of the visible church here on earth, &c.

Sixthly, That he was of the diocese and jurisdiction of the bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, &c.

Seventhly, That the premises are true, manifest, and notorious, and that upon the same there hath been and is a public voice and fame, as well in the places above rehearsed, as in other quarters also about, &c.

*His Answer.*

Unto which articles he answered again: To the first he granted, and to every part thereof, meaning after the popish manner of absolution.

To the second he granted first, afterwards revoked the same.

To the third also he granted, adding withal, that in scripture there be no more contained.

To the fourth, touching the sacrament, he granted, and to every part thereof.

To the fifth, concerning the pope, likewise.

Also to the sixth he granted, and likewise to the seventh.

Upon these articles and his answers to the same, the said Radulph, the bishop, read the sentence, and so committed him also, after condemnation of Mr. Robert Glover, to the secular power.

Thus this aforesaid Cornelius, falsely condemned by the bishop before-mentioned, suffered at the same stake with the Christian martyr, Mr. Robert Glover, at Coventry, about the 20th day of September.

*Here followeth the Story of JOHN and WILLIAM GLOVER.*

Now that we have discoursed of Mr. Robert Glover, something also should be touched of his other two brethren, *John* and *William Glover*. Who, although they were not called to finish their course by like kind of martyrdom in the fire as the other did, yet because for their constant profession of

God's gospel, unto the latter end, they were exempted after their death, and cast out of the same church, as the other was, I thought them not unworthy therefore in the story to be joined together, which in one cause and the same profession were not sundered one from the other.

And first concerning Mr. John Glover, the eldest brother, what inward storms and agonies he sustained by the ghostly enemy, partly ye heard before described; and now what his bodily enemies wrought against him, remains to be declared: whose rage and malice, although God restrained that they could little prevail against him so long as his life endured, yet after his decease, having power upon him, what they did ye shall now understand.

After the martyrdom of Mr. Robert Glover, although John Glover, seeing his brother to be apprehended for him, had small joy of his life, for the great sorrow of his heart where-with he was sore oppressed, and would gladly have put himself in his brother's stead, if friends had not otherwise persuaded him, shewing that in so doing he might entangle himself, but should do his brother no good: he thus in great care and vexation endured, yet notwithstanding rubbed out as well as he could, till at length about the latter end of queen Mary there was a new search made for the said John Glover.

Whereupon the sheriffs, with their under officers and servants, being sent to seek him, came into the house where he and his wife were. It chanced as he was in the chamber by himself, the officers bursting into the house, and searching other rooms, came to the chamber door where this John Glover was, who being within, and holding the latch softly with his hand, perceived and heard the officers busy about the door, amongst whom one of the said officers having the string in his hand, was ready to draw and pluck at the same.

In the mean time another coming by (whose voice he heard and knew) bade them come away, saying, they had been there before.—Whereupon they departing thence, went to search other corners of the house, where they found Agnes Glover, his wife; who being had to Litchfield, and there examined before the bishop, at length, after much ado, was constrained to give place to their tyranny. John Glover in the mean time, partly for care of his wife, partly through cold taken in the woods where he did lie, took an ague; whereupon not long after he left his life, which the cruel Papists so long had sought for.

Thus by the mighty protection of the Almighty, how John Glover was delivered and defended from the hands of the persecuting enemies during all the time of his life, ye have heard. Now what befell after his death, both to him and William his brother, is not unworthy to be remembered. Who after that he was dead, and buried in the church-yard without priest or clerk, Dr. Dracot, then chancellor, six weeks after sent for the parson of the town, and demanded how it chanced that he was there buried? The parson answered, That he was then sick, and knew not of it.

Then the chancellor commanded the parson to go home, and to cause the body of the said John Glover to be taken up, and to be cast over the wall into the highway. The parson again answered, that he had been six weeks in the earth, and so smelled that none would be able to abide the savour of him. Well, quoth Dr. Dracot, then take this bill, and pronounce him in the pulpit a damned soul, and a twelve-month after take up his bones, for then the flesh will be consumed, and cast them over the wall, that carts and horses may tread upon them, and then I will come and hallow again that place in the church-yard where he was buried.

Not much unlike usage was practised also by these Catholic children of the mother church upon the body of William, the third brother: whom after it had pleased Almighty God about the same season to call out of this vale of misery, the good disposed people of the town of Weme, in Shropshire, where he died, brought the body unto the parish church, intending there to have it buried. But one Bernard, being then curate of the said church, to stop the burial thereof, rode to the bishop, named Ralph Baine, to certify him of the matter, and to have his advice there. In the mean time, the body lying there a whole day, in the night time one Richard Morice, a tailor, would have interred him. But then came John Thorlyne, of Weme, with others, and would not suffer the body to be buried; expressing to us the contrary examples of good Tobit: for as he was religious in burying the dead, so this man putteth religion in not burying the dead. So that after he had lain there two days and one night, cometh the aforesaid Bernard, the curate, with the bishop's letter, the contents of which letter being copied out word for word, here followeth:

*A Copy of the Bishop's Letter, written to the Parish of Weme.*

"Understanding that one Glover, an heretic, is dead in the parish of Weme, which Glover hath for all the time of my being in this country been known for a rebel against our holy faith and religion, a contemner of the holy sacraments and ceremonies used in the holy church, and hath separated himself from the holy communion of all good Christian men, and never required to be reconciled to our mother holy church, nor in his last days did call for his ghostly father, but died without all rites belonging to a Christian man: I thought it good not only to command the curate of Weme that he should not be buried in Christian man's burial, but also will and command all the parish of Weme, that no man procure, help, nor speak, to have him buried in holy ground; but I do charge and command the churchwardens of Weme in special, and all the parish of the same, that they assist the said curate in defending and letting, and procuring that he be not buried either in the church, or within the wanybles of the church-yard. And likewise I charge those that brought the body to the place, to carry it away again, and that at their charge, as they will answer at their peril, At Ecclesch, this 6th of September, anno 1558.

"By your ordinary,

"RADULPH, Coventry and Litchfield."

By the virtue of this aforesaid letter, so it fell out, that they which brought the corpse thither, were fain at their own charges to carry it back again. But for so much as the body was corrupted, and smelt so strongly that no man might come near it, they were forced to draw it with horses into a broom-field, and there was he buried.

The like example of charitable affection in these Catholic churchmen is also to be seen and noted in the burying of one EDWARD BURTON, esquire, who in the diocese of Chester, departing out of this world the very day before queen Elizabeth was crowned, required of his friends, as they would answer for it, that his body should be buried in the parish church, (which was St. Chad's in Shrewsbury,) so that no mass-monger should be present thereat.—Which thing being declared to the curate of that parish, named Sir John Marshall, and the body being withal brought to the burial, upon the same day when the queen was crowned, the curate being therewith offended, said plainly, that he should not be buried in the church there. Whereunto one of his

friends, named George Torperly, answering again, said, that God would judge him in the last day, &c. Then answered the priest, Judge God or devil, the body shall not come there. And so they buried him in his own garden; where he is, no doubt, as near the kingdom of heaven as if he had been buried in the midst of the church.

Moreover, in the said county of Salop, I find that one OLIVER RICHARDINE, of the parish of Whitchurch, was burned in Hartford-west, Sir John Ygone being sheriff the same time, which seemeth to be about the latter year of king Henry VIII. Whose name, because it was not mentioned before, I thought here to give some little notice of him, having now in hand to speak of the persecution within the diocese of Coventry and Litchfield.

*The Martyrdom of WILLIAM WOLSEY, and ROBERT PYGOT, Painter.*

After the suffering of Mr. Robert Glover, and Cornelius Bungey, at Coventry, followeth next the condemnation of other two blessed martyrs, which were judged and condemned at Ely, by John Fuller, the bishop's chancellor of Ely, Dr. Shaxton, his suffragan, R. Steward, dean of Ely, Jno. Christopherson, dean of Norwich, anno 1555, October 9th; the names of which martyrs were *William Wolsey*, and *Robert Pygot*, dwelling both in the town of Wisbeach, which William Wolsey being a constable, dwelling in the town of Well, was there brought to death by the means and procurement of one Richard Everard, gentleman, a justice appointed for those days, who cruelly handled the said William Wolsey, and bound him to the good appearing, causing him to put in sureties upon his good behaviour, until the next general sessions holden within the isle of Ely; and so the said Wolsey being despatched of his office, and brought in trouble, removed his house and dwelling-place, coming to dwell in the town of Wisbeach. Then being called again at the next session, he was still constrained to put in new sureties, which at length he refused to do, and so was commanded to the gaol at the assize holden at Ely in Lent.

In the Easter-week following, there repaired to confer with him Dr. Fuller, the chancellor, with Christopherson, and one Dr. Young, who laid earnestly to his charge, that he was out of the Catholic faith, willing him to meddle no further with the scriptures than it did become such a layman as he was to do. The said William Wolsey standing still a great while, suffering them to say their pleasure, at the last answering in this wise: Good Mr. Doctor, what did our Saviour Christ mean, when he spake these words written in the 23d chapter of St. Matthew's gospel, "Wo be unto you, scribes and Pharisees, ye hypocrites, for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven before men: ye yourselves go not in, neither suffer ye them that come to enter in?"

Yea, saith Dr. Fuller, you must understand, that Christ spake to the scribes and pharisees.

Nay, master Doctor, saith Wolsey, Christ spake even to you, and your fellows here present, and to all other such like as you be.

Away, master Doctor, said Christopherson, for you can do no good with this man. Yet saith Dr. Fuller, I will leave thee a book to read, I promise thee, of a learned man's doing, that is to say, of Dr. Watson's doing, (who was then bishop of Lincoln.)

Wolsey, receiving the same book, did diligently read it over, which in many places did manifestly appear contrary to the known truth of God's word. At length, a fortnight or three weeks following, the said Dr. Fuller resorting again to

the prison-house to confer with the said Wolsey, did ask him how he did like the said book, thinking that he had won him by the reading of the same; who answered him, and said, Sir, I like the book no otherwise than I thought before I should find it. Whereupon the chancellor taking his book, departed home.

At night, when Dr. Fuller came to his chamber to look on it, he did find in many places, contrary to his mind, the book erased with a pen by the said Wolsey. The which he seeing, and being vexed therewith, said, Oh this is an obstinate heretic, and hath quite marred my book.

Then the assizes holden at Wisbeach drawing nigh, Dr. Fuller cometh again to Wolsey, and speaketh unto him in this manner: Thou dost much trouble my conscience: wherefore I pray thee depart and rule thy tongue, so that I hear no more complaint of thee, and come to the church when thou wilt; and if thou be complained upon, so far as I may I promise thee I will not hear of it.

Master Doctor, quoth Wolsey, I was brought hither by a law, and by a law I will be delivered.

Then being brought to the sessions before-named, Wolsey was laid in the castle at Wisbeach, thinking to him and all his friends that he should have suffered there at that present time; but it proved otherwise.

Then Robert Pygot, the painter, being at liberty, was there presented by some evil disposed persons (sworn men, as they called them) for not coming to the church.

The said Pygot being called in the sessions, would not absent himself, but there did plainly appear before Sir Clement Hygham, being judge; who said unto him, Ah, are you the holy father the painter? How chance ye came not to the church?

Sir, quoth the painter, I am not out of the church, I trust in God.

No, Sir, said the judge: this is no church, this is a hall.

Yea, sir, said Pygot, I know very well it is a hall; but he that is in the true faith of Jesus Christ, is never absent, but present in the church of God.

Ah, sirrah, said the judge, you are too high learned for me to talk withal; wherefore I will send you to them that be better learned than I: straightways commanding him to the gaol where Wolsey lay. So the sessions being broken up and ended, the said Wolsey and Pygot were carried again to Ely into prison, where they both did remain till the day of their death.

In the mean time certain of their neighbours of Wisbeach aforesaid, being at Ely, came to see how they did. There came thither also a chaplain of bishop Godrikes, a Frenchman born, one Peter Volentius, who said unto the said Wolsey and Pygot, "My brethren, according to mine office, I am come to talk with you; for I have been almoner here these twenty years and above. Wherefore I must desire you, my brethren, to take it in good part that I am come to talk with you; I promise you not to pull you from your faith. But I both require and desire, in the name of Jesus Christ, that you stand to the truth of the gospel and word; and I beseech the Almighty God, for his Son Jesus Christ's sake, to preserve both you and me in the same unto the end. For I know not myself, my brethren, how soon I shall be at the same point that you now are." Thus with many other like words he made an end, causing all that were there present to water their cheeks, contrary to the hope they all had in him; God be praised therefore.

Then within short time after, Pygot and Wolsey were called to judgment about the 9th day of October, before Dr. Fuller, then chancellor, with old Dr. Shaxton, Christo-



pherson, and others in commission, who laid earnestly to their charge for their belief in divers articles, but especially of the sacrament of the altar. Whereunto their answer was, That the sacrament of the altar was an idol, and that the natural body and blood of Christ were not present really in the said sacrament; and to this opinion they said they would stick, believing perfectly the same to be no heresy that they had affirmed, but the very truth, whereunto they would stand. Then said the doctors, that they were out of the Catholic faith.

Then Dr. Shaxton said unto them, Good brethren, remember yourselves, and become new men; for I myself was in this fond opinion that you are now in, but I am now become a new man.

Ah, said Wolsey, are you become a new man! Wo be to thee, thou wicked new man, for God shall justly judge thee.

Dr. Fuller then spake, saying, This Wolsey is an obstinate fellow, and one that I could never do good upon; but as for the painter, he is a man quiet and indifferent, as far as I perceive, and is soon reformed, and may very well be delivered, for any evil opinion I find in him.

Then Christopherson called for pen and ink, and wrote those words following: "I, Robert Pygot, do believe, that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest, there remaineth no more bread and wine, but the very body and blood of Christ really and substantially, the self-same that was born of the Virgin Mary." And reading it to the painter, he said thus, Dost thou believe all this according as it is written?

*Pygot.* No, Sir; that is your faith, and not mine.

*Christop.* Lo, master Dr. Fuller, you would have let this fellow go! he is as much an heretic as the other.

And so immediately judgment was given upon them to die. Which done, after the sentence read, they were sent again to the prison, where they did lie till the day of their death. At which day one Peacock, bachelor of divinity, being appointed to preach, took his text out of the first epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, chap. v. of one that had lived inordinately by abusing his father's wife; likening the said Pygot and Wolsey to the same man, oftentimes saying, that such members must be cut off from the congregation; most maliciously reporting the said Wolsey to be clean out of the faith, and in many places quite denying the scripture.

So his sermon being ended, the forenamed Pygot and Wolsey being brought to the place of execution, and so bound to the stake with a chain, thither cometh one Sir Richard Collinson, a priest, at that time destitute of any bidding place or stay of benefice; who said unto Wolsey, "Brother Wolsey, the preacher hath openly reported in his sermon this day that you are quite out of the Catholic faith, and deny baptism, and that you do err in the holy scripture; wherefore I beseech you, for the certifying of my conscience, with others here present, that you declare in what place of the scripture you do err or find fault."

*Wolsey.* I take the eternal and everlasting God to witness, that I do err in no part or point in God's book, the holy Bible, but hold and believe in the same to be most firm and sound doctrine in all points, most worthy for my salvation, and for all other Christians to the end of the world; whatsoever mine adversaries report of me, God forgive them therefore.

With that cometh one to the fire with a great sheet knit full of books to burn, like as they had been New Testaments. O, said Wolsey, give me one of them; and Pygot desired another, both of them clapping them close to their

breasts, saying the 106th Psalm, desiring all the people to say Amen; and so received the fire most thankfully.

Concerning the story of William Wolsey, I received moreover from the university of Cambridge, by a credible person, and my faithful friend William Fulke, this relation, which I thought in this place not unmeet to be notified unto the reader in order and form as followeth:

There were burned at Ely two godly martyrs, the one called Wolsey, the other Pygot.

In these two appeared a diverse disposition of spirit: Pygot was mild, humble, and modest, promising that he would be conformable to his persecutors, if they could persuade him by the scripture. The other, Wolsey, was stout, strong, and vehement, as one having πληροφοριαν of the Spirit, and detested all their doings, as of whom he was sure to receive nothing but cruelty and tyranny. He was wonderfully jealous over his companion, fearing lest his gentle nature would have been overcome by the flattering enticements of the world; and therefore the same day that they were burned, when they would have talked with him alone, he pulled him away from them almost by force. He was so desirous to glorify God with his suffering, that being wonderfully sore tormented in the prison with the toothache, he feared nothing more than that he should depart before the day of execution (which he called his glad day) were come.

This Wolsey being in prison at Ely, was visited by Thos. Hodilo, beer-brewer, in Ely; to him he delivered certain money to be distributed, as he appointed, part to his wife, and part to his kinsfolks and friends, and especially six shillings and eightpence to be delivered to one Richard Denton, smith, dwelling at Wells, in Cambridgeshire, within the jurisdiction of the Isle of Ely, with his commendation, that he marvelled that he tarried so long behind him, seeing that he was the first that delivered him the book of scripture into his hand, and told him that it was the truth; desiring him to make haste after as fast as he could.

This Thomas Hodilo, both to avoid the danger of the time, and to have a witness of his doings herein, delivered the said sum of money to one Mr. Lawrence, preacher in Essex, (when they resorted often to his house,) to be distributed as Wolsey had appointed; which thing he performed, riding from place to place. And when this six shillings and eightpence was delivered to Richard Denton, with the commendation aforesaid, his answer was this, "I confess it is true; but, alas! I cannot burn." This was almost one whole year after Wolsey was burned. But he that could not burn in the cause of Christ, was afterwards burned against his will, when Christ had given peace to his church: for in the year of our Lord 1564, on Tuesday, being the 18th of April, his house was set on fire, and while he went in to save his goods, he lost his life, with two others that were in the same house!—How true are the words of Christ, "He who will save his life, shall lose it."

Witnessed by

THOMAS HODILO and WILLIAM FULKE.

DR. NICHOLAS RIDLEY, and MR. HUGH LATIMER, both Bishops, Preachers, and Martyrs of Christ, with their Doings, Conferences, and Sufferings, described.

The same year, month, and day, which the aforesaid two martyrs, W. Wolsey and T. Pygot, suffered at Ely, October 18, 1555, followed also at Oxford the slaughter of two other special and singular captains and principal pillars of Christ's church, Mr. Ridley, bishop of London, and Mr. Hugh Latimer, bishop some time of Worcester; of whose famous do-

ings and memorable learning, and incomparable ornaments and gifts of grace, we shall not stand exactly at this time in setting forth a full description of the same, but only speak briefly touching the order of their lives.

Among many other worthy and sundry histories and notable acts of such as of late days have been turmoiled, murdered, and martyred, for the true gospel of Christ in queen Mary's reign, the tragical story and life of Dr. Ridley I thought good to commend to chronicle, and leave to perpetual memory; beseeching thee, gentle reader, with care and study well to peruse, diligently to consider, and deeply to print the same in the breast, seeing him to be a man beautified with such excellent qualities, so ghostly inspired and godly learned, and now written doubtless in the book of life, with the blessed saints of the Almighty, crowned and throned amongst the glorious company of martyrs. First, descending of a stock right worshipful, he was born in Northumberland, who being a child, learned his grammar with great dexterity in Newcastle, and was removed from thence to the university of Cambridge, where he in short time became so famous, that for his singular aptness he was called to higher functions and offices of the university, by degree attaining thereunto, and was called to be head of Pembroke-hall, and there made doctor of divinity. After this, departing from thence, he travelled to Paris, and at his return was made chaplain to king Henry VIII. and promoted afterward by him to the bishopric of Rochester, and so from thence translated to the see and bishopric of London, in king Edward's days.

In which calling and offices he so travelled and occupied himself by preaching and teaching the true and wholesome doctrine of Christ, that never good child was more singularly loved of his dear parents, than he of his flock and diocese. Every holiday and Sunday he preached in some one place or other, except he were otherwise hindered by weighty affairs and business; to whose sermons the people resorted, swarming about him like bees, and coveting the sweet flowers and wholesome juice of the fruitful doctrine, which he did not only preach, but shewed the same by his life, as a glittering lantern to the eyes and senses of the blind, in such pure order and chastity of life, that even his very enemies could not reprove him in any one jot.

Besides this, he was passingly well learned, his memory was great, and he of such reading withal, that of right he deserved to be comparable to the best of this our age, as can testify as well divers his notable works, pithy sermons, and sundry his disputations in both the universities; and also his very adversaries, all which will say no less themselves.

Besides all this, wise he was of counsel, deep of wit, and very politic in all his doings. How merciful and careful he was to reduce the obstinate Papists from their erroneous opinions, and by gentleness to win them to the truth, his gentle ordering and courteous handling of Dr. Heath, late archbishop of York, being prisoner with him in king Edward's time in his house one year, sufficiently declareth. In fine, he was such a prelate, and in all points so good, godly, and spiritual a man, that England may justly rue the loss of so worthy a treasure.

Now will I speak something more particularly of his person and conditions. He was a man right comely and well proportioned in all points, both in complexion and lineaments of the body. He took all things in good part, bearing no malice or rancour from his heart, but straightways forgetting all injuries and offences done against him. He was very kind to his kinsfolk, and yet not bearing with them

any thing otherwise than right would require, giving them always for a general rule, yea, to his own brother and sister, that they doing evil should seek or look for nothing at his hand, but should be as strangers and aliens unto him, and they to be his brother and sister which did honestly, and lived a godly life.

He using all kinds of ways to mortify himself, was given to much prayer and contemplation; for duly every morning, as soon as his apparel was on him, he went forth to his bed-chamber, and there upon his knees prayed the space of half an hour; which being done, immediately he went to his study, (if there came no other business to interrupt him,) where he continued till ten of the clock, and then came to the common prayer, daily used in his house. The prayers being done, he went to dinner; where he used little talk, except otherwise occasion by some had been ministered, and then was it sober, discreet, and wise, and sometimes merry, as cause required.

The dinner done, which was not very long, he used to sit an hour or thereabouts amusing himself with his friends. That done, he returned to his study, and there would continue, except suitors or business abroad were occasion of the contrary, until five o'clock at night, and then would come to common prayer, as in the forenoon; which being finished, he went to supper, behaving himself there as at his dinner before. After supper, recreating himself the space of an hour, he would then return again to his study, continue there till eleven o'clock at night, which was his common hour to go to bed, then saying his prayers upon his knees as in the morning when he rose. Being at his manor of Fulham, as divers times he used to be, he read daily a lecture to his family at the common prayer, beginning at the Acts of the Apostles, and so going through all the epistles of St. Paul, giving to every man that could read it, a New Testament, hiring them besides with money to learn by heart certain principal chapters, but especially the 13th chap. of the Acts, reading also unto his household oftentimes the 101st Psalm, being marvellous careful over his family, that they might be a spectacle of all virtue and honesty to others. To be short, as he was godly and virtuous himself, so nothing but virtue and godliness reigned in his house, feeding them with the food of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Now remaineth a word or two to be declared of his gentle nature and kind pity in the usage of an old woman, called Mrs. Bonner, mother of Dr. Bonner, some time bishop of London, which I thought good to touch, as well for the rare clemency of Dr. Ridley, as the unworthy inhumanity and ungrateful disposition again of Dr. Bonner. Bishop Ridley being at his manor of Fulham, always sent for this said Mrs. Bonner, dwelling in a house adjoining to his house, to dinner and supper, with one Mrs. Mongey, Bonner's sister, saying, Go for my mother Bonner; who coming, was ever placed in the chair at the table's end, being so gently treated, welcomed, and taken, as though he had been born of her own body, being never displaced of her seat, although the king's council had been present, saying, when any of them were there, (as divers times they were,) By your lordship's favour, this place of right and custom is for my mother Bonner.

But how well he was recompensed for this his singular gentleness afterwards at the hands of the said Dr. Bonner, almost the least child that goeth by the ground can declare. For who afterwards was more an enemy to Ridley than Bonner and his? Who more went about seeking his destruction than he, recompensing this his gentleness with extreme cruelty? As well appeared by the strait handling of Ridley.

own sister and George Shipside, her husband, from time to time: whereas the gentleness of the other did suffer Bonner's mother, sister, and other of his kindred, not only quietly to enjoy all that which they had of Bonner, but also entertained them in his house, shewing much courtesy and friendship daily unto them. Whereas on the other side, bishop Bonner being restored again, would not suffer the brother and sister of bishop Ridley, and other his friends, not only not to enjoy that which they had by the said their brother bishop Ridley, but also curiously, without all order of law or honesty, by extort power, wrested from them all the livings they had.

And yet being not therewith satisfied, he sought all the means he could to work the death of the aforesaid Shipside, saying, that he would make twelve goldfathers to go upon him; which had been brought to pass indeed, at the time he was prisoner at Oxford, had not God otherwise wrought his deliverance by means of Dr. Heath, then the bishop of Worcester.

Now concerning God's vocation, how Dr. Ridley was first called to the savouring and favouring of Christ and his gospel, partly by his disputation before, and other his treaties, it may appear, that the first occasion of his conversion was by the reading of Bertram's book of the sacrament, whom also the conference with bishop Cranmer, and with Peter Martyr, did not a little confirm in that behalf. Who now by the grace of God being thoroughly won and brought to the true way, as he was before blind and zealous in his old ignorance, so was he constant and faithful in the right knowledge which the Lord had opened unto him, (as well appeared by his preachings and doings during all the time of king Edward,) and so long did much good. But after that it so pleased the heavenly will of the Lord our God, to bereave us of our stay, and call from us king Edward, that precious prince, as the whole state of the church of England was left desolate and open to the enemy's hand: so this bishop Ridley, after the coming in of queen Mary, was the first on whom they laid hands, and committed to prison, as before hath sufficiently been expressed; first in the Tower, and then after translated from thence, with the archbishop of Canterbury and Mr. Latimer, to Oxford, was with them enclosed in the common gaol and prison of Bocardo, while at length, being dis severed from them, he was committed to custody in the house of one Irish, where he remained till the last day of his death and martyrdom, which was from the year of our Lord 1554 till the year 1555, and 16th day of October. But of his examinations and martyrdom, we shall have occasion to speak more particularly after we have given some account of Mr. Latimer.

*The Life and Acts of Mr. Hugh Latimer, the famous Preacher and worthy Martyr of Jesus Christ.*

After the life of bishop Ridley, followeth likewise the life and doings of the worthy champion, and old practised soldier of Christ, Mr. Hugh Latimer. He was the son of one Hugh Latimer, of Thirkesson, in the county of Leicester, a husbandman of right good estimation; with whom also he was brought up until he was of the age of four years, or thereabout. At which time his parents (having him as then left for their only son, with six other daughters) seeing his ready, prompt, and sharp wit, purposed to train him up in erudition and knowledge of good literature; wherein he so profited in his youth at the common schools of his own country, that at the age of 14 years he was sent to the university of Cambridge. Where, after some continuance of exercises in other things, he gave himself to the study of such school divinity as the ignorance of that age did suffer.

Zealous he was then in the popish religion, and therewith so scrupulous, as himself confessed, that being a priest, and using to say mass, he was so servile an observer of the Romish decrees, that he thought he had never sufficiently mingled his massing wine with water; and, moreover, that he should never be damned if he were once a professed friar, with divers such superstitious fancies.

Notwithstanding, such was the goodness and merciful purpose of God, he was at length himself caught in the blessed net of God's word. For Mr. Thomas Bilney (whose story is before described) being at that time a searcher-out of Satan's subtleties, and a secret overthrower of Anti-christ's kingdom, seeing Mr. Latimer to have a zeal in his ways, although without knowledge, was stricken with a brotherly pity towards him, and bethought by what means he might best win this zealous ignorant brother to the true knowledge of Christ. Wherefore, after a short time, he came to Mr. Latimer's study, and desired him to hear him make his confession; which thing he willingly granted. By hearing whereof he was, through the good Spirit of God, so touched, that hereupon he forsook his former studying of the school doctors, and other such fopperies, and became an earnest student of true divinity, as he himself, as well in his conference with Mr. Ridley, as also in his first sermon made upon the Paternoster, doth confess. So that whereas before he was an enemy, and almost a persecutor, of Christ, he was now a zealous seeker after him, changing his old manner of cavilling and railing into a diligent kind of conferring both with Mr. Bilney and others.

After this his winning to Christ, he was not satisfied with his own conversion only, but, like a true disciple of the blessed Samaritan, pitied the misery of others, and therefore became both a public preacher, and also a private instructor to the rest of his brethren within the university, by the space of three years, spending his time partly in the Latin tongue among the learned, and partly among the simple people in his natural and vulgar language. Howbeit, as Satan never sleepeth when he seeth his kingdom to begin to decay, so likewise now, seeing that this worthy member of Christ would be a shrewd shaker thereof, he raised up his impious imps to molest and trouble him.

Amongst these there was an Augustine friar, who took occasion, upon certain sermons that Mr. Latimer made about Christmas, 1529, as well in the church of St. Edward, as also in St. Augustine's, within the university of Cambridge, to inveigh against him, for that Mr. Latimer in his said sermons (alluding to the common usage of the season) gave the people certain cards out of the 5th, 6th, and 7th chapters of St. Matthew, whereupon they might, not only then, but always else, occupy their time. For the triumph in the cards he limited the heart, as the principal thing that they should serve God withal, whereby he quite overthrew all hypocritical and external ceremonies, not tending to the necessary furtherance of God's holy word and sacraments. For the better attaining hereof he wished the scriptures to be in English, whereby the common people might the better learn their duties, as well to God as their neighbours.

The handling of this matter was so apt for the time, and so pleasantly applied of him, that not only it declared a singular towardness of wit in the preacher, but also wrought in the hearers much fruit, to the overthrow of popish superstition, and setting up of the perfect religion.

This was upon the Sunday before Christmas-day: on which day coming to the church, and causing the bell to be tolled to a sermon, he entered into the pulpit, taking for his text the words of the gospel aforesaid, read in the church

that day, *Tu quis est?* Who art thou? In delivering the which cards, he made the heart to be triumph, exhorting and inviting all men thereby to serve the Lord with inward heart and true affection, and not with outward ceremonies: adding moreover to the praise of that triumph, that though it were never so small, yet it would take up the best court card beside in the bunch, yea, though it were the king of clubs, &c. meaning thereby how the Lord would be worshipped and served in simplicity of heart and verity, wherein consisteth true Christian religion, and not in the outward deeds of the letter only, or in the glistening show of man's traditions, or pardons, pilgrimages, ceremonies, vows, devotions, voluntary works, and works of supererogation, foundations, oblations, the pope's supremacy, &c. so that all these either were needless, where the other is present, or else were of small estimation in comparison of the other.

As this sermon is curious in itself, and strongly marked the gross ignorance of those times in which popery, that grand darkener of the human mind, ruled, it is thought necessary to present it in its native form to the reader, begging him at the same time to remember, that necessity and the barbarity of the times could alone sanction such a mode of illustrating the word of God.

*The tenor and effect of certain Sermons made by Mr. Latimer in Cambridge about the year of our Lord 1529.*

“*Tu quis est?*” which words are as much as to say in English, Who art thou? These be the words of the Pharisees, which were sent by the Jews unto St. John Baptist in the wilderness, to have knowledge of him who he was; which words they spake unto him of an evil intent, thinking that he would have taken on him to be Christ, and so they would have had him done with their good wills, because they knew that he was more given to their laws than Christ indeed should be, as they perceived by their old prophecies; and also because they marvelled much of his great doctrine, preaching, and baptizing, they were in doubt whether he was Christ or not: wherefore they said unto him, Who art thou? Then answered St. John, and confessed that he was not Christ. Now here is to be noted the great and prudent answer of St. John Baptist unto the Pharisees, that when they required of him who he was, he would not directly answer of himself what he was himself, but he said he was not Christ; by the which saying he thought to put the Jews and Pharisees out of their false opinion and belief towards him, in that they would have had him to exercise the office of Christ, and so declared further unto them of Christ, saying, ‘He is in the midst of you, and amongst you, whom you know not, whose latchet of his shoe I am not worthy to unloose or undo.’ By this you may perceive that St. John spake much in the laud and praise of Christ his Master, professing himself to be in no wise like unto him. So likewise it shall be necessary unto all men and women of this world, not to ascribe unto themselves any goodness of themselves, but all unto our Lord God, as shall appear hereafter, when this question aforesaid, Who art thou? shall be moved unto them; not as the Pharisees did unto St. John, of an evil purpose, but of a good and simple mind.

“Now then, according to the preacher's mind, let every man and woman, of a good and simple mind, contrary to the Pharisees' intent, ask this question, Who art thou? This question must be moved to themselves, what they be of themselves, on this fashion: What art thou of thy only and natural generation between father and mother, when thou camest into the world? What substance, what virtue, what goodness, art thou of by thyself? Which questions if thou

rehearse oftentimes unto thyself, thou shalt well perceive and understand how thou shalt make answer unto it; which must be made on this wise: I am of myself, and by myself, coming from my natural father and mother, the child of the ire and indignation of God, the true inheritor of hell, a lump of sin, and working nothing of myself, but all towards hell, except I have better help of another than I have of myself. Now we may see in what state we enter into this world, that we be of ourselves the true and just inheritors of hell, the children of the ire and indignation of Christ, working all towards hell, whereby we deserve of ourselves perpetual damnation, by the right judgment of God, and the true claim of ourselves: which unthrifty state that we be born unto is come unto us for our own deserts, as proveth well this example following.

“Let it be admitted for the probation of this, that it might please the king's grace now being, to accept unto his favour a mean man, of simple degree and birth, not born to any possession, whom the king's grace favoureth, not because this person hath of himself deserved any such favour, but that the king casteth his favour unto him of his own mere motion and fancy: and because the king's grace will more declare his favour unto him, he giveth unto this said man a thousand pounds in lands, to him and his heirs, on this condition, that he shall take upon him to be the chief captain and defender of his town of Calais, and to be true and faithful to him in the custody of the same, against the Frenchmen especially, above all other enemies.

“This man taketh on him this charge, promising his fidelity thereunto. It chanceth in process of time, that by the singular acquaintance and frequent familiarity of this captain with the Frenchmen, these Frenchmen give unto the said captain of Calais a great sum of money, so that he will be but content and agreeable that they may enter into the said town of Calais by force of arms, and so thereby possess the same unto the crown of France: upon this agreement the French do invade the said town of Calais, only by the negligence of this captain.

“Now the king's grace hearing of this invasion, cometh with a great puissance to defend this his said town, and so by good policy of war overcometh the said Frenchmen, and entereth again into his town of Calais. Then he being desirous to know how these enemies of his came thither, he maketh profound search and inquiry by whom this treason was conspired. By this search it was known and found his own captain to be the very author and the beginner of the betraying of it. The king, seeing the great infidelity of this person, dischargeth this man of his office, and taketh from him and his heirs this thousand pounds possessions. Think you not that the king doth use justice unto him, and all his posterity and heirs? Yes, truly: the said captain cannot deny himself but that he had true justice, considering how unfaithfully he behaved himself to his prince, contrary to his own fidelity and promise. So likewise it was of our first father, Adam: he had given unto him the spirit and science of knowledge, to work all goodness therewith; this said spirit was not given alone unto him, but unto all his heirs and posterity. He had also delivered him the town of Calais, that is to say, paradise in earth, the most strong and fair town in the world, to be in his custody. He nevertheless, by the instigation of these Frenchmen, i. e. the temptations of the fiend, did obey unto their desire; and so he brake his promise and fidelity, the commandment of the everlasting King his Master, in eating of the fruit by him inhibited.

“Now then, the king seeing this great treason in his captain, deposed him of the thousand pounds of possessions,



that is to say, from everlasting life in glory, and all his heirs and posterity: for likewise as he had the spirit of science and knowledge for him and his heirs, so in like manner when he lost the same, his heirs also lost it by him and in him. So now, this example proveth, that by our father Adam we had once in him the very inheritance of everlasting joy; and by him, and in him again, we lost the same.

"The heirs of the captain of Calais could not by any manner of claim ask of the king the right and title of their father, in the thousand pounds possessions, by reason the king might answer and say unto them, that although their father deserved not of himself to enjoy so great possessions, yet he deserved by himself to lose them, and greater, committing so high treason as he did against his prince's commandments; whereby he had no wrong to lose his title, but was unworthy to have the same, and had therein true justice; let not you think, which be his heirs, that if he had justice to lose his possessions, you have wrong to lose the same. In the same manner it may be answered unto all men and women now being, that if our father Adam had true justice to be excluded from his possession of everlasting glory in paradise, let us not think the contrary, that be his heirs, but that we have no wrong in losing also the same; yea, we have true justice and right. Then in what miserable estate we be, that of the right and just title of our own deserts have lost the everlasting joy, and claim of ourselves to be true inheritors of hell! For he that committeth deadly sin willingly, bindeth himself to be an inheritor of everlasting pain: and so did our forefather Adam willingly eat of the forbidden fruit.—Wherefore he was cast out of the everlasting joy in paradise into this corrupt world, amongst all vile-ness, whereby of himself he was not worthy to do any thing laudable or pleasant to God, evermore bound to corrupt affections and beastly appetites, transformed into the uncleanest and most variable nature that was made under heaven; of whose seed and disposition all the world is lineally descended, insomuch, that this evil nature is so diffused and shed from one into another, that at this day there is no man nor woman living that can of themselves wash away this abominable vileness: and so we must needs grant of ourselves to be in like displeasure unto God, as our father Adam was; by reason hereof, as I said, we be of ourselves the very children of the indignation and vengeance of God, the true inheritors of hell, and working all towards hell: which is the answer to this question made to every man and woman by themselves, Who art thou?

"And now the world standing in this damnable state, cometh in the occasion of the incarnation of Christ. The Father in heaven perceiving the frail nature of man, that he by himself and of himself could do nothing for himself, by his prudent wisdom sent down the second Person in Trinity, his Son Jesus Christ, to declare unto man his pleasure and commandment: and so at the Father's will Christ took on him human nature, being willing to deliver man out of this miserable way, and was content to suffer cruel passion in shedding his blood for all mankind, and so left behind for our safeguard laws and ordinances, to keep us always in the right path unto everlasting life, as the evangelists, the sacraments, the commandments, and so forth; which if we do keep and observe according to our profession, we shall answer better unto this question, Who art thou? than we did before. For before thou didst enter into the sacrament of baptism, thou wert but a natural man, a natural woman, as I might say, a man, a woman; but after thou takest on thee Christ's religion, thou hast a longer name; for then thou art a Christian man, a Christian woman. Now then

seeing thou art a Christian man, what shall be the answer of this question, Who art thou?

"The answer of this question is, when I ask it unto myself, I must say that I am a Christian man, a Christian woman, the child of everlasting joy, through the merits of the bitter passion of Christ. This is a joyful answer. Here we may see how much we be bound unto God, that hath revived us from death to life, and hath saved us that were damned: which great benefit we cannot well consider, unless we do remember what we were of ourselves before we meddled with him or his laws: and the more we know our feeble nature, and set less by it, the more we shall conceive and know in our hearts what God hath done for us: and the more we know what God hath done for us, the less we shall set by ourselves, and the more we shall love and please God; so that in no condition we shall either know ourselves or God, except we do utterly confess ourselves to be mere vileness and corruption. Well, now it is come unto this point, that we be Christian men, Christian women; I pray you what doth Christ require of a Christian man, or of a Christian woman? Christ requireth nothing else of a Christian man or woman, but that they will observe his rule. For likewise as he is a good Augustine friar that keepeth well St. Augustine's rule, so he is a good Christian man that keepeth well Christ's rule.

"Now then, what is Christ's rule? Christ's rule consisteth in many things, as in the commandments, and the works of mercy, and so forth. And because I cannot declare Christ's rule unto you at one time, as it ought to be done, I will apply myself according to your custom at this time of Christmas; I will, as I said, declare unto you Christ's rule, but that shall be in Christ's cards. And where you are wont to celebrate Christmas in playing at cards, I intend by God's grace to deal unto you Christ's cards, wherein you shall perceive Christ's rule. The game that we will play at shall be called the Triumph; which if it be well played at, he that dealeth shall win; the players shall likewise win, and the standers and lookers upon shall do the same; insomuch, that there is no man that is willing to play at this triumph with these cards, but they shall be all winners and no losers.

"Let therefore every Christian man and woman play at these cards, that they may have and obtain the triumph; you must mark also that the triumph must apply to fetch home unto him all the other cards, whatsoever suit they be of. Now then take ye this first card, which must appear and be shewed unto you as followeth. You have heard what was spoken to men of the old law, 'Thou shalt not kill;' whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of judgment. But I say unto you of the new law, saith Christ, that whosoever is angry with his neighbour, shall be in danger of judgment, and whosoever shall say unto his neighbour, Raca, that is to say, brainless, or any other like word of rebuking, shall be in danger of a council; and whosoever shall say unto his neighbour, 'Fool,' shall be in danger of hell-fire. This card was made and spoken by Christ, as appeareth in the 5th chapter of St. Matthew.

"Now it must be noted, that whosoever shall play with this card, must first, before they play with it, know the strength and virtue of the same: wherefore you must well note and mark terms how they be spoken, and to what purpose. Let us therefore read it once or twice, that we may be the better acquainted with it.

"Now behold and see, this card is divided into four parts: the first part is one of the commandments that was given unto Moses in the old law, before the coming of Christ, which commandment we of the new law be bound to observe



and keep, and it is one of our commandments. The other three parts spoken by Christ, be nothing else but expositions unto the first part of this commandment: for in very effect of all these four parts be but one commandment, that is to say, 'Thou shalt not kill.' Yet, nevertheless, the three last parts do shew unto thee how many ways thou mayest kill thy neighbour contrary to this commandment: yet for all Christ's exposition, in the three last parts of this card, the terms be not open enough to thee that dost read and hear them spoken. No doubt the Jews understood Christ well enough when he spake to them these three last sentences, for he spake unto them in their own natural terms and tongue: wherefore seeing that these terms were natural terms of the Jews, it shall be necessary to expound them, and compare them unto some like terms of our natural speech, that we in like manner may understand Christ as well as the Jews did. We will begin first with the first part of this card, and then after with the other three parts: You must therefore understand that the Jews, and the Pharisees of the old law, to whom this first part (this commandment, 'Thou shalt not kill') was spoken, thought it sufficient and enough for their discharge not to kill with any manner of material weapon, as sword, dagger, or with any such weapon, and they thought it no great fault whatsoever they said or did by their neighbour, so that they did not harm or meddle with their corporal bodies; which was a false opinion in them, as prove well the three last other sentences following the first part of this card.

"Now as touching the three other sentences, you must note and take heed what difference is between these three manner of offences: To be angry with your neighbour, To call your neighbour brainless, or any such word of disdain, Or to call your neighbour fool; whether these three manner of offences be of themselves more grievous one than the other, it is to be opened unto you. Truly, as they be of themselves divers offences, so they kill diversely one more than the other, as you shall perceive by the first of these three, and so forth: A man which conceiveth against his neighbour or brother, ire or wrath in his mind by some manner of occasion given unto him, although he be angry in his mind against his said neighbour, he will peradventure express his ire by no manner of sign, either in word or deed; yet nevertheless he offendeth against God, and breaketh this commandment, in killing his own soul, and is therefore in danger of judgment.

"Now to the second part of these three: That man that is moved with ire against his neighbour, and in his ire calleth his neighbour brainless, or some other like word of displeasure, as a man might say in a fury, 'I shall handle thee well enough,' which words and countenance do more represent and declare ire to be in this man than in him that was but angry, and spake no manner of word, nor shewed any countenance to declare his ire; wherefore as he that so declareth his ire either by word or countenance offendeth more against God, so he both killeth his own soul, and doth that in him is, to kill his neighbour's soul in moving him into ire, wherein he is faulty himself; and so this man is in danger of a council.

"Now to the third offence, and last of these three: That man that calleth his neighbour Fool, doth more declare his angry mind toward him than he that calleth his neighbour brainless, or any such words moving ire: but for to call a man fool, that word representeth more envy in a man than brainless doth. Wherefore he doth most offend, because he doth most earnestly with such words express his ire, and so he is in danger of hell-fire. Wherefore you may understand

how these three parts of this card be three offences, and that one is more grievous to God than the other, and that one killeth more the soul of man than the other.

"Now peradventure there be some that will marvel that Christ did not declare this commandment by some greater faults of ire, than by these which seem but small faults, as to be angry, and speak nothing of it; to declare it, and to call a man brainless; and to call his neighbour fool; truly these be the smallest and the least faults that belong to ire, or to killing in ire. Therefore beware how you offend in any kind of ire; seeing that the smallest be damnable to offend in, see that you offend not in the greatest. For Christ thought, if he might bring you from the smallest manner of faults, and give you warning to avoid the least, he reckoned you would not offend in the greatest and worst, as to call your neighbour thief, whoreson, whore, drab, and so forth, into more blasphemous names, which offences must needs have punishment in hell, considering how that Christ hath appointed these three small faults to have three degrees of punishment, as appeareth by these three terms, judgment, council, hell-fire. These three terms do signify nothing else but three divers punishments in hell, according to the offences: judgment is less in degree than council, therefore it signifieth a lesser pain in hell, and it is ordained for him that is angry in his mind with his neighbour, and doth express his malice neither by word nor countenance: council is a less degree in hell than hell-fire, and is a greater degree in hell than judgment: and it is ordained for him that calleth his neighbour brainless, or any such word, that declareth his ire and malice: wherefore it is more pain than judgment. Hell-fire is more pain in hell than council or judgment, and it is ordained for him that calleth his neighbour fool, by reason that in calling his neighbour fool, he declareth more his malice, in that it is an earnest word of ire. Wherefore hell-fire is appointed for it, that is the most pain, of the three punishments.

"Now you have heard, that to these divers offences of ire and killing, be appointed punishments according to their degrees: for look, as the offence is, so shall the pain be; if the offence be great, the pain shall be according; if it be less, there shall be less pain for it. I would not now that you should think, because that here are but three degrees of punishment spoken of, that there be no more in hell: no doubt Christ spake of no more here but of these three degrees of punishment, thinking they were sufficient enow for example, whereby we might understand, that there be as divers and many pains as there be offences: and so by these three offences, and these three punishments, all other offences and punishments may be compared with each other: yet I would satisfy your minds further in these three terms, of judgment, council, and hell-fire. Where you might say, what was the cause that Christ declared more the pains of hell by these terms, than by any other terms? I told you afore that he knew well to whom he spake them; these terms were natural and known well amongst the Jews and the Pharisees: wherefore Christ taught them with their own terms, to the intent they might understand the better his doctrine: and these terms may be likened unto three terms which we have common and usual amongst us, that is to say, the sessions of inquirance, the sessions of deliverance, and the execution day. Sessions of inquirance is like unto judgment: for when sessions of inquiry is, then the judges cause twelve men to give verdict of the felon's crime, whereby he shall be judged to be indicted. Sessions of deliverance is much like council: for at sessions of deliverance, the judges go among themselves to counsel, to determine sentence against the

felon. Execution day is to be compared unto hell-fire : for the Jews had amongst themselves a place of execution, named hell-fire ; and surely when a man goeth to his death, it is the greatest pain in this world. Wherefore you may see that there are degrees in these our terms, as there be in those terms.

"These evil-disposed affections and sensualities in us are always contrary to the rule of our salvation. What shall we do now or imagine to thrust down these Turks, and to subdue them ? It is a great ignominy and shame for a Christian man to be bond subject unto a Turk : nay, it shall not be so, we will first cast a trump in their way, and play with them at cards who shall have the better ; let us play therefore on this fashion with this card : Whensoever it shall happen these foul passions and Turks to rise in our stomachs against our brother or neighbour, either for unkind words, injuries, or wrongs, which they have done unto us, contrary unto our mind, straightways let us call unto our remembrance, and speak this question unto ourselves, Who art thou ? The answer is, I am a Christian man. Then further we must say to ourselves, What requireth Christ of a Christian man ? Now turn up your trump, your heart, (hearts is trump, as I said before,) and cast your trump, your heart, on this card, and upon this card you shall learn what Christ requireth of a Christian man, not to be angry, be moved to ire against his neighbour, in mind, countenance, nor other ways, by word or deed. Then take up this card with your heart, and lay them together ; that done, you have won the game of the Turk, whereby you have defaced and overcome by true and lawful play : but alas for pity ! the Rhodes are now won and overcome by these false Turks, the strong castle Faith is decayed, so that I fear it is almost impossible to win it again.

"The great occasion of the loss of this island of Rhodes, is by reason that Christian men do so daily kill their own nation, that the very true number of Christianity is decayed : which murder and killing one another, is increased specially two ways, to the utter undoing of Christendom, that is to say, by example and silence. By example, as thus : when the father, the mother, the lord, the lady, the master, the dame, be themselves overcome with these Turks, they be continual swearers, adulterers, disposers to malice, never in patience, and so forth in all other vices ; think you not when the father, the mother, the master, the dame, be disposed unto vice or impatience, but that their children and servants shall incline and be disposed to the same ? No doubt, as the child shall take disposition natural of his father and mother, so shall his servants apply unto the vices of their masters and dames ; if the heads be false in their faculties and crafts, it is no marvel if the children, servants, and apprentices, do joy therein. This is a great and shameful manner of killing Christian men, that the fathers, the mothers, the masters, and the dames, shall not only kill themselves, but all their's, and all that belongeth unto them, and so this way is a great number of Christian lineage murdered and spoiled. The second manner of killing, is silence. By silence also is a great number of Christian men slain ; which is on this fashion : although that the father and mother, master and dame, of themselves be well disposed to live according to the law of God, yet they may kill their children and servants in suffering them to do evil before their own faces, and do not use due correction according unto their offences ; the master seeth his servant or apprentice take more of his neighbour than the king's laws, or the order of his faculty, doth admit him, or he suffereth him to take more of his neighbour than he himself would be content to pay if he were

in like condition : thus doing I say, such men kill willingly their children and servants, and shall go to hell for so doing ; but also their fathers and mothers, masters and dames, shall bear them company for so suffering. Wherefore I exhort all true Christian men and women to give good example unto your children and servants, and suffer not them by silence to offend : every man must be in his own house, according to St. Augustine's mind, a bishop, not only giving good ensample, but teach according to it, rebuke and punish vice, not suffering your children and servants to forget the laws of God : you ought to see them have their belief, to know the commandments of God, to keep their holidays, not to lose their time in idleness ; if they do so, you shall all suffer pain for it, if God be true of his saying, as there is no doubt thereof : and so you may perceive that there be many one that break this card, 'Thou shalt not kill,' and playeth therewith oftentimes at the blind trump, whereby they be no winners, but great losers ; but who be those now-a-days that can clear themselves of these manifest murders used to their children and servants ? I think not the contrary, but many have these two ways slain their own children unto their damnation, were not the great mercy of God ready to help them when they repent thereof.

"Wherefore considering that we be so prone and ready to continue in sin, let us cast down ourselves with Mary Magdalen, and the more we bow down with her toward Christ's feet, the more we shall be afraid to rise again in sin ; and the more we know and submit ourselves, the more we shall be forgiven ; and the less we know and submit ourselves, the less we shall be forgiven, as appeareth by this example following.

"Christ when he was in the world amongst the Jews, there was a great Pharisee whose name was Simon ; this Pharisee desired Christ on a time to dine with him, thinking in himself that he was able and worthy to give Christ a dinner : Christ refused not his dinner, but came unto him. In time of their dinner it chanced there came into the house a great and common sinner, named Mary Magdalen. As soon as she perceived Christ, she cast herself down, and called unto her remembrance what she was of herself, and how greatly she had offended God, whereby she conceived in Christ great love, and so came near unto him, and washed his feet with bitter tears, and shed on his head precious ointment, thinking that by him she should be delivered from her sins ; this great and proud Pharisee seeing Christ did accept her oblation in the best part, had great indignation against this woman, and said to himself, If this man, Christ, were an holy prophet, as he is taken for, he would not suffer this sinner to come so nigh him. Christ understanding the naughty mind of this Pharisee, said to him, Simon, I have somewhat to say unto thee : Say what you please, quoth the Pharisee. Then said Christ, I pray thee tell me this : if there be a man to whom is owing twenty pounds by one, and forty by another, this man to whom this money is owing perceiveth these two men be not able to pay him, he forgiveth them both : which of these two debtors ought to love this man most ? The Pharisee said, That man ought to love him best that had most forgiven him. Likewise, said Christ, it is by this woman. She hath loved me most, therefore most is forgiven her : she hath known her sins most, whereby she hath most loved me ; and thou hast least loved me, because thou hast least known thy sins, therefore because thou hast least known thy offences, thou art least forgiven. So this proud Pharisee had an answer to allay his pride : and think you not, but that there be amongst us a great number of these proud Pharisees, which think them-

selves worthy to bid Christ to dinner, which will perk and presume to sit by Christ in the church, and have disdain of this poor woman Magdalen, their poor neighbour, with an high disdainous and solemn countenance, and being always desirous to climb highest in the church, reckoning themselves more worthy to sit there than another. I fear my poor Magdalen under the board, and in the belfrey, hath more forgiven of Christ than they have: for it is like that these Pharisees do less know themselves and their offences, whereby they less love God, and so they be less forgiven.

"I would to God we would follow this example, and be like unto Magdalen. I doubt not but we be all Magdalens in falling into sin and in offending: but we be not again Magdalens in knowing ourselves, and in rising from sin. If we be the true Magdalens, we should be as willing to forsake our sin, and rise from our sin, as we were willing to commit sin, and to continue in it; and we then should know ourselves best, and make more perfect answer than ever we did unto this question, Who art thou? To the which we might answer, that we be true Christian men and women; and then I say you should understand and know how you ought to play at this card, '*Thou shalt not kill*,' without any interruption of your deadly enemies the Turks, and so triumph at the last, by winning everlasting life in glory. Amen."

It would require a long discourse to declare what a stir there was in Cambridge upon this preaching of Mr. Latimer. Belike Satan began to feel himself and his kingdom to be touched too near, and therefore thought it time to look about him, and to make out his men of arms.

First came out the prior of the black friars, called Buckneham, (otherwise surnamed *Domine Labia*,) who thinking to make a great hand against Mr. Latimer, about the same time of Christmas when Mr. Latimer brought forth his cards, to deface belike the doings of the other, brought out his Christmas dice, casting there to his audience *cinque* and *quater*, meaning by the *cinque* five places in the new Testament, and the four doctors by the *quater*: by which his *cinque quater*, he would prove that it was not expedient the scripture to be in English, lest the ignorant and vulgar sort, through the occasion thereof, might happily be brought in danger to leave their vocation, or else to run into some inconvenience. As for example: The ploughman, when he heareth this in the gospel, "No man that layeth his hand on the plough, and looketh back, is meet for the kingdom of God," might peradventure, hearing this, cease from his plough. Likewise the baker, when he heareth that a little leaven corrupteth a whole lump of dough, may percase leave our bread unleavened, and so our bodies shall be unseasoned. Also, the simple man, when he heareth in the gospel, "If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee," may make himself blind, and so fill the world full of beggars. These, with other more this clerkly friar brought out, to the number of five, to prove his purpose.

Mr. Latimer, hearing this friarly sermon of Dr. Buckneham, cometh again in the afternoon, or shortly after, to the church, to answer the friar, where resorted to him a great multitude, as well of the university as of the town, both doctors and other graduates, with great expectation to hear what he could say, among whom also (directly in the face of Latimer underneath the pulpit) sat Buckneham, the aforesaid friar, prior of the black friars, with his black friar's cowl about his shoulders.

Then Mr. Latimer first repeating the friarly reasons of Dr. Buckneham, whereby he would prove it a dangerous thing for the vulgar people to have the scripture in the vulgar

tongue, so refuted the friar, so answered to his objections, so dallied with his bald reason of the ploughman looking back, and of the baker leaving his bread unleavened, that the vanity of the friar might to all men appear, well proving and declaring to the people, how there was no such fear nor danger for the scriptures to be in English, as the friar pretended; at least requiring this, that the scripture might be so long in the English tongue, till Englishmen were so mad, that either the ploughman durst not look back, or the baker should leave his bread unleavened. And proceeding, moreover, in his sermon, he began to discourse of the mystical speeches and figurative phrases of the scripture, which phrases he said were not so diffuse and difficult as they were common in the scripture, and in the Hebrew tongue are commonly used and known; and not only in the Hebrew tongue, but also every speech, saith he, hath its like metaphors and figurative significations, so common and vulgar to all men, that the very painters do paint them on walls and on houses.

As for example, (saith he, looking toward the friar that sat over against him,) when they paint a fox preaching out of a friar's cowl, none is so mad to take this to be a fox that preacheth, but know well enough the meaning of the matter, which is, to paint out unto us what hypocrisy, craft, and subtle dissimulation, lieth hid many times in these friars' cowls, willing us thereby to beware of them.

In fine, friar Buckneham with this sermon was so dashed, that never after he durst peep out of the pulpit against Mr. Latimer.

Then came at last Dr. West, bishop of Ely, who preaching against Mr. Latimer at Barwell abbey, forbade him within the churches of that university to preach any more. Notwithstanding, so the Lord provided, that Dr. Barnes, prior of the Augustine friars, did license Mr. Latimer to preach in his church of the Augustines, and he himself preached at the church by, called St. Edward's church, which was the first sermon of the gospel which Dr. Barnes preached, being upon Christmas, even upon a Sunday. Whereupon certain articles were gathered out of his sermon, and were commenced against him by Mr. Tirel, fellow of the King's Hall, and so by the vice-chancellor presented to the cardinal, as in his story before hath been declared.

This Mr. Latimer, as you have heard, being baited by the friars, doctors, and masters of that university, about the year 1529, notwithstanding the malice of these malignant adversaries, continued yet in Cambridge preaching the space of three years together, with favour and applause of the godly, also with such admiration of his enemies that heard him, that the bishop himself coming in, and hearing his gift, wished himself to have the like, and was compelled to commend him upon the same.

So Mr. Latimer, with Mr. Bilney, after this continued yet in Cambridge a certain space, where he with Mr. Bilney used much to confer together, insomuch that the place where they most used to walk in the fields was called long after the Heretics' Hill.

The society of these two, as it was much noted of many in that university, so it was full of many good examples to all such as would follow their doings, both in visiting the prisoners, in relieving the needy, in feeding the hungry, whereof somewhat is before mentioned in the history of Mr. Bilney, in a place of his sermons. Mr. Latimer maketh mention of a certain history which happened about this time in Cambridge between them two, and a certain woman then prisoner in the castle or tower of Cambridge, which I thought here not unworthy to be remembered. The story is this: It so chanced, that after Mr. Latimer had been so acquainted with the

aforesaid Mr. Bilney, he went with him to visit the prisoners in the tower of Cambridge, and being there, among other prisoners there was a woman which was accused that she had killed her own child, which act she plainly and steadfastly denied: whereby it gave them occasion to search for the matter, and at length they found that her husband loved her not, and therefore sought all means he could to make her away. The matter was thus:

A child of her's had been sick a whole year, and at length died in harvest time, as it were in a consumption: which when it was gone, she went to have her neighbours to help her to the burial; but all were in harvest abroad; whereby she was enforced with heaviness of heart alone to prepare the child to the burial. Her husband coming home, and not loving her, accused her of murdering the child. This was the cause of her trouble; and Mr. Latimer, by earnest inquisition, of conscience thought the woman not guilty. Then immediately after was he called to preach before king Henry the Eighth at Windsor, where, after his sermon, the king's majesty sent for him, and talked with him familiarly; at which time Mr. Latimer, finding opportunity, kneeled down, opened this whole matter to the king, and begged her pardon; which the king most graciously granted, and gave it him at his return homeward. In the mean time the woman was delivered of a child in the prison, whose godfather was Mr. Latimer, Mrs. Cheek, godmother. But all the while he would not tell her of the pardon, but laboured to have her confess the truth of the matter. At length the time came when she should look to suffer, and Mr. Latimer came as he was wont to instruct her; unto whom she made great lamentation and moan to be purified before her suffering, for she thought to be damned if she suffered without purification.

Then Mr. Bilney being with Mr. Latimer, both told her that that law was made to the Jews, and not to us, and that women be as well in the favour of God before they be purified as after; and rather it was appointed for a civil and politic law, for natural honesty sake, than that they should any thing the more be purified from sin thereby, &c.

So thus they travelled with this woman, till they had brought her to a good state, and then at length shewed her the king's pardon, and let her go.

But as it is commonly seen in the natural course of things, that as the fire beginneth more to kindle, so the more smoke ariseth withal: in much like sort it happened with Mr. Latimer, whose towardness the more it began to spring, his virtues to be seen, and his doings to be known, the more his adversaries began to spurn and kick against him.

After Mr. Latimer had thus travelled in preaching and teaching in the university of Cambridge about the space of three years, at length he was called up to the cardinal, for heresy, by the procurement of certain of the said university, where he was content to subscribe and agree to such articles as then they propounded unto him.

After that, he returned to the university again, where shortly after by the means of Dr. Buts, the king's physician, a singular good man, and a special favourer of good proceedings, he was in the number of them which laboured in the cause of the king's supremacy. Then went he to the court, where he remained a certain time in the said Dr. Buts' chamber, preaching then in London very often. At last being weary of the court, having a benefice offered by the king at the suit of lord Cromwell and Dr. Buts, was glad thereof, seeking by that means to rid out of the court, where-with in no case he could agree; and so having a grant of the benefice, contrary to the mind of Dr. Buts, he would needs depart and be resident at the same.

This benefice was in Wiltshire, under the diocese of Sarum, the name of which town was called West-Kingston, where this good preacher did exercise himself with much diligence of teaching to instruct his flock, and not only to them his diligence extended, but also to all the country about. In fine, his diligence was so great, his preaching so mighty, the manner of his teaching so zealous, that there in like sort he could not escape without enemies; so true it is that St. Paul foretelleth us, "Whosoever will live godly in Christ shall suffer persecution." It so chanced, that whereas he preaching upon the blessed Virgin, Christ's mother, (whom he called our Lady,) had thereupon declared his mind, referring and reducing all honour only to Christ our only Saviour; certain Popish priests, being therewith offended, wrought much trouble against him, drawing out articles and impositions which they untruly, unjustly, falsely, and uncharitably, imputed unto him: First, that he should preach against our Lady, for that he reproveth in a sermon the superstitious rudeness of certain blind priests, who maintained that the blessed Virgin never had any sin, nor was saved by Christ the only Saviour of the whole world.

Item, That he should say, that saints were not to be worshipped.

Item, That Ave Maria was a salutation only, and no prayer.

Item, That there was no material fire in hell.

Item, That there was no purgatory, in saying, that he had rather be in purgatory than in Lollards' Tower.

The chief impugnors and molesters of him, besides these country priests, were Dr. Powel, of Salisbury, Dr. Wilson, some time of Cambridge, Mr. Hubberdin, and Dr. Sherwood. Of whom some preached against him, some also did write against him; insomuch that by their procurement he was cited up and called to appear before W. Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, and John Stokesley, bishop of London, anno 1531, January 29.

Against this citation, although Mr. Latimer did appeal to his own ordinary, requiring by him to be ordered, yet notwithstanding he was had up to London, before Warham, the archbishop of Canterbury, and bishop of London, where he was greatly molested, and detained a long space from his cure at home. There he being called thrice every week before the said bishops, to make answer for his preaching, had certain articles or propositions drawn out and laid to him, whereunto they required him to subscribe. At length, he not only perceiving their practical proceedings, but also much grieved with their troublesome unquietness, which neither would preach themselves nor yet suffer him to preach and do his duty, wrote to the aforesaid archbishop, partly excusing his infirmity, whereby he could not appear at their commandment, partly expostulating with them for so troubling and detaining him from his duty doing, and that for no just cause, but only for preaching the truth against certain abuses crept into religion, very needful to be reprov'd.

In this aforesaid epistle he made mention of certain articles or propositions, whereunto he was required by the bishops to subscribe. Of those articles the following is a copy.

*Articles devised by the Bishops for Mr. Latimer to subscribe.*

I believe that there is a purgatory to purge the souls of the dead after this life.

That the souls in purgatory are holpen with the masses, prayers, and alms, of the living.

That the saints do pray as mediators now for us in heaven.

That they are to be honoured of us in heaven.

That it is profitable for Christians to call upon the saints, that they may pray as mediators for us unto God.



That pilgrimages and oblations done to the sepulchres and relics of saints are meritorious.

That they which have vowed perpetual chastity, may not marry nor break their vow, without a dispensation of the pope.

That the keys of binding and loosing delivered to Peter, do still remain with the bishop of Rome, his successors, although they live wickedly; and are by no means or at any time committed to laymen.

That men may merit and deserve at God's hand, by fasting, prayer, and other good works of piety.

That they which are forbidden of the bishop to preach, as suspect persons, ought to cease until they have purged themselves before the said bishop, or their superiors, and be restored again.

That the fast which is used in Lent, and other fasts prescribed by the canons, and by custom received of the Christians, (except necessity otherwise require) are to be observed and kept.

That God, in every one of the seven sacraments giveth grace to a man rightly receiving the same.

That consecrations, sanctifyings, and blessings, by use and custom received in the church, are laudable and profitable.

That it is laudable and profitable that the venerable images of the crucifix and other saints, should be had in the churches as a remembrance, and to the honour and worship of Jesus Christ and his saints.

That it is laudable and profitable to deck and to clothe those images, and to set up burning lights before them to the honour of the saints.

To these articles, whether he did subscribe or no, it is uncertain. But if he so did, no great marvel, the iniquity of the time being such, that either he must needs so do, or else abide the bishop's blessing, that is, cruel sentence of death; which he at that time (as himself confessed preaching at Stamford) was loth to sustain for such matters as these were, unless it were for articles necessary of his belief; by which his words I conjecture rather that he did subscribe at length, although it was long before he could be brought so to do. Yet this by the way is to be noted, concerning the crafty and deceitful handling of these bishops in his examinations, what subtle devices they used the same time to entrap him in their snares. The truth of the story he sheweth forth himself in a certain sermon preached at Stamford, anno 1550, Oct. 9th. His words be these: I was once, saith he, in examination before five or six bishops, where I had much turmoiling; every week thrice I came to examinations, and many snares and traps were laid to get something. Now God knoweth I was ignorant of the law, but that God gave me answer and wisdom what I should speak; it was God indeed, for else I had never escaped them. At last I was brought forth to be examined into a chamber hanged with arras, where I was wont to be examined: but now at this time the chamber was somewhat altered. For whereas before there was wont ever to be a fire in the chimney, now the fire was taken away, and an arras hanged over the chimney, and the table stood near the chimney's end.

There was amongst the bishops that examined me, one with whom I had been very familiar, and took him for my great friend, an aged man, and sat next the table's end.

Then amongst all other questions, he put forth one, a very subtle and crafty one, and such an one indeed as I could not think so great danger in. And when I should make answer, I pray you, Mr. Latimer, said one, speak out, I am very thick of hearing, and here be many that sit far off. I mar-

velled at this, that I was bidden speak out, and began to misdeem, and gave an ear to the chimney; and, sir, there I heard a pen going in the chimney behind the cloth! They had appointed one there to write all mine answers: for they made sure that I should not start from them; there was no starting from them. God was my good Lord, and gave me answer; I could never else have escaped it. The question to him there and then objected was this, Whether he thought in his conscience that he had been suspected of heresy? This was a captious question; there was no holding of peace would serve: for that was to grant himself faulty. To answer it, was every way full of danger. But God, which alway giveth in need what to answer, helped him, or else (as he confessed himself) he had never escaped their bloody hands. Albeit, what was his answer, he doth not there express. And thus hitherto you have heard declared the manifold troubles of this godly preacher, in the time not only of his being in the university, but especially at his benefice.

In these so hard and dangerous straits, and such snares of the bishops, hard it had been for him, and impossible to have escaped and continued so long, had not the almighty helping hand of the Highest, as he stirred him up, so preserved him through the favour and power of his prince, who with much favour embraced him, and with his mere power sometimes rescued and delivered him out of the crooked claws of his enemies. Moreover, at length, also through the procurement partly of Dr. Buts, partly of good Cromwell, he advanced him to the dignity and degree of a bishop, making him the bishop of Worcester; which so continued a few years, instructing his diocese according to the duty of a diligent and vigilant pastor, with wholesome doctrine, and example of perfect conversation duly agreeing to the same. It were a long matter to stand particularly upon such things as might here be brought to the commendation of his pains; as, study, readiness, and continual carefulness, in teaching, preaching, exhorting, visiting, correcting, and reforming, either as his ability could serve or else the time would bear. But the days then were so dangerous and variable, that he could not in all things do what he would; yet what he might do, that he performed to the uttermost of his strength, so that although he could not utterly extinguish all the sparkling relics of old superstition, yet he so wrought, that though they could not be taken away, yet they should be used with as little hurt, and with as much profit, as might be. As for example, when it could not be avoided but holy water and holy bread must needs be received, yet so he prepared and instructed them of his diocese, that in receiving thereof superstition should be excluded, teaching and charging the ministers of his diocese, in delivering the holy water and the holy bread, to say these words following:

*Words spoken to the People in giving them Holy Water.*

Remember your promise in baptizing,  
Christ his mercy and blood-shedding,  
By whose most holy sprinkling  
Of all your sins you have free pardoning.

*What to say in giving Holy Bread.*

Of Christ's body this is a token,  
Which on the cross for our sins was broken;  
Wherefore of your sins you must be forsakers,  
If of Christ's death ye will be partakers.

By this it may be considered what the diligent care of this bishop was in doing the duty of a faithful pastor among his flock. And, moreover, it is to be thought that he would



have brought more things else to pass, if the time then had answered to his desire; for he was not ignorant how the institution of holy water and holy bread, not only had no ground in scripture, but also how full of profane exorcisms and conjurations they were, contrary to the rule and learning of the gospel. Thus this good man behaved himself in his diocese.—But, as before, both in the university and at his benefice he was tossed and turmoiled by wicked and evil-disposed persons; so in his bishopric also he was not all clear and void of some that sought his trouble. As among many other evil-willers, one especially there was, and that no small person, which accused him then to the king for his sermons. The story, because he himself sheweth in a sermon of his before king Edward, I thought therefore to use his own words, which be these:

In the king's days that is dead, a great many of us were called together before him, to say our minds in certain matters. In the end, one kneeled down, and accuseth me of sedition; and that I had preached seditious doctrine. A heavy salutation, and a hard point of such a man's doing, as, if I should name, ye would not think. The king turned to me, and said, What say you to that, sir?

Then I kneeled down, and turned me first to my accuser, and required him, Sir, what form of preaching would you appoint me, in preaching before a king? would you have me preach nothing as concerning a king in the king's sermon? have you any commission to appoint me what I shall preach? Besides this, I asked him divers other questions; and he would make no answer to any of them all, he had nothing to say.

Then I turned me to the king, and submitted myself to his grace, and said, I never thought myself worthy, nor did I ever sue to be a preacher before your grace, but I was called to it, and would be willing, if you mislike me, to give place to my betters; for I grant there be a great many more worthy of the room than I am. And if it be your grace's pleasure so to allow them for preachers, I could be content to bear their books after them. But if your grace allow me for a preacher, I would desire your grace to give me leave to discharge my conscience; give me leave to frame my doctrine according to my audience. I had been a very dolt to have preached so at the borders of your realm, as I preach before your grace.

And I thank Almighty God (which hath always been my remedy) that my sayings were well accepted of the king; for, like a gracious lord, he turned into another communication. It is even as the scripture saith, The Lord directed the king's heart. Certain of my friends came to me with tears in their eyes, and told me they looked I should have been in the Tower the same night.

It would be tedious to relate all the doings, travels, and writings, of this Christian bishop, neither yet have we expressed all that came to our hands; but this I thought sufficient for this present. Thus he continued in his laborious function of a bishop the space of certain years, till the coming in of the Six Articles. Then being distressed through the straitness of the time, so that either he must lose the quiet of a good conscience or else forsake his bishopric, he did of his own free accord resign his pastorate. At which time Shaxton, the bishop of Salisbury, resigned likewise with him his bishopric. And so these two remained a great space unbishoped, keeping silence till the time of king Edward, of blessed memory. At what time he first put off his rochet in his chamber among his friends, suddenly he gave a skip on the floor for joy, feeling his shoulder so light, and being discharged (as he said) of such a heavy burden. Howbeit,

neither was he so lightened, but that troubles and labours followed him wheresoever he went; for a little while after he had renounced his bishopric, first he was almost slain and sore bruised with the fall of a tree. Then coming up to London for remedy, he was molested and troubled of the bishops, whereby he was again in no little danger, and at length was cast into the Tower, where he continually remained prisoner till the time that blessed king Edward entered his crown, by means whereof the golden mouth of this preacher, long shut up before, was now opened again; and so he beginning afresh to set forth his plough again, continued all the time of the said king labouring in the Lord's harvest most faithfully, discharging his talent as well in divers other places of this realm, as in Stamford, and before the duchess of Suffolk, as also at London in the convocation-house, and especially before the king at the court; in the same place of the inward garden, which was before applied to lascivious and courtly pastimes, there he dispensed the fruitful word of the glorious gospel of Jesus Christ, preaching there before the king and his whole court, to the edification of many.

In this his painful travel he occupied himself all king Edward's days, preaching for the most part every Sunday twice, to the no small shame of all other loitering and unpreaching prelates, which occupy great rooms, and do little good; and that so much more to their shame, because he, being a sore bruised man by the fall of a tree, (mentioned a little before,) and above 67 years of age, took so little ease, nor spared himself, to do the people good.

Now to speak here of his indefatigable travel and diligence in his own private studies, who, notwithstanding both his years and other pains in preaching, every morning orderly, winter and summer, about two of the clock in the morning, was at his book most diligently. How careful his heart was of the preservation of the church and the good success of the gospel, his letters can testify, wherewith he admonished such as then were in authority of their duty, and assisted them with his godly counsel.

As the diligence of this man of God never ceased all the time of king Edward to profit the church both publicly and privately, so it is worthy to be observed, that God not only gave unto him his Spirit plentifully and comfortably to preach his word unto his church, but also by the same Spirit he did so evidently foreshew and prophesy of all those kinds of plagues afore which afterwards ensued, that if England ever had a prophet he might seem to be one. And as touching himself, he ever affirmed that the preaching of the gospel would cost him his life; to the which he no less cheerfully prepared himself, than certainly was persuaded that Winchester was kept in the Tower for the same purpose, as the event did too truly prove. For after the death of the said blessed king Edward, not long after queen Mary was proclaimed, a pursuivant was sent down (by means no doubt of Winchester) into the country to call him up, of whose coming although Mr. Latimer lacked no forewarning, being premonished about six hours before by one John Careless, yet so far was he from attempting to escape, that he prepared himself towards his journey before the said pursuivant came to his house.

At which thing when the pursuivant marvelled, seeing him so prepared towards his journey, he said unto him, "My friend, you be a welcome messenger to me: and be it known unto you, and to all the world, that I go as willingly to London at this present, being called by my prince to render a reckoning of my doctrine, as ever I was at any place in the world. I doubt not but that God, as he hath made me

worthy to preach his word before two excellent princes, so will he enable me to witness the same unto the third, either to her comfort or discomfort eternally," &c. At the which time the pursuivant, when he had delivered his letters, departed, affirming that he had commandment not to tarry for him. By whose sudden departure it was manifest that they would not have him appear, but rather to have fled out of the realm. They knew that his constancy should deface them in their Popery, and confirm the godly in the truth.

Thus Mr. Latimer being sent for, and coming up to London, through Smithfield, (where merrily he said, that Smithfield had long groaned for him,) was brought before the council, where he patiently bearing all the mocks and taunts given him by the scornful Papists, was cast again into the Tower, where he, being assisted with the heavenly grace of Christ, sustained most patiently imprisonment a long time, notwithstanding the cruel and unmerciful handling of the lordly Papists, who thought then their kingdom would never fall; yet he shewed himself not only patient but also cheerful, in and above all that which they could or would work against him; yea, such a valiant spirit the Lord gave him, that he was able not only to despise the terribleness of prisons and torments, but also to deride and laugh to scorn the doings of his enemies; as it is not unknown to the ears of many, what he answered to the lieutenant being then in the Tower. For when the lieutenant's man upon a time came to him, the aged father, kept without fire in the frosty winter, and well nigh starved for cold, merrily bade the man tell his master, That if he did not look the better to him, perchance he would deceive him.

The lieutenant hearing this, bethought himself of these words, and fearing lest that indeed he thought to make some escape, began to look more straitly to his prisoner; and so coming to him, beginneth to charge him with his words, reciting the same unto him which his man had told him before, how that if he were not better looked unto, perchance he would deceive him, &c. Yea, Mr. Lieutenant, so I said, quoth he; for you look I think that I should burn; but except you let me have some fire, I am like to deceive your expectation, for I am like here to starve for cold.

Many such like answers and reasons, merry, but savoury, coming not from a vain mind, but from a constant and quiet reason, proceeded from that man; declaring a firm and stable heart, little passing for all this great blustering of their terrible threats, but rather deriding the same.

Although Mr. Latimer, by reason of the feebleness of his age, wrote little in this latter time of his imprisonment, yet in prayer he was fervently occupied, wherein oftentimes so long he continued kneeling, that he was not able to rise without help. And amongst other things, these were three principal matters he prayed for:

First, That as GOD had appointed him to be a preacher of his word, so also he would give him grace to stand to his doctrine until his death, that he might give his heart's blood for the same.

Secondly, That God of his mercy would restore his gospel to England once again: and the words "once again—once again," he did so repeat in the ears of the Lord God, as though he had seen God before him, and spoken to him face to face.

The third matter was, to pray for the preservation of the queen's majesty, whom in his prayer he was wont to name, and even with tears desired God to make her a comfort to this comfortless realm of England. These were the matters he prayed for so earnestly. Neither were these things of him desired in vain, as the good success thereof after follow-

ing did declare; for the Lord most graciously did grant all those his requests.

First, concerning his constancy, even in the most extremity the Lord graciously assisted him: for when he stood at the stake without Bocardo-gate at Oxford, and the tormentors about to set fire to him, and to the learned and godly bishop Mr. Ridley, he lifted up his eyes towards heaven with an amiable and comfortable countenance, saying these words, God is faithful, which doth not suffer us to be tempted above our strength; and so afterwards by and by shed his blood in the cause of Christ, which blood ran out of his heart in such abundance, that all those that were present being godly did marvel to see the most part of the blood in his body to be gathered to his heart, and with such violence to gush out, his body being opened by the force of the fire; by the which thing God most graciously granted his request, which was, That he might shed his heart's blood in the defence of the gospel.

How mercifully the Lord heard his second request, in restoring his gospel once again unto this realm, the succeeding days can bear record. And what then shall England say now for her defence, which being so mercifully visited and refreshed with the word of God, so slenderly and unthankfully considereth either her own misery past, or the great benefit of God now present? The Lord be merciful unto us, Amen.

Again, concerning his third request, it seemeth likewise most effectually granted, to the great praise of God, the furtherance of his gospel, and to the unspeakable comfort of this realm. For whether at the request of his prayer, or other of God's holy saints, or whether God was moved with the cry of his whole church, the truth is, that when all was in a desperate case, and so desperate that the enemies mightily flourished and triumphed, God's word was banished, Spaniards received, no place left for Christ's servants to cover their heads, suddenly the Lord called to remembrance his mercy, and, forgetting our former iniquity, made an end of all these miseries, and wrought a marvellous change of things; at the change whereof the said queen Elizabeth was appointed and anointed, for whom this gray-headed father so earnestly prayed in his imprisonment; through whose true, natural, and imperial crown, the brightness of God's word was set up again to confound the dark and false-vizored kingdom of Antichrist, the true temple of God re-edified, and the captivity of sorrowful Christians released, which so long was wished for in the prayers of so many good men, especially of this faithful and true servant of the Lord, Mr. Latimer.

On the 30th of September, 1555, these two eminent prelates, Ridley and Latimer, were cited to appear before the divinity school, at Oxford; and they both appeared on the day appointed.

Dr. Ridley was first examined, and severely reprimanded by the bishop of Lincoln, because when he heard the Cardinal's grace and the pope's holiness mentioned in the commission, he kept on his cap. The words of the bishop were to this effect: "Mr. Ridley, if you will not be uncovered, in respect to the pope, and the cardinal his legate, by whose authority we sit in commission, your cap shall be taken off."

The bishop of Lincoln then made a formal harangue, in which he entreated Ridley to return to the holy mother church, insisting on the antiquity and authority of the see of Rome, and of the pope, as the immediate successor of St. Peter.

Dr. Ridley in return strenuously opposed the arguments

of the bishop, and boldly vindicated the doctrines of the Reformation.

After much debate, the five following articles were proposed to him, and his immediate and explicit answers required.

First, That he had frequently affirmed, and openly maintained and defended, that the true natural body of Christ, after consecration of the priest, is not really present in the sacrament of the altar.

2. That he had often publicly affirmed and defended, that in the sacrament of the altar remaineth still the substance of bread and wine.

3. That he had often openly affirmed, and obstinately maintained, that in the mass there is no propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead.

4. That the aforesaid assertions have been solemnly condemned by the scholastical censure of this school, as heretical, and contrary to the Catholic faith, by the prolocutor of the convocation house, and sundry learned men of both universities.

5. That all and singular the premises are true and notoriously known, by all near at hand, and in distant places.

To the first of these articles Mr. Ridley replied, that he believed Christ's body to be in the sacrament, really, by his grace and spirit effectually, but not so as to include a lively and moveable body under the forms of bread and wine.

To the second he answered in the affirmative.

Part of the fourth he acknowledged, and part he denied.

To the fifth he answered, that the premises were so far true, as his replies had set forth. Whether men spake evil of them he knew not, because he came not so much abroad to hear what every man reported.

He was then ordered to appear the following day in St. Mary's church in Oxford, to give his final answer; after which he was committed to the custody of the mayor.

When Latimer was brought into court, the bishop of Lincoln warmly exhorted him to return to the unity of the church, from which he had revolted.

The same articles which were proposed to Dr. Ridley were read to Mr. Latimer, and he was required to give a full and satisfactory answer to each of them.

His replies not being satisfactory to the court, he was dismissed; but ordered to appear in St. Mary's church, at the same time with Dr. Ridley.

On the day appointed, the commissioners met, when Dr. Ridley being first brought before them, the bishop of Lincoln stood up, and began to repeat the proceedings of the former meeting, assuring him that he had full liberty to make what alteration he pleased in his answers to the articles proposed to him, and to deliver the same to the court in writing.

After some debate, Dr. Ridley took out a paper, and began to read; but the bishop interrupted him, and ordered the beadle to take the writing from him. The doctor desired permission to read on, declaring the contents were only his answers to the articles proposed. But the bishop and others having privately reviewed it, would not permit it to be read in open court.

When the articles were again administered, he referred the notary to his writing, who set them down according to the same.

The bishop of Gloucester affecting much concern for Dr. Ridley, persuaded him not to indulge an obstinate temper, but recant his erroneous opinions, and return to the unity of the holy Catholic church.

Mr. Ridley coolly replied, he was not vain of his own understanding, but was fully persuaded that the religion he

professed was founded on God's most holy and infallible word; and, therefore, he could not abandon or deny the same, consistent with his regard for the honour of God, and the salvation of his soul. He desired to declare his reasons wherefore he could not, with a safe conscience, admit of the popish supremacy; but his request was denied.

The bishop finding him inflexible in the faith, according to the doctrine of the Reformation, thus addressed him; "Dr. Ridley, it is with the utmost concern that I observe your stubbornness and obstinacy, in persisting in damnable errors and heresies; but unless you recant, I must proceed to the other part of my commission, though very much against my will and desire."

Mr. Ridley not making any reply, sentence of condemnation was read; after which he was carried back to confinement.

When Mr. Latimer was brought before the court, the bishop of Lincoln informed him that though they had already taken his answers to certain articles alleged against him, yet they had given him time to consider of the same, and would permit him to make what alterations he should deem fit, hoping by that means to reclaim him from his errors, and bring him over to the faith of the holy Catholic church.

The articles were again read to him; but he deviated not in a single point from the answers he had already given.

Being again warned to recant, and revoke his errors, he refused, declaring that he would never deny God's truth, which he was ready to seal with his blood.

Sentence of condemnation was then pronounced against him, and he was committed to the custody of the mayor.

A few days after this, they were both solemnly degraded by the bishop of Gloucester, and the vice-chancellor of Oxford; after which they were delivered over to the secular power.

The 16th of October, 1555, was the day appointed for their execution, and the place Town-ditch, behind Balliol-college. Mr. Latimer went to the stake in an humble, plain laydress, and Dr. Ridley in his ecclesiastical habit, which he wore when a bishop. They embraced each other on the melancholy occasion, and Dr. Ridley encouraged his fellow-labourer and fellow-sufferer in the cause of Christ, to be of good cheer, assuring him that God would either assuage the fury of the flames, or enable them to endure them.

They then kneeled down, and with great earnestness prayed to the Almighty God, to enable them to sustain the fiery trial that awaited them.

When they arose from prayer, one of the popish priests, in an occasional sermon, upbraided them with heresy and departure from the church of Christ. Dr. Ridley was desirous of vindicating himself from the aspersion of the priest, but was denied that liberty, and commanded to prepare immediately for the fire, unless he would recant and abjure his heretical opinions; without hesitation, therefore, he took off his clothes, distributed them among the populace, and together with Latimer, was chained to the stake.

Latimer soon expired, crying, O Father of heaven, receive my soul! But Ridley, by reason of the fire burning low, and not flaming about his body, endured the most exquisite torture, leaping in the fire, and begging for Christ's sake that the flames might surround him; till, at length, some of the spectators having taken off part of the faggots, the fire had vent, and the bag of gunpowder that was fastened to his neck exploded; after which he was not seen to move, but fell down at the feet of his fellow-sufferer.

Thus did these two pious divines and steadfast believers, testifying with their blood the truth of the everlasting gospel, upon which depends all the sinner's hopes of salvation; to

suffer for which was the joy, the glory, of many eminent Christians, who having followed their dear Lord and Master through much tribulation in this vale of tears, will be glorified for ever with him in the kingdom of his Father and our Father, of his God and our God.

Mr. Latimer, at the time of his death, was in the eightieth year of his age.

*The Burning of JOHN WEBBE, Gentleman, GEORGE ROPER, and GREGORY PARKE, at Canterbury.*

Next after the martyrdom of the two most worthy champions and standard-bearers of Christ's army, Dr. Nicholas Ridley and Mr. Hugh Latimer, followed three other stout and bold soldiers, *John Webbe*, gentleman, *George Roper*, and *Gregory Parke*.

This John Webbe was brought before the bishop of Dover and Nicholas Harpsfield, or some other deputed in their room, the 16th day of September, and there had propounded unto him such ordinary articles as were commonly ministered by Bonner to those of his jurisdiction: and being willed for that present to depart, and to deliberate with himself upon the matter against the next time of his appearance, he made answer that he would no otherwise say, by God's grace, than he had already said, which was this: As touching the sacrament of Christ's body, I do believe (said he) it to be left unto his church, with thanksgiving, in commemoration of his death and passion, until his coming again. It is left in remembrance of his body, and not by the words of consecration to be made his body, really, substantially, and the same body that was born of the Virgin Mary: I utterly deny that.

After this, the 3d day of October, the said John Webbe, George Roper, and Gregory Parke, were brought all three together before the said judges; who there and then agreeing, and steadfastly allowing the answer made before by Mr. Webbe, were by the bloody prelates adjudged heretics, and therefore about the end of October, or in the latter end of November, they together were taken and brought out of prison to the place of martyrdom.

Roper was a young man, of a fresh colour, courage, and complexion; the other two were somewhat more elderly; all going in white linen, with their gowns on. Roper at his coming to the stake putting off his gown, gave a great leap. So soon as the flame was about him, the said Roper put out both his arms from his body like a cross, and so stood steadfast, continuing in that manner, not plucking his arms in till the fire had consumed them, and burnt them off.

And thus these aforesaid martyrs of Christ being brought, as I said, to the stake, and there compassed about with a chain, were burnt and consumed all three together in one fire at Canterbury, abiding most patiently their torments, and counting themselves happy and blessed of the Lord, that they were made worthy to suffer for Christ's gospel sake.

WILLIAM WISEMAN.

The 13th of December, in the Lollards' Tower, died *William Wiseman*, a cloth-worker, of London, where he was in prison for the gospel and word of God. How he died, it is not fully certain: some thought that either through famine or ill handling of some murdering Papists he was made away. By reason whereof the coroner, named John Gibbes, gentleman, with an inquest of twelve men, were fain to sit upon him, who although to the outward appearance were said to find nothing in him else but only God's visita-

tion, yet what other privy causes there might be of his death, the Lord knoweth.

After the said William was departed, as is said, in the Tower, the holy Catholic churchmen cast him out into the fields, commanding that no man should bury him, according as their devout manner is to do with all such as die in like sort, whom they account as profane, and worthy of no burial, but to be cast to dogs and birds, *ελωρια κυνεσσι*, as the pope saith. And yet all this their merciless commandment notwithstanding, some good Tobits there were, which buried him in the evening, as commonly they did all the rest thrown out in like sort, whom they were wont privily by night to cover, and many times the archers in the fields standing by, and singing together psalms at their burial.

JAMES GORE.

In the same month, about the 7th day of December, died also *James Gore* in the prison at Colchester, laid there in bonds for the truth of God's word.

*The Process and History of Mr. JOHN PHILPOT, examined, condemned, and martyred, for the maintenance and defence of the Gospel, against the Antichristian See of Rome*

Next followeth the martyrdom of *Mr John Philpot*, of whom partly ye heard before in the beginning of queen Mary's time, in prosecuting the disputation of the convocation-house. He was of a worshipful house, a knight's son, born in Hampshire, brought up in the new college in Oxford, where he studied the civil law the space of six or seven years, besides the study of other liberal arts, especially of the tongues, wherein he profited much, namely, in the knowledge of the Hebrew tongue, &c. In wit he was pregnant and happy, of a singular courage, in spirit fervent, in religion zealous, and also well practised and exercised in the same, of nature and condition plain and open, far from all flattery, further from all hypocrisy and deceitful dissimulation. What his learning was, his own examinations penned of his own hand can declare.

From Oxford, desirous to see other countries as occasion served thereunto, he went over to Italy, and places thereabouts, where he coming upon a time from Venice to Padua, was in danger through a certain Franciscan friar accompanying him in his journey, who coming to Padua, sought to accuse him of heresy. At length, returning into England his country again, as the time ministered more boldness to him in the days of king Edward, he had divers conflicts with Gardiner, the bishop, in the city of Winchester.

After that, having an advowson by the said bishop, he was made there archdeacon of Winchester, under Dr. Poinet, who then succeeded Gardiner in that bishopric. Thus, during the time of king Edward, he continued to no small profit of those parts thereabout. When that blessed king was taken away, and Mary his sister came in place, whose study was wholly bent to alter the state of religion in the woful realm of England, first she caused a convocation of the prelates and learned men to be congregate to the accomplishment of her desire,

In which convocation Mr. Philpot being present, according to his room and degree, with a few others, sustained the cause of the gospel manfully against the adversaries; for which cause, notwithstanding the liberty of the house promised before, he was called to account before bishop Gardiner, the chancellor, then being his ordinary, by whom he was first examined.

*The first examination of Mr. John Philpot, before the Queen's Commissioners, Mr. Cholmley, Mr. Roper, and Dr. Story, and one of the Scribes of the Arches, at Newgate Sessions Hall, October 2, 1555, as related by himself.*

Dr. Story, before I was called into an inner parlour where they sat, came out into the hall where I was, to view me among other that there were, and passing by me, said, Ha, Mr. Philpot! and in returning immediately again, stayed against me, beholding me, and saying that I was well fed indeed.

*Phil.* If I be fat and in good liking, Mr. Doctor, it is no marvel, since I have been stalled up in prison these twelve months and a half, in a close corner. I am come to know your pleasure wherefore you have sent for me.

*Story.* We hear that thou art a suspected person, and of heretical opinions, and therefore we have sent for thee.

*Phil.* I have been in prison thus long, only upon the occasion of disputation made in the convocation-house, and upon suspicion of setting forth the report thereof.

*Story.* If thou wilt revoke the same, and become an honest man, thou shalt be set at liberty, and do right well; or else thou shalt be committed to the bishop of London. How sayest thou, wilt thou revoke it, or no?

*Phil.* I have already answered in this behalf to mine ordinary.

*Story.* If thou answerest thus when thou comest before us anon, thou shalt hear more of our minds; and with that he went into the parlour, and I within a little while after was called in.

*The Scribe.* Sir, what is your name?

*Phil.* My name is John Philpot.

*Story.* This man was archdeacon of Winchester, of Dr. Poinet's presentment.

*Phil.* I was archdeacon indeed, but none of his presentment, but by virtue of a former advowson, given by my lord chancellor that now is.

*Story.* Ye may be sure that my lord chancellor would not make any such as he is archdeacon.

*Roper.* Come hither to me, Mr. Philpot. We hear say that you are out of the catholic church, and have been a disturber of the same; out of the which whoso is, he cannot be the child of salvation. Wherefore, if you will come into the same, you shall be received, and find favour.

*Phil.* I am come before your worshipful masterships at your appointment, understanding that you are magistrates authorized by the queen's majesty, whom I own, and will do my due obedience to the uttermost. Wherefore I desire to know what cause I have offended in, wherefore I am now called before you. And if I cannot be charged with any particular matter done contrary to the laws of this realm, I desire your masterships that I may have the benefit of a subject, and be delivered out of my long wrongful confinement, where I have lien this twelvemonth and a half, without any calling to answer before now, and my living taken from me, contrary to law.

*Roper.* Though we have no particular matter to charge you withal, yet we may by our commission, and by the law, drive you to answer to the suspicion of a slander going on you; and besides this, we have statutes to charge you here-in withal.

*Phil.* If I have offended any statute, charge me therewithal; and if I have incurred the penalty thereof, punish me accordingly. And because you are magistrates and executors of the queen's majesty's laws, by force whereof you do now sit, I desire that if I be found no notorious trans-

gressor of any of them, I may not be burdened with more than I have done.

*Cholmley.* If the justice do suspect a felon, he may examine him on suspicion thereof, and commit him to prison, though there be no fault done.

*Story.* I perceive whereabouts this man goeth. He is plain in Cardmaker's case, for he made the self-same allegations. But they will not serve thee; for thou art an heretic, and holdest against the blessed mass: how sayest thou to that?

*Phil.* I am no heretic.

*Story.* I will prove thee an heretic. Whosoever hath holden against the blessed mass, is an heretic: but thou hast holden against the same, therefore thou art an heretic.

*Phil.* That which I spake, and which you are able to charge me withal, was in the convocation; where, by the queen's majesty's will and her whole council, liberty was given to every man of the house to utter his conscience, and to say his mind freely of such questions in religion, as there were propounded by the prolocutor; for the which now I thought not to be molested and imprisoned as I have been, neither now to be compelled of you to answer to the same.

*Story.* Thou shalt go to the Lollard's Tower, and be there handled like an heretic as thou art, and answer to the same that thou there didst speak, and be judged by the bishop of London.

*Phil.* I have already been convented of this matter before my lord chancellor, mine ordinary; who this long time hath kept me in prison: therefore if his lordship will take my life away, as he hath done my liberty and living, he may: the which I think he cannot do of his conscience, and therefore hath let me lie thus long in prison: wherefore I am content to abide the end of him herein that is mine ordinary, and do refuse the auditory of the bishop of London, because he is an uncompetent judge for me, and not mine ordinary.

*Story.* But, sir, thou spakest words in the convocation-house, which is of the bishop of London's diocese, and therefore thou shalt be carried to the Lollard's Tower, to be judged by him for the words thou spakest in his diocese against the blessed mass.

*Phil.* Sir, you know by the law, that I may have *exceptionem fori*: and it is against all equity that I should be twice vexed for one cause, and that by such as by the law have nothing to do with me.

*Roper.* You cannot deny but that you spake against the mass in the convocation-house.

*Story.* Dost thou deny that which thou spakest there or no?

*Phil.* I cannot deny that I have spoken there, and if by the law you may put me to death therefore, I am here ready to suffer whatsoever I shall be judged unto.

*The Scribe.* This man is fed of vain-glory.

*Cholm.* Play the wise gentleman, and be conformable, and be not stubborn in your opinions, neither cast yourself away: I would be glad to do you good.

*Phil.* I desire you, sir, with the rest here, that I be not charged further at your hands than the law chargeth me for that I have done, since there was no law directly against that wherewith I am now charged. And you, master doctor, (of old acquaintance in Oxford,) I trust will shew me some friendship, and not extremity.

*Story.* I tell thee, if thou wouldest be a good Catholic man, I would be thy friend, and spend my gown to do thee good; but I will be no friend to a heretic, as thou art, but will spend both my gown and my coat, but I will burn thee. How sayest thou to the sacrament of the altar?

*Phil.* Sir, I am not come now to dispute with your mas-



tership, and the time now serveth not thereto, but to answer to that I may be lawfully charged withal.

*Story.* Well, since thou wilt not revoke that thou hast done, thou shalt be had unto the Lollards' Tower.

*Phil.* Sir, since you will needs shew me this extremity, and charge me with my conscience, I do desire to see your commission, whether you have this authority so to do; and after the view thereof I shall, according to my duty, make you further answer, if you may by the virtue thereof burden me with my conscience.

*Rop.* Let him see the commission: is it here?

*Story.* Shall we let every vile person see our commission?

*Cholm.* Let him go from whence he came, and on Thursday he shall see our commission.

*Story.* No, let him lie in the mean while in the Lollards' Tower; for I will sweep the King's Bench, and all other prisons also, of these heretics; they shall not have that resort as they have had, to scatter their heresies.

*Phil.* You have power to transfer my body from place to place at your pleasure; but you have no power over my soul. And I pass not whither you commit me, for I cannot be worse treated than I am, kept all day in a close chamber; wherefore it is no marvel that my flesh is puffed up, wherewithal master doctor is offended.

*Story.* Marshal, take him home with you again, and see that you bring him again on Thursday, and then we shall rid your fingers of him, and afterward of your other heretics.

*Phil.* God hath appointed a day shortly to come, in the which he will judge us with righteousness, howsoever you judge of us now.

*Roper.* Be content to be ruled by master doctor, and shew yourself a Catholic man.

*Phil.* Sir, if I should speak otherwise than my conscience is, I should but dissemble with you: and why be you so earnest to have me shew myself a dissembler both to God and you, which I cannot do?

*Roper.* We do not require you to dissemble with us to be a Catholic man.

*Phil.* If I do stand in any thing against that, wherein any man is able to convict me with one jot of the scripture, I shall be content to be counted no Catholic man, or an heretic, as you please.

*Story.* Have we scripture! scripture! And with that he rose up, saying, Who shall be judge, I pray you? This man is like his fellow Woodman, which the other day would have nothing else but scripture.

*The Second Examination of Mr. Philpot before the Queen's Commissioners, the 24th of October, 1555, at Newgate Sessions Hall.*

At my coming, a man of Aldgate (of mine acquaintance) said unto me, God have mercy on you, for you are already condemned in this world; for Dr. Story said, that my lord Chancellor had commanded to do you away. After a little consultation had between them, Mr. Cholmley called me unto him, saying:

*Ch.* Mr. Philpot, shew yourself a wise man, and be not stubborn in your own opinion; but be conformable to the queen's proceedings, and live, and you shall be well assured of great favour and reputation.

*Phil.* I shall do as it becometh a Christian man to do.

*Story.* This man is the rankest heretic that hath been in all my lord Chancellor's diocese, and hath done more hurt than any man else there; and therefore his pleasure is, that he should have the law to proceed against him; and I have

spoken with my lord herein, and he willeth him to be committed to the bishop of London, and there to recant or else burn. He howled and wept in the convocation-house, and made such ado as never man did, as all the heretics do when they lack learning to answer. He shall go after his fellows. How sayest thou, wilt thou recant?

*Phil.* I know nothing I have done that I ought to recant.

*Story.* Well then, I pray you, let us commit him to the Lollards' Tower, there to remain until he be further examined before the bishop of London; for he is too fine fed in the King's-Bench, and he hath too much favour there. For his keeper said at the door yesterday, that he was the finest fellow, and one of the best learned, in England. And with this he rose up, and went his way.

*Cook.* This man has most stontly maintained heresies since the queen's coming in, above any that I have heard of; therefore it is most meet he should be adjudged by the bishop of London, for the heresies he hath maintained.

*Phil.* I have maintained no heresies.

*Cook.* No, have you not? Did you not openly speak against the sacrament of the altar in the convocation-house? Call you that no heresy? Wilt thou recant that, or not?

*Phil.* It was the queen's majesty's pleasure that we should reason thereof, not by my seeking, but by other men's procuring, in the hearing of the council.

*Cook.* Did the queen give you leave to be an heretic? You may be sure her grace will not so do. Well, we will not dispute the matter with you; my lord of London shall proceed by inquisition upon thee, and if thou wilt not recant, thou shalt be burned.

*Phil.* My lord of London is not mine ordinary in this behalf, and I have already answered unto mine ordinary in this matter: and therefore, as I have said before, you shall do me great wrong to vex me twice for one matter, since I have sustained this long imprisonment, besides the loss of my living.

*Roper.* You are a very unmeet man to be an archdeacon.

*Phil.* There was never poor archdeacon so handled at your hands as I am, and that without any just cause ye be able to lay unto me.

*Cook.* Thou art no archdeacon.

*Phil.* I am archdeacon still, although another be in possession of my living: for I was never deprived by any law.

*Cook.* No, sir, that needeth not: for a notorious heretic should have no ordinary proceeding about his deprivation; but the bishop may upon knowledge thereof proceed to deprivation.

*Phil.* Master doctor, you know that the common law is otherwise; and besides this, the statutes of this realm be otherwise, which give this benefit to every person, though he be an heretic, to enjoy his living until he be put to death for the same.

*Cholmley.* Why, will you not agree that the queen's majesty may cause you to be examined of your faith?

*Phil.* Ask you master doctor Cook, and he will tell you that the temporal magistrates have nothing to do with matters of faith, for determination thereof. And St. Ambrose saith, *Divina imperatoriae majestati non sunt subjecta*: That the things of God are not subject to the power and authority of princes.

*Cook.* No? may not the temporal power commit you to be examined of your faith to the bishop?

*Phil.* Yea, sir, I deny not that; but you will not grant that the same may examine any of their own authority.

*Cook.* Let him be had away.

*Phil.* Your mastership promised me the last time I was

before you, I should see your commission, by what authority you do call me, and whether I by the same be bound to answer to so much as you demand.

*Roper.* Let him see the commission.—Then the scribe exhibited it to Mr. Roper, and was about to open the same.

*Cook.* No, what will ye do? he shall not see it.

*Phil.* Then do you me wrong, to call me and vex me, not answering your authority in this behalf.

*Cook.* If we do you wrong, complain on us; and in the mean while thou shalt lie in the Lollards' Tower.

*Phil.* Sir, I am a poor gentleman: therefore I trust of your gentleness you will not commit me to so vile and strait a place, being found no heinous trespasser.

*Cook.* Thou art no gentleman.

*Phil.* Yes, that I am.

*Cook.* An heretic is no gentleman; for he is a gentleman that hath gentle conditions.

*Phil.* The offence cannot take away the state of a gentleman as long as he liveth, although he were a traitor: but I mean not to boast of my gentleness, but will put it under my foot, since you do no more esteem it.

*Story.* What, will you suffer this heretic to prate with you all this day?

*Cook.* He saith he is a gentleman.

*Story.* A gentleman, quoth he! he is a vile heretic knave: for an heretic is no gentleman. Let the keeper of the Lollards' Tower come in, and have him away.

*The Keeper.* Here, sir.

*Story.* Take this man with you to the Lollards' Tower, or else to the bishop's coal-house.

*Phil.* Sir, If I were a dog you could not appoint me a worse and more vile place; but I must be content with whatsoever injury you do offer me. God give you a more merciful heart; you are very cruel upon one that hath never offended you. I pray you, Mr. Cholmley, shew me some friendship, that I be not carried to so vile a place. And he called me aside, and said,

*Cholm.* I am not skilful of their doings, neither of their laws; I cannot tell what they mean. I would I could do you good.

*Phil.* I am content to go whither you will have me. There was never man more cruelly handled than I am at your hands, that without just cause known should thus be treated.

*Story.* Shall we suffer this heretic thus to reprove us? have him hence.

*Phil.* God forgive you, and give you more merciful hearts, and shew you more mercy in the time of need: "Do quickly that you have in hand."

*Story.* Do you not hear how he maketh us Judases?

*Phil.* That is after your own understanding.

After this, I with four others more were brought to the keeper's house in Paternoster-row, where we supped, and after supper I was called up to a chamber by the archdeacon of London's servant, and that in his master's name, who offered me a bed for that night. To whom I gave thanks, saying, that it should be a grief to me to lie well one night, and the next worse: wherefore I will begin (said I) as I am like to continue, to take such part as my fellows do. And with that we were brought through Paternoster-row to my lord of London's coal-house; unto the which is joined a little blind house, with a great pair of stocks, appointed both for hand and foot. But, thanks be to God, we have not played of those organs yet, although some before us have tried them; and there we found a minister of Essex, a married priest, a man of godly zeal, with one other poor man.

And this minister, at my coming, desired to speak with me, and did greatly lament his own infirmity, for that through extremity of imprisonment he was constrained by writing to yield to the bishop of London; whereupon he was once set at liberty, and afterward felt such a hell in his conscience, that he could scarce refrain from destroying himself, and never could be quiet until he had gone unto the bishop's register, desiring to see his bill again; the which as soon as he had received, he tore it in pieces, and after that he was as joyful as any man might be. Of the which when my lord of London had understanding, he sent for him, and fell upon him like a lion, and like a manly bishop buffeted him well, so that he made his face black and blue, and plucked away a great piece of his beard. But now, thanks be to God, he is as joyful under the cross as any of us. I write this, because I would all men to take heed how they do contrary to their conscience; which is, to fall into the pains of hell.

*The manner of my calling first before the Bishop of London, the second night of my imprisonment in his Coal-house.*

The bishop sent unto me Mr. Johnson, his register, with a mess of meat, and a good pot of drink, and bread, saying, That my lord had no knowledge before of my being here, for which he was sorry: therefore he had sent me and my fellows that meat, not knowing whether I would receive the same.

I thanked God for my lord's charity, that it pleased him to remember poor prisoners, desiring Almighty God to increase the same in him and in all others; and therefore I would not refuse his beneficence: and therewith took the same unto my brethren, praising God for his providence towards his afflicted flock, that he stirred our adversaries up to help the same in their necessity.

*Johnson.* My lord would know the cause of your sending hither, for he knoweth nothing thereof, and wondereth he should be troubled with prisoners of another diocese.

I declared unto him the whole cause. After the which he said, My lord's will was, that I should have any friendship I would desire; and so departed. Within a while after, one of my lord's gentlemen cometh for me; and I was brought into his presence, where he sat at a table alone, with three or four of his chaplains waiting upon him, and his register.

*Bonner.* Mr. Philpot, you are welcome; give me your hand. With that, because he so gently put forth his hand, I, to render courtesy for courtesy, kissed my hand, and gave him the same.

*Bonner.* I am right sorry for your trouble, and I promise you, before it was within these two hours, I knew not of your being here. I pray you tell me what was the cause of your sending hither, for I promise you I know nothing as yet, neither would I you should think that I was the cause thereof, and I marvel that other men will trouble me with their matters: but I must be obedient to my betters, and I fear men speak otherwise of me than I deserve.

I shewed him the sum of the matter, that it was for the disputation in the convocation-house, for the which I was against all right molested.

*Bonner.* I marvel that you should be troubled therefore, if there was none other cause but this. But peradventure you have maintained the same since, and some of your friends of late have asked whether you do stand to the same, and you have said, Yea; and for this you might be committed to prison.

*Phil.* If it shall please your lordship, I am burdened none otherwise than I have told you by the commissioners, who sent me hither, because I would not recant the same.

**Bonner.** A man may speak in the parliament house, though it be a place of free speech, so as he may be imprisoned for it, as in case he speak words of high treason against the king or queen; and so it might be that you spake otherwise than it became you of the church of Christ.

**Phil.** I spake nothing which was out of the articles which were called in question, and agreed upon to be disputed by the whole house, and the queen's permission and the council.

**Bonner.** Why, may we dispute of our faith?

**Phil.** Yea, that we may.

**Bonner.** Nay, I trow not, by the law.

**Phil.** Indeed, by the civil law I know it is not lawful, but by God's law we may reason thereof: for St. Peter saith, "Be ye ready to render account unto all men of that hope which is in you, that demand of you the same."

**Bonner.** Indeed, St. Peter saith so. Why, then, I ask you what your judgment is of the sacrament of the altar?

**Phil.** My lord, St. Ambrose saith, that the disputation of faith ought to be in the congregation, in the hearing of the people, and that I am not bound to render account thereof to every man privately, unless it be to edify. But now I cannot shew you my mind, but I must run upon the pikes in danger of my life. Wherefore, as the said doctor said unto Valentinian the emperor, so say I to your lordship, *Tolle legem, et fiat certamen*: Take away the law, and I shall reason with you. And yet if I come in open judgment, where I am bound by the law to answer, I trust I shall utter my conscience as freely as any that hath come before you.

**Bonner.** I perceive you are learned, I would have such as you be about me. But you must come and be of the church, for there is but one church.

**Phil.** God forbid I should be out of the church, I am sure I am within the same: for I know, as I am taught by the scripture, that there is but one Catholic church, *Una columba, una sponsa, una dilecta*: One dove, one spouse, one beloved congregation; out of the which there is no salvation.

**Bonner.** How chauceth it then that you go out of the same, and walk not with us?

**Phil.** My lord, I am sure I am within the bounds of the church whereupon she is builded, which is the word of God.

**Bonner.** What age are ye of?

**Phil.** I am four and forty.

**Bonner.** You are not now of the same faith your godfathers and godmothers promised for you, in the which you are baptized.

**Phil.** Yes, I thank God I am: for I was baptized into the faith of Christ, which I now hold.

**Bonner.** How can that be? there is but one faith.

**Phil.** I am assured of that by St. Paul, saying, That there is but one God, one faith, and one baptism; of the which I am.

**Bonner.** You were twenty years ago of another faith than you be now.

**Phil.** Indeed, my lord, to tell you plain, I was then *nul-lius fidei*, (of no faith,) a neuter, a wicked liver, neither hot nor cold.

**Bonner.** Why, do you not think that we have now the true faith?

**Phil.** I desire your lordship to hold me excused from answering at this time. I am sure that God's word thoroughly, with the primitive church, and all the ancient writers, do agree with this faith I am of.

**Bonner.** Well, I promise you I mean you no more hurt than to mine own person: I marvel that you are so merry in prison as you be, singing and rejoicing, as the prophet

saith, *Exultantes in rebus pessimis*: Rejoicing in your naughtiness. Methinketh you do not well herein; and should rather lament and be sorry.

**Phil.** My lord, the mirth that we make is but in singing certain psalms, according as we are commanded by St. Paul, willing us to be "merry in the Lord, singing together in hymns and psalms;" and I trust your lordship cannot be displeased with that.

**Bonner.** We may say unto you as Christ said in the gospel, *Tibiis cecinimus vobis, et non planxistis*: "We have piped unto you, and ye have not mourned."

Here my lord stumbled, and could not bring forth the text, and required his chaplains to help, and to put him in remembrance of the text better. But they were mum: and I recited out the text unto him, which made nothing to his purpose, unless he would have us to mourn, because they, if they laugh, sing still sorrowful things unto us, threatening faggots and fire. We are, my lord, in a dark and comfortless place, and therefore it behoveth us to be merry, lest, as Solomon saith, sorrowfulness eat up our heart. Therefore I trust your lordship will not be angry for our singing of psalms, since St. Paul saith, "If any man be of an upright mind, let him sing." And we, therefore, to testify that we are of an upright mind to God, (though we be in misery,) do sing.

**Bonner.** I will trouble you no further as now. If I can do you any good, I will be glad to do it for you. God be with you, good Mr. Philpot, and give you a good night. Have him to the cellar, and let him drink a cup of wine.

Thus I departed, and by my lord's register I was brought to his cellar door, where I drank a good cup of wine; and my lord's chaplain, Mr. Cousin, followed me, taking acquaintance, saying, that I was welcome, and wished that I would not be singular.

**Phil.** I am well taught the contrary by Solomon, saying, *Vae soli*: "Wo be to him that is alone."—After that I was carried to my lord's coal-house again, where I with my six fellows do rouse together in straw, as cheerfully, we thank God, as others do in their beds of down.

*The fourth Examination of Mr. Philpot, in the Archdeacon's House, before the Bishops of London, Bath, Worcester, and Gloucester.*

**Bonner.** Mr. Philpot, it hath pleased my lords to take pains here to-day, to dine with my poor archdeacon, and in the dinner-time it chanced us to have communication of you, and you were pitied here of many that knew you in the new college in Oxford; and I also do pity your case, because you seem unto me, by the talk I had with you the other night, to be learned. And therefore now I have sent for you to come before them, that it might not be said hereafter, that I had so many learned bishops at my house, and yet would not vouchsafe them to talk with you, and at my request (I thank them) they are content so to do. Now therefore utter your mind freely, and you shall with all favour be satisfied. I am sorry to see you lie in so evil a case as you do, and would fain you should do better, as you may if you list.

**Bath.** My lords here have not sent for you to fawn upon you, but for charity's sake, to exhort you to come into the right Catholic way of the church.

**Worc.** Before he beginneth to speak, it is best that he call to God for grace, and to pray that it might please God to open his heart, that he may conceive the truth.

With that I fell down upon my knees before them, and made my prayer on this manner;

"Almighty God, which art the giver of all wisdom and understanding, I beseech thee of thine infinite goodness and mercy in Jesus Christ, to give me, most vile sinner in thy sight, the spirit of wisdom to speak and make answer in thy cause, that it may be to the contentation of the hearers, before whom I stand, and also to my better understanding, if I be deceived in any thing."

**Bonner.** Nay, my lord of Worcester, you did not well to exhort him to make any prayer: for this is a thing they have a singular pride in, that they can often make their vain prayers, in the which they glory much. For in this point they are much like to certain arrant heretics of whom Pliny maketh mention, that did daily sing *antelucanos hymnos*, praise unto God before dawn of the day.

**Phil.** My lord, God make me, and all you here present, such heretics as those were that sung those morning hymns: for they were right Christians, with whom the tyrants of the world were offended for their well doing.

**Bath.** Proceed to that he hath to say. He hath prayed I cannot tell for what.

**Bonner.** Say on, Mr. Philpot; my lords will gladly hear you.

**Phil.** I have, my lords, been this twelvemonth and a half in prison, without any just cause that I know, and my living taken from me without any lawful order, and now I am brought, contrary to right, from mine own territory and ordinary, into another man's jurisdiction, I know not why. Wherefore, if your lordships can accuse me with any evil done, I stand here before you to purge me of the same. And if no such thing may be justly laid to my charge, I desire to be released of this wrongful trouble.

**Bonner.** There is none here goeth about to trouble you, but to do you good if we can: for I promise you, ye were sent hither to me without my knowledge. Therefore speak your conscience without any fear.

**Phil.** My lord, I have learned to answer in matters of religion, in *ecclesia legitime vocatus*, in the congregation, being thereto lawfully called: but now I am not lawfully called, neither is here a just congregation where I ought to answer.

**Bonner.** Indeed, this man told me the last time I spake with him, that he was a lawyer, and would not utter his conscience in matters of faith, unless it were in the hearing of the people, where he might speak to vain-glory.

**Phil.** My lord, I said not I was a lawyer, neither do I arrogate to myself that name, although I was once a novice in the same, where I learned something for mine own defence, when I am called in judgment to answer to any cause, and whereby I have been taught not to put myself further in danger than I need; and so far am I a lawyer, and no further.

**Bath.** If you will not answer to my lord's request, you seem to be a wilful man in your opinion.

**Phil.** My lord of London is not mine ordinary, before whom I am bound to answer in this behalf, as Mr. Dr. Cole, who is a lawyer, can well tell you by the law; and I have not offended my lord of London wherefore he should call me.

**Bonner.** Yes, I have to lay to your charge, that you have offended in my diocese by speaking against the blessed sacrament of the altar: and therefore I may call you, and proceed against you to punish you by the law.

**Phil.** I have not offended in your diocese: for that which I spake of the sacrament was in Paul's church in the convocation-house, which (as I understand) is a peculiar jurisdiction belonging to the dean of Paul's, and therefore is counted of your lordship's diocese, but not in your diocese.

**Bonner.** Is not Paul's church in my diocese? Well, I wot it costeth me a good deal of money by the year, the leading thereof.

**Phil.** That may be, and yet be exempted from your lordship's jurisdiction: and albeit I had so offended in your diocese, yet I ought by the law to be sent to mine ordinary, if I require it, and not to be punished by you that are not mine ordinary. And already (as I have told you) I have been convented of mine ordinary for this cause, which you go about to inquire of me.

**Bonner.** How say you, Mr. Dr. Cole, may not I proceed against him by the law, for that he hath done in my diocese?

**Cole.** Methinketh Mr. Philpot needeth not to stand so much with your lordship in that point as he doth, sithence you seek not to hinder him, but to further him; therefore I think it best that he go to the matter that is laid against him of the convocation, and make no longer delay.

**Phil.** I would willingly shew my mind of the matter, but I am sure it will be laid against me to my prejudice when I come to judgment.

**Cole.** Why, then, you may speak by protestation.

**Phil.** But what shall my protestation avail in a cause of heresy, as you call it, if I speak otherwise than you will have me, since that which I spake in the convocation-house, being a place privileged, cannot now help me?

**Bonner.** But, master Dr. Cole, may not I proceed against him for that offence he hath done in my diocese?

**Cole.** You may call him before you, my lord, if he be found in your diocese.

**Phil.** But I have by force been brought out of mine own diocese to my lord's, and required to be judged of mine own ordinary: and therefore I know master doctor will not say of his knowledge, that your lordship ought to proceed against me. And here master doctor would say nothing.

**Worc.** Do you not think to find before my lord here as good equity in your cause, as before your own ordinary?

**Phil.** I cannot blame my lord of London's equity, with whom (I thank his lordship) I have found more gentleness since I came, than of mine own ordinary (I speak it for no flattery) this twelvemonth and this half before, who never would call me to answer, as his lordship hath done now twice. *Sed nemo prohibetur uti jure suo*, But no man is forbid to use his own right due unto him: so, I ought not to be forestalled of my right, and therefore I challenge the same for divers other considerations.

**Bonner.** Now you cannot say, hereafter, but that you have been gently communed withal of my lords here; and yet you will be wilful and obstinate in your error, and in your opinions, and will not shew any cause why you will not come into the unity of the church with us.

**Phil.** My lords, in that I do not declare my mind according to your expectation, it is, as I have said, because I cannot speak without present danger of my life. But rather than you should report me, by this, either obstinate or self-willed, without any just ground whereupon I stand, I will open unto you somewhat of my mind, or rather the whole, desiring your lordships, which seem to be pillars of the church of England, to satisfy me in the same; and I will refer all other causes in the which I dissent from you, unto one or two articles, or rather to one, which includeth them both; in the which if I can by the scriptures be satisfied at your mouths, I shall as willingly agree to you as any other in all points.

**Bonner.** These heretics come always with their ifs, as this man doth now, saying, if he can be satisfied by the scriptures: so that he will always have this exception, 'I am not satisfied,' although the matter be never so plainly proved

against him. But will you promise to be satisfied, if my lords take some pains about you?

*Phil.* I say, my lord, I will be satisfied by the scriptures in that wherein I stand. And I protest here before God and his eternal Son Jesus Christ my Saviour, and the Holy Ghost, and his angels, and you here present that be judges of that I speak, that I do not stand in any opinion of wilfulness or singularity, but only upon my conscience, certainly informed by God's word, from the which I dare not go for fear of damnation; and this is the cause of mine earnestness on this behalf.

*Bonner.* I will trouble my lords no longer, seeing that you will not declare your mind.

*Phil.* I am about so to do, if it please your lordship to hear me speak.

*Bath.* Give him leave, my lord, to speak that he hath to say.

*Phil.* My lords, it is not unknown to you that the chief cause why you do count me, and such as I am, for heretics, is because we be not at unity with your church. You say, you are of the true church: and we say we are of the true church. You say, that whosoever is out of your church is damned: and we think verily, on the other side, that if we depart from the true church, whereon we are grafted in God's word, we should stand in the state of damnation. Wherefore if your lordship can bring any better authority for your church than we can do for our's, and prove by the scriptures that the church of Rome now (of which you are) is the true catholic church, as in all your sermons, writings, and arguments, you do uphold, and that all Christian persons ought to be ruled by the same, under pain of damnation, as you say, and that the same church, as you pretend, hath authority to interpret the scriptures as it seemeth her good, and that all men are bound to follow such interpretations only: I shall be as conformable to the same church as you may desire me; the which otherwise I dare not. Therefore I require you for God's sake to satisfy me in this.

*Cole.* If you stand upon this point only, you may soon be satisfied if you list.

*Phil.* It is the thing that I require, and to this I have said I will stand, and refer all other controversies wherein I stand now against you, and will put my hand thereto, if you mistrust my word.

*Bonner.* I pray you, Mr. Philpot, what faith were you of twenty years ago? This man will have every year a new faith.

*Phil.* My lord, to tell you plain, I think I was of no faith; for I was then a wicked liver, and knew not God then as I ought to do, God forgive me.

*Bonner.* No faith? that is not so: I am sure you were of some faith.

*Phil.* My lord, I have declared to you on my conscience what I then was, and judge of myself: and what is that to the purpose of the thing I desire to be satisfied of you?

*Bonner.* Master Dr. Cole, I pray you say your mind to him.

*Cole.* What will you say if I can prove that it was decreed by an universal council in Athanasius's time, that all the Christian church should follow the determination of the church of Rome? but I do now not remember where.

*Phil.* If you, master doctor, can shew me the same granted to the see of Rome by the authority of the scripture, I will gladly hearken thereto. But I think you be not able to shew any such thing: for Athanasius was president of the Nicene Council, and there was no such thing decreed, I am sure.

*Cole.* Though it were not then, it might be at another time.

*Phil.* I desire to see the proof thereof.—And upon this Mr. Harpsfield, chancellor to the bishop of London, brought in a book of Ireneus, with certain leaves turned in, and laid it before the bishops to help them in their perplexity, if it might be: the which after the bishops of Bath and Gloucester had read together, the bishop of Gloucester gave me the book.

*Glo.* Take the book, Mr. Philpot, and look upon that place, and there may you see how the church of Rome is to be followed of all men.

*Phil.* I took the book, and read the place, the which after I had read, I said it made nothing against me, but against the Arians and other heretics, against whom Ireneus wrote, proving that they were not to be credited, because they did teach and follow after strange doctrine in Europe, and that the chief church of the same was founded by Peter and Paul, and had to this time continued by faithful succession of the faithful bishops in preaching the true gospel, as they had received of the apostles, and nothing like to these late-sprung heretics, &c. Whereby he concludeth against them, that they were not to be heard, neither to be credited, the which thing if you, my lords, be able to prove now of the church of Rome, then had you as good authority against me, in my cause now, as Ireneus had against those heretics. But the church of Rome hath swerved from the truth and simplicity of the gospel, which it maintained in Ireneus' time, and was uncorrupted from that which it is now; wherefore your lordship cannot justly apply the authority of Ireneus to the church of Rome now, which is so manifestly corrupted from the primitive church.

*Bonner.* So will you say still, it maketh nothing for the purpose, whatsoever authority we bring, and will never be satisfied.

*Phil.* My lord, when I do by just reason prove that the authorities which be brought against me do not make to the purpose, (as I have already proved,) I trust you will receive mine answer.

*Worc.* It is to be proved most manifestly by all the ancient writers, that the see of Rome hath always followed the truth, and never was deceived, until of late certain heretics have defaced the same.

*Phil.* Let that be proved, and I have done.

*Worc.* Nay, you are of such arrogancy, singularity, and vain-glory, that you will not see it, be it never so well proved.

*Phil.* Ha, my lords, is it now time, think you, for me to follow singularity or vain-glory, since it is now upon danger of my life and death, not only presently, but also before God to come? And I know, if I die not in the true faith, I shall die everlastingly; and again I know, if I do not as you would have me, you will kill me and many thousands more; yet had I rather perish at your hands than to perish eternally. And at this time I have lost all my commodities of this world, and lie in a coal-house, where a man would not lay a dog; with the which I am well contented.

*Cole.* Where are you able to prove that the church of Rome hath erred at any time? and by what history? Certain it is by Eusebius, that the church was established at Rome by Peter and Paul, and that Peter was bishop twenty-five years at Rome.

*Phil.* I know well that Eusebius so writeth: but if we compare that which St. Paul writeth to the Galatians, chapter i. the contrary will manifestly appear, that he was not half so long there. He lived not past 35 years after he was called to be an apostle; and Paul maketh mention of



his abiding at Jerusalem after Christ's death more than thirteen years.

*Cole.* What did Peter write to the Galatians?

*Phil.* No, I say Paul maketh mention of Peter writing to the Galatians, and of his abiding at Jerusalem: and, further, I am able to prove, both by Eusebius and other historians, that the church of Rome hath manifestly erred, and at this present doth err, because she agreeth not with that which they wrote. The primitive church did use according to the gospel, and there needeth none other proof but compare the one with the other.

*Bonner.* I may compare this man to a certain man I read of which fell into a desperation, and went into a wood to hang himself, and when he came there, he went viewing of every tree, and could find none on the which he might vouchsafe to hang himself. But I will not apply it as I might. I pray you, master doctor, go forth with him.

*Cole.* My lord, there be on every side of me that be better able to answer him, and I love not to fall into disputation; for that now-a-days a man shall but sustain shame thereby of the people. I had rather shew my mind in writing.

*Phil.* And I had rather that you should do so than otherwise, for then a man may better judge of your words than by argument, and I beseech you so to do. But if I were a rich man, I durst wager an hundred pounds that you shall not be able to shew that you have said to be decreed by a general council in Athanasius's time: for this I am sure of, that it was concluded by a general council in Africa many years after, that none of Africa, under pain of excommunication, should appeal to Rome. The which decree I am sure they would not have made, if by the scriptures, and by an universal council, it had been decreed that all men should abide and follow the determination of the church of Rome.

*Cole.* But I can shew that they revoked that error again.

*Phil.* So you say, master doctor; but I pray you shew me where. I have hitherto heard nothing of you for my contentation, but bare words without any authority.

*Bonner.* What, I pray you, ought we to dispute with you of our faith? Justinian in the law hath a title, *De Fide Catholica*, to the contrary.

*Phil.* I am certain the civil law hath such a constitution; but our faith must not depend upon the civil law: for as St. Ambrose saith, *Non lex, sed fides congregavit ecclesiam*: Not the law, but the gospel, saith he, hath gathered the church together.

*Worc.* Mr. Philpot, you have the spirit of pride where-with ye be led, which will not let you yield to the truth; leave it for shame.

*Phil.* Sir, I am sure I have the spirit of faith, by the which I speak at this present; neither am I ashamed to stand to my faith.

*Glo.* What! do you think yourself better learned than so many notable learned men as be here?

*Phil.* Elias alone had the truth, when there were four hundred priests against him.

*Worc.* O, you would be counted now for Elias! And yet I tell thee he was deceived; for he thought there had been none good but himself, and yet he was deceived, for there were seven thousand besides him.

*Phil.* Yea, but he was not deceived in doctrine, as the other four hundred were.

*Worc.* By my faith you are greatly to blame, that you cannot be content to be of the church which ever hath been of that faithful antiquity.

*Phil.* My lord, I know Rome, and have been there, where I saw your lordship.

*Worc.* Indeed I did fly from hence thither, and I remember not that I saw you there. But I am sorry that you have been there: for the wickedness which you have seen there, peradventure causeth you to do as you do.

*Phil.* No, my lord, I do not as I do for that cause: for I am taught otherwise by the gospel, not altogether to refuse the minister for his evil living, so that he bring sound doctrine out of God's book.

*Worc.* Do you think the universal church may be deceived?

*Phil.* St. Paul to the Thessalonians prophesieth that there should come an universal departing from the faith in the latter days before the coming of Christ, saying, *Non veniet Christus, nisi venerit defectio prius*, that is, Christ shall not come, till there come a departing first.

*Cole.* Yea, I pray you, how take you the departing there in St. Paul? it is not meant of faith, but of the departing from the empire; for it is, in Greek, *αποστασια*.

*Phil.* Marry indeed, you, master doctor, put me in good remembrance of the meaning of St. Paul in that place; for *apostasia* is properly a departing from the faith, and thereof cometh *apostata*, which properly signifieth one that departeth from his faith; and St. Paul in the same place after speaketh of the decay of the empire.

*Cole.* *Apostasia* doth not only signify a departing from the faith, but also from the empire, as I am able to shew.

*Phil.* I never read it so taken; and when you shall be able to shew it, as you say in words, I will believe it, and not before.

*Worc.* I am sorry that you should be against the Christian world.

*Phil.* The world commonly, and such as be called Christians (for the multitude) hath hated the truth, and been enemies to the same.

*Glo.* Why, Mr. Philpot, do you think that the universal church hath erred, and you only to be in the truth?

*Phil.* The church that you are of was never universal; for two parts of the world, which is Asia and Africa, never consented to the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, as at this day they do not, neither do follow his decrees.

*Glo.* Yes, in the Florentine council they did agree.

*Phil.* It was said so by false report, after they of Asia and Africa were gone home; but it was not so indeed, as the sequel of them all hitherto doth prove the contrary.

*Glo.* I pray you, by whom will you be judged in matters of controversy which happen daily?

*Phil.* By the word of God: for Christ saith in St. John, 'The word that he spake, shall be judge in the latter day.'

*Glo.* What if you take the word one way, and I another way, who shall be judge then?

*Phil.* The primitive church.

*Glo.* I know you mean the doctors that wrote thereof.

*Phil.* I mean verily so.

*Glo.* What if you take the doctors in one sense, and I in another, who shall be judge then?

*Phil.* Then let that be taken which is most agreeable to God's word.

*Cole.* My lords, why do you trouble yourselves to answer him in this matter? It is not the thing which is laid to his charge, but his error of the sacrament, and he, to shift himself of that, brought in another matter.

*Phil.* This is the matter, Mr. Cole, to the which I have referred all other questions, and desire to be satisfied.

*Worc.* It is wonder to see how he standeth with a few against a great multitude.

*Phil.* We have almost as many as you: for we have Asia,

Africa, Germany, Denmark, and a great part of France, and daily the number of the gospel doth increase ; so that I am credibly informed, that for this religion in which I stand, and for the which I am like to die, a great multitude doth daily come out of France through persecution, that the cities of Germany be scarce able to receive them ; and therefore your lordship may be sure the word of God will one day take place, do what you can to the contrary.

*Worc.* They were well occupied to bring you such news, and you have been well kept to have such resort unto you. Thou art the arrogantest fellow, and stoutest fond fellow, that ever I knew.

*Phil.* I pray your lordship to bear with my hasty speech ; for it is part of my corrupt nature to speak somewhat hastily. But for all that, I mean with humility to do my duty to your lordship.

*Bonner.* Mr. Philpot, my lords will trouble you no further at this time, but you shall go from whence you came, and have such favour as in the mean while I can shew you ; and upon Wednesday next you shall be called again, to be heard what you can say for maintenance of your error.

*Phil.* My lord, my desire is to be satisfied of you in that I have required ; and your lordship shall find me as I have said.

*Worc.* We wish you as well as ourselves.

*Phil.* I think the same, my lords, but I fear you are deceived, and have a zeal of yourselves not according to knowledge.

*Worc.* God send you more grace.

*Phil.* And also God increase the same in you, and open your eyes that you may see to maintain his truth, and his true church.

Then the bishops rose up, and consulted together, and caused a writing to be made, in the which I think my blood by them was bought and sold, and thereto they put their hands ; and after this I was carried to my coal house again.

Because I have begun to write unto you of mine examinations before the bishop and other, more to satisfy your desire than that it is any thing worthy to be written, I have thought it good to write unto you also that which had been done of late, that the same might come to light which they do in darkness and in privy corners, and that the world now, and posterity hereafter, might know how unorderly, unjustly, and unlearnedly, these ravening wolves do proceed against the silly and faithful flock of Christ, and condemn and persecute the sincere doctrine of Christ in us, which they are not able by honest means to resist, but only by tyranny and violence.

*The fifth Examination of John Philpot, had before the Bishops of London, Rochester, Coventry, St. Asaph, (I trow,) and one other, whose Sees I know not, Dr. Story, Curtop, Dr. Saverson, Dr. Pendleton, with divers other, Chaplains and Gentlemen of the Queen's Chamber, and divers other Gentlemen, in the Gallery of my Lord of London's Palace.*

*Bonner.* Mr. Philpot, come you hither ; I have desired my lords here, and other learned men, to take some pains once again, and to do you good, and because I do mind to sit in judgment on you to-morrow, as I am commanded, yet I would you should have as much favour as I can shew you, if you will be any thing conformable ; therefore play the wise man, and be not singular in your own opinion, but be ruled by these learned men.

*Phil.* My lord, in that you say you will sit on me in judgment to-morrow, I am glad thereof : for I was promised by them which sent me unto you, that I should have been judg-

ed the next day after ; but promise hath not been kept with me, to my farther grief. I look for none other but death at your hands, and I am as ready to yield my life in Christ's cause, as you be to require it.

*Bonner.* Lo, what a wilful man is this ! By my faith it is but folly to reason with him, neither with any of these heretics. I am sorry that you will be no more tractable, and that I am compelled to shew extremity against you.

*Phil.* My lord, you need not to shew extremity against me unless you list ; neither by the law, as I have said, have you any thing to do with me, for that you are not mine ordinary, albeit I am, contrary to all right, in your prison.

*Bonner.* Why, the queen's commissioners sent you hither unto me upon your examination had before them. I know not well the cause ; but I am sure they would not have sent you hither to me unless you had made some talk to them otherwise than it becometh a Christian man.

*Phil.* My lord, indeed they sent me hither without any occasion then ministered by me ; only they laid unto me the disputation I made in the convocation-house, requiring me to answer the same, and to recant it : the which because I would not do, they sent me hither to your lordship.

*Bon.* Why did you not answer them thereto ?

*Phil.* For that they were temporal men, and ought not to be judges in spiritual causes whereof they demanded me, without shewing any authority whereby I was bound to answer them, and hereupon they committed me to your prison.

*Bonner.* Indeed I remember now, you maintained open heresy in my diocese : wherefore the commissioners sent you unto me, that I should proceed against you, for this you have spoken in my diocese.

*Phil.* My lord, I stand still upon my lawful plea in this behalf ; that though it were a great heresy, as you suppose it, yet I ought not to be troubled therefore, in respect of the privilege of the parliament-house, whereof the convocation-house is a member, where all men in matters propounded may frankly speak their minds ; and here is present a gentleman of the queen's majesty that was present at the disputation, and can testify the questions which were then in controversy were not set forth by me, but by the prolocutor, who required in the queen's majesty's name all men to dispute their minds freely in the same, that were of the house.

*The queen's gentleman.* Though the parliament-house be a place of privilege for men of the house to speak, yet may none speak any treason against the queen, or maintain treason against the crown.

*Phil.* But if there be any matter which otherwise it were treason to speak of, were it treason for any person to speak therein, specially the thing being proposed by the speaker ? I think not.

*The queen's gentleman.* You make the matter easy enough to you yet, as I perceive, if you will revoke the same which you did there so stubbornly maintain.

*S. As.* This man did not speak under reformation, as many there did, but *αγαριστικως* and *καρηγορικως*, which is, earnestly and persuasively, as ever I heard any.

*Phil.* My lords, since you will not cease to trouble me for that I have lawfully done, neither will admit my just defence for that was spoken in the convocation-house by me, contrary to the laws and custom of the realm ; I appeal to the whole parliament-house, to be judged by the same, whether I ought thus to be molested for that I have there spoken.

*Rochester.* But have you spoken and maintained the same since that time, or no ?

*Phil.* If any man can charge me justly therewith, here I stand to make answer.

**Rochester.** How say you to it now? will you stand to that you have spoken in the convocation-house, and do you think you said then well, or no?

**Phil.** My lord, you are not mine ordinary to proceed *ex officio* against me; and therefore I am not bound to tell you my conscience of your demands.

**S. As.** What say you now? Is there not in the blessed sacrament of the altar (and with that they all put off their caps for reverence of the idol) the presence of our Saviour Christ really and substantially, after the words of consecration?

**Phil.** I do believe in the sacrament of Christ's body, duly ministered, to be such manner of presence as the word teacheth me to believe.

**S. As.** I pray you, how is that?

**Phil.** As for that, I will declare another time, when I shall be lawfully called to dispute my mind of this matter. But I am not yet driven to that point; and the scripture saith, All things ought to be done in order.

**Another bishop.** This is a froward and vain-glorious man.

**Bonner.** It is not lawful for a man by the civil laws to dispute of his faith openly, as it appeareth in the title, *De summa Trinitate et Fide Catholica*.

**Phil.** My lord, I have answered you to this question before.

**Bonner.** Why, I never asked thee of this before now.

**Phil.** Yes, that you did at my last examination, by that token I answered your lordship by St. Ambrose, that the church is congregated by the word, and not by man's law. Wherefore I add now further of this saying, *Quod si fidem repudiat, et legem objicit, injustus est, quia justus ex fide vivit*: i. e. That he which refuseth the word, and objecteth the law, is an unjust man, because the just shall live by faith. And moreover, my lord, the title which your lordship allegeth out of the law, maketh it not unlawful to dispute of all the articles of the faith, but of the Trinity.

**Bonner.** Thou liest, it is not so; and I will shew you by the book how ignorant he is.—And with that he went with all haste to his study, and fetched his book, and openly read the text and the title of the law, and charged me with such words as seemed to make for his purpose, saying, How sayest thou to this?

**Phil.** My lord, I say as I said before, that the law meaneth of the Catholic faith, determined in the council of Chalcedonia, where the articles of the Creed were only concluded upon.

**Bonner.** Thou art the veriest beast that ever I heard; I must needs speak it, thou compellest me thereunto.

**Phil.** Your lordship may speak your pleasure of me. But what is this to the purpose which your lordship is so earnest in? You know that our faith is not grounded upon the civil law: therefore it is not material to me whatsoever the law saith.

**Bonner.** By what law wilt thou be judged? wilt thou be judged by the common law?

**Phil.** No, my lord, our faith dependeth not upon the laws of man.

**S. As.** He will be judged by no law, but as he list himself.

**Worc.** The common laws are but abstracts of the scriptures and doctors.

**Phil.** Whatsoever you do make them, they are no ground of my faith, by the which I ought to be judged.

**Bonner.** I must needs proceed against thee to morrow.

**Phil.** If your lordship do so, I will have *exceptionem forti*; for you are not my competent judge.

**Bonner.** By what law canst thou refuse me to be thy judge?

**Phil.** By the civil law, *De competente judice*.

**Bon.** There is no such title in the law. In what book is it, as cunning a lawyer as you be?

**Phil.** My lord, I take upon me no great cunning in the law; but you drive me to my shifts for my defence, and I am sure, if I had the books of the law, I were able to shew what I say.

**Bonner.** What, *De competente judice*! I will go fetch thee my books. There is a title indeed, *De officiis judices Ordinarii*.

**Phil.** Verily that is the same, *De competente judice*, which I have alleged.—With that he ran to his study, and brought the whole course of the law between his hands, which, as it might appear, he had well occupied, by the dust they were imbrued withal!

**Bonner.** There be the books: find it now, if thou canst, and I will promise to release thee out of prison.

**Phil.** My lord, I stand not here to reason matters of the civil law, although I am not altogether ignorant of the same, (for that I have been a student in the law six or seven years,) but to answer to the articles of faith, with the which you may lawfully accuse me. And whereas you go about unlawfully to proceed, I challenge, according to my knowledge, the benefit of the law in my defence.

**Bonner.** Why, thou wilt answer directly to nothing thou art charged withal; therefore say not hereafter but you might have been satisfied here by learned men, if you would have declared your mind.

**Phil.** My lord, I have declared my mind unto you and to other of the bishops at my last being with you, desiring you to be satisfied but of one thing, whereunto I have referred all other controversies; the which if your lordships now, or other learned men, can simply resolve me of, I am as contented to be reformed in all things as you shall require; the which is, to prove that the church of Rome (whereof you are) is the Catholic church.

**Coven.** Why, do you not believe your Creed, *Credo Ecclesiam Catholicam*?

**Phil.** Yes, that I do; but I cannot understand Rome to be the same, neither like to it.

**S. As.** It is most evident that St. Peter did build the catholic church at Rome; and Christ said, *Tu es Petrus, et super hanc Petram edificabo Ecclesiam meam*. Moreover, the succession of bishops in the see of Rome can be proved from time to time, as it can be of none other place so well; which is a manifest probation of the Catholic church, as divers doctors do write.

**Phil.** That you would have to be undoubted, is most uncertain, and that by the authority which you allege of Christ, saying unto Peter, *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church*, unless you can prove the rock to signify Rome, as you would make men falsely believe. And although you can prove the succession of bishops from Peter, yet this is not sufficient to prove Rome the Catholic church, unless you can prove the profession of Peter's faith, whereupon the Catholic church is builded, to have continued in his successors at Rome, and at this present to remain.

**Bonner.** Is there any more churches than one Catholic church? And I pray tell me into what faith were you baptized?

**Phil.** I acknowledge one holy Catholic and Apostolic church, whereof I am a member, I praise God, and am of that Catholic faith of Christ whereunto I was baptized.

**Coven.** I pray you, can you tell what this word *Catholic* doth signify? shew if you can.

**Phil.** Yes, that I can, I thank God: the Catholic faith, or the Catholic church, is not, as now-a-days the people be

taught, that which is most universal, or of most part of men received, whereby you do infer our faith to hang upon the multitude, which is not so; but I esteem the Catholic church to be as St. Austin defineth the same: *Æstimamus fidem Catholicam a rebus præteritis, præsentibus, et futuris*: i. e. We judge, saith he, the Catholic faith, of that which hath been, is, and shall be. So that if you can be able to prove that your faith and church hath been from the beginning taught, and is, and shall be, then may you count yourselves catholic, otherwise not. And *Catholic* is a Greek word compounded of *κατα*, which signifieth after or according, and *ολος*, a sum, or principal, or whole. So that Catholic church, or Catholic faith, is as much as to say the first, whole, sound, or chiefest, faith.

*Bon.* Doth St. Austin say so as he allegeth it? or doth he mean as he taketh the same? How say you, Mr. Curtop?

*Curtop.* Indeed, my lord, St. Augustin hath such a saying, speaking against the Donatists, that the Catholic faith ought to be esteemed of things in time past, and as they are practised according to the same, and ought to be through all ages, and not after a new manner, as the Donatists began to profess.

*Phil.* You have said well, Mr. Curtop, and after the meaning of St. Austin, and to confirm that which I have said for the signification of *Catholic*.

*Coven.* Let the book be seen, my lord.

*Bonner.* I pray you, my lord, be content, or in good faith I will break even off, and let all alone. Do you think the Catholic church (until it was within these few years, in the which a few upon singularity have swerved from the same,) have erred?

*Phil.* I do not think that the Catholic church can err in doctrine; but I require you to prove this church of Rome to be the Catholic church.

*Curtop.* I can prove that Ireneus (which was within an hundred years after Christ) came to Victor, then bishop of Rome, to ask his advice about the excommunication of certain heretics; the which he would not have done, by all likelihood, if he had not taken him to be supreme head.

*Coven.* Mark well this argument. How are you able to answer the same? answer, if you can.

*Phil.* It is soon answered, my lord, for that it is of no force; neither this fact of Ireneus maketh no more for the supremacy of the bishop of Rome than mine hath done, which have been at Rome as well as he, and might have spoken with the pope, if I had list; and yet I would none in England did favour his supremacy more than I.

*S. As.* You are the more to blame, by the faith of my body, for that you favour the same no better, since all the Catholic church, until these few years, have taken him to be the supreme head of the church, besides this good man Ireneus.

*Phil.* That is not likely, that Ireneus so took him, or the primitive church; for I am able to shew seven general councils after Ireneus' time, wherein he was never so taken; which may be a sufficient proof that the Catholic primitive church never took him for supreme head.

*The other bishop.* This man will never be satisfied, say what ye can. It is but folly to reason any more with him.

*Phil.* O my lords, would you have me satisfied with nothing? Judge, I pray you, who of us hath better authority, he which bringeth the example of one man going to Rome, or I that by these many general councils am able to prove that he was never so taken in many hundred years after Christ, as by Nicene, Ephesine, the first and second Chalcedon, Constantinopolitan, Carthaginense, Aquilense.

*Coven.* Why will you not admit the church of Rome to be the Catholic church?

*Phil.* Because it followeth not the primitive Catholic church, neither agreeth with the same, no more than an apple is like a nut.

*Coven.* Wherein doth it dissent?

*Phil.* It were too long to recite all, but two things I will name, the supremacy and transubstantiation.

*Cur.* As for transubstantiation, albeit it was set forth and decreed for an article of faith not much above 300 years, yet it was always believed in the church.

*Bonner.* Yea, that it was. Very well said of you, Mr. Curtop.

*Phil.* Ye have said right, that transubstantiation is but a late plantation of the bishop of Rome, and you are not able to shew any ancient writer, that the primitive church did believe any such thing.—And with this Curtop shrank away. And immediately after the ambassador of Spain came in, to whom my lord of London went, leaving the other with me. To whom I said, My lords, if you can shew me that this church of Rome (whereof you are members) is the true Catholic church, I shall be content to be one thereof, and as conformable to the same as you can require me in all things; for I know there is no salvation but within the church.

*Coven.* Can you disprove that the church of Rome is not the Catholic church?

*Phil.* Yea, that I am able; but I desire rather to hear of you for the proof thereof. And seeing I cannot have my request at your hands, neither be satisfied with any probable authority, I will shew you good proof why it is not. For if the primitive church were Catholic, (as it was indeed, and ought to be the form and schoolmistress of the church to the world's end,) then is not the church of Rome now the Catholic church, which dissenteth so far from the same both in doctrine and use of the sacraments.

*Coven.* How prove you that the church of Rome now dissenteth in doctrine and use of the sacraments from the primitive church?

*Phil.* Compare the one with the other, and it shall soon appear, as you may see both in Eusebius, and other ecclesiastical and ancient writers.

*Coven.* What have you to say more, why it is not the Catholic church?

*Phil.* Because it is not (by your interpretation of *Catholic*) universal, neither ever was, albeit you falsely persuade the people that it is so: for the world being divided into three parts, Asia, Africa, and Europe, two parts thereof, Asia and Africa, professing Christ as well as we, did never consent to the church of Rome, which is of Europe; which is a sufficient testimony that your faith was never universal.

*Coven.* How prove you that?

*Phil.* All the historiographers which write of the proceedings of the church, do testify the same. Besides that, this present time doth declare that to be true which I say; for at this present the church of Asia and Africa do not consent to the church of Rome. Yea, and besides all this, most part of Europe doth not agree, neither allow the church of Rome; as Germany, the kingdom of Denmark, the kingdom of Poland, a great part of France, England, and Zealand: which is a manifest proof that your church is not universal.

And after this the bishop of London called away the other bishops, and left with me divers gentlemen, with certain of his chaplains, as Dr. Saverson, an Englishman, which had proceeded doctor in Bononie, who discoursed with me on the same subject. And after this Dr. Story came in; to whom I said, Master doctor, you have done me great injury, and

without law have straitly imprisoned me, more like a dog than a man; and besides this, you have not kept promise with me, for you promised that I should be judged the next day after.

*Story.* I am come now to keep promise with thee. Was there ever such a fantastical man as this is? nay, he is no man, he is a beast; yea, these heretics be worse than brute beasts: for they will, upon a vain singularity, take upon them to be wiser than all men, being indeed very fools and ass-heads, not able to maintain that which of an arrogant obstinacy they do stand in.

*Phil.* Master doctor, I am content to abide your railing judgment of me now; say what you will, I am content, for I am under your feet to be trodden on as you list. God forgive it you: yet I am no heretic. Neither you nor any other shall be able to prove that I hold any jot against the word of God, nor otherwise than a Christian man ought.

*Story.* The word of God! Forsooth, the word of God! It is but a folly to reason with these heretics, for they are incurable and desperate. But yet I may reason with thee, not that I have any hope to win thee: whom wilt thou appoint to judge of the word whereto thou standest?

*Phil.* Verily the word itself.

*Story.* Do you not see the ignorance of this beastly heretic? He willeth the word to be judged of the word. Can the word speak?

*Phil.* If I cannot prove that which I have said by good authority, I will be content to be counted an heretic and an ignorant person, and further what you please.

*Story.* Let us hear what wise authority thou canst bring in.

*Phil.* It is the saying of Christ in St. John, *Verbum quod locutus sum judicabit in novissimo die*. The word which I have spoken, saith Christ, shall judge in the last day. If the word shall judge in the last day, much more ought it to judge our doings now. And I am sure I have my Judge on my side, who shall absolve and justify me in another world: howsoever now it shall please you by authority unrighteously to judge me and others, sure I am in another world to judge you.

*Story.* What, you purpose to be a stinking martyr, and to sit in judgment with Christ at the last day to judge the twelve tribes of Israel!

*Phil.* Yea, sir, I doubt not thereof, having the promise of Christ, if I die for righteousness' sake, which you have begun to persecute in me.

*Story.* I told you it was but vain to argue with this heretic; he is drowned in his heresies without all learning.

*Phil.* Sir, I have brought you for that I have said good authority out of God's book, to the which you answer nothing, but go about still to give railing judgment against me without any cause.

*Story.* I will come to you by and by. When as the judge in Westminster-hall giveth sentence, doth the word give sentence, or the judge? tell me.

*Phil.* Civil matters be subject to civil men, and they have authority by the word to be judges of them. But the word of God is not subject to man's judgment, but ought to judge all the wisdom, thoughts, and doings, of men, and therefore your comparison disproveth nothing that I have said, neither answereth any whit thereto.

*Story.* Wilt thou not allow the interpretation of the church upon the scriptures?

*Phil.* Yes, if it be according to the word of the true church; and this I say to you, as I have said heretofore, that if you can prove the church of Rome, whereof ye are, to be the true Catholic church which I ought to follow, I

will be as ready to yield thereto (as long as it can be so proved) as you may desire me.

*Story.* What a fellow is this! he will believe nothing but what he list himself. Are we not in possession of the church? Have not our forefathers these many hundred years taken this church for the Catholic church whereof we are now? And if we had none other proof but this, it were sufficient; for the prescription of time maketh a good title in the law.

*Phil.* You do well, master doctor, to allege prescription of many years, for it is all that you have to shew for yourselves. But you must understand, *In divinis nulla occurrit prescriptio*, that prescription hath no place in matters belonging unto God, as I am able to shew by the testimony of many doctors.

*Story.* Well, sir, you are like to go after your father, Latimer the sophister, and Ridley, who had nothing to allege for himself, but that he had learned his heresy of Cranmer. When I came to him with a poor bachelor of arts, he trembled as though he had had the palsy, as these heretics have always some token of fear whereby a man may know them, as you may see this man's eyes do tremble in his head. But I despatched them; and I tell thee, that there hath been yet never any one burnt, but I have spoken with him, and have been a cause of his despatch.

*Phil.* You have the more to answer for, Mr. doctor, as you shall feel in another world, how much soever you do now triumph of your proceedings.

*Story.* I tell thee I will never be confessed thereof. And because I cannot now tarry to speak with my lord, I pray one of you tell my lord, That my coming was to signify to his lordship, that he must out of hand rid this heretic out of the way. And going away, he said to me, I certify thee, that thou mayest thank none other man but me.

*Phil.* I thank you therefore with all mine heart, and God forgive it you.

*Story.* What, dost thou thank me? If I had thee in my study half an hour, I would make you sing another song.

*Phil.* No, master doctor, I stand upon too sure a ground to be overthrown by you now. And thus they departed all away from me one after another, until I was left all alone. And afterwards, with my keeper going to my coal-house, as I went I met with my lord of London, who spake unto me gently as he hath hitherto, in words, saying, Philpot, if there be any pleasure I may shew you in my house, I pray you require it, and you shall have it.

*Phil.* My lord, the pleasure that I will require of your lordship is, to hasten my judgment which is committed unto you, and to despatch me forth of this miserable world, unto my eternal rest. And for all this fair speech I cannot attain hitherto, this fortnight's space, neither fire nor candle, neither yet good lodging. But it is good for a man to be brought low in this world, and to be counted amongst the vilest, that he may in time of reward receive exaltation and glory. Therefore praised be God, that hath humbled me, and given me grace with gladness to be content therewithal. Let all that love the truth say, Amen.

*The sixth Examination of John Philpot, had before the right honourable Lords, the Lord Chamberlain to the Queen's Majesty, the Viscount Hereford, commonly called Lord Ferras, the Lord Rich, the Lord S. John's, the Lord Windsor, the Lord Shandois, Sir John Bridport, Lieutenant of the Tower, and two other more whose names are unknown, with the Bishop of London and Dr. Chedsey, the 6th day of November, anno 1555*



Before that I was called afore the lords, and whiles they were in sitting down, the bishop of London came aside to me and whispered in mine ear, willing me to use myself before the lords of the queen's majesty's council prudently, and to take heed what I said; and thus he pretended to give me counsel, because he wished me to do well, as I might now do if I list. And after the lords and other worshipful gentlemen of the queen's majesty's servants were set, my lord of London placed himself at the end of the table, and called me to him, and by the lords I was placed at the upper end against him; where I kneeling down, the lords commanded me to stand up, and after in this manner the bishop began to speak.

*London.* Mr. Philpot, I have heretofore both privately myself, and openly before the lords of the clergy, more times than once caused you to be talked withal to reform you of your errors, but I have not found you yet so tractable as I would wish: wherefore now I have desired these honourable lords of the temporality, and of the queen's majesty's council, who have taken pains with me this day (I thank them therefore) to hear you what you can say, that they may be judges whether I have sought all means to do you good or no; and I dare be bold to say in their behalf, that if you shew yourself conformable to the queen's majesty's proceedings, you shall find as much favour for your deliverance as you can wish. I speak not this to lown upon you, but to bring you home into the church: now let them hear what you can say.

*Phil.* My lord, I thank God this day, that I have such an honourable audience to declare my mind before. And I cannot but commend your lordship's equity in this behalf, which agreeth with the order of the primitive church, which was, if any body had been suspected of heresy, as I am now, he should be called first before the archbishop or bishop of the diocese where he was suspected; secondly, in the presence of others his fellow-bishops and learned elders; and thirdly, in hearing of the laity; where, after the judgment of God's word declared, and with the assent of our bishops and consent of the people, he was condemned for an heretic, or absolved. And the second point of that good order I have found at your lordship's hands already, in being called before you and your fellow-bishops, and now have the third sort of men, at whose hands I trust to find more righteousness in my cause than I have found with my lords of the clergy: God grant I may have at last the judgment of God's word concerning the same.

*Lon.* Mr. Philpot, I pray you, ere you go any further, tell my lords here plainly whether you were by me, or by my procurement, committed to prison or not, and whether I have shewed you any cruelty sithen ye have been committed to my prison.

*Phil.* If it shall please your lordship to give me leave to declare forth my matter, I will touch that afterward.

*Rich.* Answer first of all to my lord's two questions, and then proceed forth to the matter. How say you, were you imprisoned by my lord, or no? can you find any fault since with his cruel using of you?

*Phil.* I cannot lay to my lord's charge the cause of mine imprisonment, neither may I say that he hath used me cruelly; but rather for my part I may say, that I have found more gentleness at his lordship's hands than I did at mine own ordinary's for the time I have been within his prison, for that he hath called me three or four times to mine answer, to the which I was not called in a year and a half before.

*Rich.* Well, now go to your matter.

*Phil.* The matter is, that I am imprisoned for the dispu-

tations had by me in the convocation-house against the sacrament of the altar, which matter was not moved principally by me, but by the prolocutor, with the consent of the queen's majesty, and of the whole house, and that house being a member of the parliament-house, ought to be a place of free speech for all men of the house, by the ancient and laudable custom of this realm. Wherefore I think myself to have sustained hitherto great injury for speaking my conscience freely in such a place, as I might lawfully do it: and I desire your honourable lordships' judgment, which be of the parliament-house, whether of right I ought to be impeached therefore, and sustain the loss of my living, as I have done, and moreover of my life, as it is sought.

*Rich.* You are deceived herein: for the convocation-house is no part of the parliament-house.

*Phil.* My lord, I have always understood the contrary by such as are more expert in things of this realm than I; and again, the title of every act leadeth me to think otherwise, which allegeth the agreement of the spirituality and temporality assembled together.

*Rich.* Yea, that is meant of the spiritual lords of the upper house.

*Windsor.* Indeed the convocation-house is called together by one writ of the summons of the parliament of an old custom; notwithstanding, that house is no part of the parliament-house.

*Phil.* My lords, I must be contented to abide your judgment in this behalf.

*Rich.* We have told you the truth. Marry yet we would not that you should be troubled for any thing that there was spoken, so that you, having spoken amiss, do declare now that you are sorry therefore.

*Lon.* My lords, he hath spoken there manifest heresy, yea, and there stoutly maintained the same against the blessed sacrament of the altar, (and with that he put off his cap, that all the lords might reverence and vail their bonnets at that idol as he did,) and would not allow the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the same: yet, my lords, God forbid that I should go about to shew him extremity for so doing, in case he will repent and revoke his wicked sayings; and if, in faith, he will so do, with your lordships' consent, he shall be released by and by; if he will not, he shall have the extremity of the law, and that shortly.

*Chamb.* My lord of London speaketh reasonably unto you: take it whiles it is offered you.

*Rich.* How say you? will you acknowledge the real presence of the body and blood of Christ, as all the learned men of this realm do, in the mass, and as I do, and will believe as long as I live, I do protest it?

*Phil.* My lord, I do acknowledge in the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ such a presence as the word of God doth allow and teach me.

*Rich.* That shall be no otherwise than you list.

*Lon.* A sacrament is a sign of a holy thing; so that there is both the sign which is the accident, (as the whiteness, roundness, and shape, of bread,) and there is also the thing itself, as very Christ, both God and man. But these heretics will have the sacraments to be but bare signs. How say you? declare unto my lords here whether you do allow the thing itself in the sacrament or no.

*Phil.* I do confess, that in the Lord's supper there is in due respects both the sign and the thing signified, when it is duly ministered after the institution of Christ.

*Lon.* You may see how he goeth about the bush, as he hath done before with my lords of the clergy, and dare not utter his mind plainly.

*Rich.* Shew us what manner of presence you allow in the sacrament.

*Phil.* If it please you, my lord of London, to give me leave to proceed orderly thereunto, and to let me declare my mind without interruption, I will thoroughly open my mind therein.

*Shand.* I pray you, my lord, let him speak his mind.

*Phil.* My lord, that at the first I have not plainly declared my judgment unto you, the reason is this, because I cannot speak hereof without the danger of my life.

*Rich.* There is none of us here that seeketh thy life, or means to take any advantage of that thou shalt speak.

*Phil.* Although I mistrust not your honourable lordships that be here of the temporality, yet here is one that sitteth against me (pointing to my lord of London) that will lay it to my charge even to the death. Notwithstanding, seeing your honours do require me to declare my mind of the presence of Christ in the sacrament, that ye may perceive that I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, neither do maintain any opinion without probable and sufficient authority of the scripture, I will shew you frankly my mind without all colour, whatsoever shall ensue unto me therefore, so that my lord of London will not let me to utter my mind.

*Rich.* My lord, permit him to say what he can, seeing he is willing to shew his mind.

*Lon.* I am content, my lords; let him say what he can, I will hear him.

*Phil.* That which I do intend to speak unto you, right honourable lords, I do protest here, first before God and his angels, that I speak it not of vain-glory, neither of singularity, neither of wilful stubbornness, but truly upon a good conscience, grounded on God's word, against the which I dare not do for fear of damnation, which will follow that which is done contrary to knowledge. Neither do I disagree to the proceedings of this realm in the religion, for that I love not the queen, (whom I love from the bottom of my heart,) but because I ought to love and fear God in his word more than man in his laws, though I stand as I seem to do in this consideration, and for none other, as God I call to witness.

There be two things, principally, by the which the clergy at this day doth deceive the whole realm; that is, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and the name of the Catholic church; the which both they do usurp, having indeed none of them both. And as touching their sacrament, which they term of the altar, I say now, as I said in the convocation-house, that is not the sacrament of Christ, neither in the same is there any manner of Christ's presence. Wherefore they deceive the queen's majesty, and you of the nobility of this realm, in making you to believe that to be a sacrament which is none, and cause you to commit manifest idolatry in worshipping that for God which is no god. And in testimony of this to be true, besides manifest proof which I am able to make to the queen's majesty and to all you of her nobility, I will yield my life. The which to do, if it were not upon a sure ground, it were to my utter damnation.

And where they take on them the name of the Catholic church, (whereby they blind many folks' eyes,) they are nothing so, calling you from the true religion which was revealed and taught in king Edward's time, unto vain superstition. And this I will say for the trial hereof, that if they can prove themselves to be the Catholic church (as they shall never be able to do) I will never be against their doings, but revoke all that I have said. And I shall desire you, my lords, to be a mean for me to the queen's majesty, that I may be brought to the just trial hereof. Yes, I will not refuse to stand

against ten of the best of them in this realm; and if they be able to prove otherwise than I have said, either by writing or by reasoning, with good and lawful authority, I will here promise to recant whatsoever I have said, and to consent to them in all points.—And in the declaration of these things more at large, which now I write in sum, the bishop of London eftsoons would have interrupted me, but the lords procured me liberty to make out my tale, to the great grief of the lord bishop of London, as it appeared by the dumps he was in.

*Lon.* It hath been told me before that you love to make a long tale.

*Rich.* All heretics do boast of the Spirit of God, and every one would have a church by himself; as Joan of Kent and the Anabaptists. I had myself Joan of Kent a seven-night in my house after the writ was out for her to be burnt, where my lord of Canterbury and bishop Ridley resorted almost daily unto her: but she was so high in the Spirit, that they could do nothing with her for all their learning. But she went wilfully unto the fire, was burnt; and so do you now.

*Phil.* As for Joan of Kent, she was a vain woman, (I knew her well,) and an heretic indeed, well worthy to be burnt, because she stood against one of the manifest articles of our faith, contrary to the scriptures; and such vain spirits be soon known from the true Spirit of God and his church, for that the same abideth within the limits of God's word, and will not go out of the same, neither stubbornly maintain any thing contrary to the word; as I have God's word thoroughly on my side to shew for that I stand in.

*Lon.* I pray you, how will you join me these two scriptures together, *Pater major me est: et Pater et ego unum sumus*. I must interpret the same, because my lords here understand not the Latin, that is to say, The Father is greater than I; and, I and the Father are one. But I cry you mercy, my lords, I have mis-spoken in saying you understand no Latin, for the most part of you understand Latin as well as I: but I speak in consideration of my lord Shandois and Mr. Bridges his brother, whom I take to be no great Latin men. Now shew your cunning, and join these two scriptures by the word if you can.

*Phil.* Yes, that I can right well: for we must understand that in Christ there be two natures, the divinity and humanity, and in respect of his humanity it is spoken of Christ, The Father is greater than I: but in respect of his deity he said again, The Father and I be one.

*Lon.* But what scripture have you?

*Phil.* Yes, I have sufficient scripture for the proof of that I have said. For the first, it is written of Christ in the Psalms, *Diminuisti eum paulo minus ab angelis*: Thou hast made him a little lesser than angels. It is the 15th Psalm, beginning *Cæli enarrant*. And there I mis-reckoned; wherewithal my lord took me.

*Lon.* It is in *Domine Dominus noster*. Ye may see, my lords, how well this man is used to say his matins.

*Phil.* Though I say not matins in such order as your lordship meaneth, yet I remember of old that *Domine Dominus noster*, and *Cæli enarrant*, be not far asunder; and albeit I misnamed the Psalm, it is no prejudice to the truth that I have proved.

*Lon.* What say you then to the second scripture? how couple you that by the word to the other?

*Phil.* The text itself declareth, that notwithstanding Christ did abase himself in our human nature, yet he is still one in deity with the Father. And this St. Paul to the Hebrews doth more at large set forth. And as I have by the scrip-

tures joined these two scriptures together, so am I able to do in all other articles of faith which we ought to believe, and by the manifest word of God to expound them.

*Lon.* How can that be, seeing St. Paul saith, That the letter killeth, but it is the Spirit that giveth life.

*Phil.* St. Paul meaneth not the word of God written, in itself killeth, which is the word of life, and faithful testimony of the Lord; but that the word is unprofitable, and killeth him that is void of the Spirit of God, although he be the wisest man of the world; and therefore St. Paul saith, That the gospel to some was a savour of life unto life, and to other a savour of death unto death. Also an example hereof we have in the sixth of John, of them who hearing the word of God without the Spirit were offended thereby; wherefore Christ said, The flesh profiteth nothing, it is the Spirit that quickeneth.

*Lon.* What, do you understand that of St. Paul and St. John so?

*Phil.* It is not mine own interpretation, it is agreeable to the word in other places, and I have learned the same of ancient fathers interpreting it likewise. And to the Corinthians it is written, *Animalis homo non percipit ea quæ sunt Spiritus Dei; spiritualis dijudicat omnia*: The natural man perceiveth not the things that be of the Spirit of God; but the spiritual man which is endued with the Spirit judgeth all things.

*Lon.* You see, my lords, that this man will have his own mind, and will wilfully cast away himself. I am sorry for him.

*Phil.* The words that I have spoken be none of mine, but the gospel, whereon I ought to stand. And if you, my lord of London, can bring better authority for the faith you will draw me unto, than that which I stand upon, I will gladly hear the same by you, or by any other in this realm.

Wherefore I kneeling down, besought the lords to be good unto me, a poor gentleman, that would fain live in the world if I might, and testify as you have heard me to say this day, that if any man can prove that I ought to be of any other manner of faith than that of which I am now, and can prove the same sufficiently, I will be neither wilful, neither desperate, as my lord of London would make you believe me to be.

*Rich.* What countryman be you? are ye of the Philpots of Hampshire?

*Phil.* Yea, my lord, I was sir P. Philpot's son of Hampshire.

*Rich.* He is my near kinsman; wherefore I am the more sorry for him.

*Phil.* I thank your lordship that it pleaseth you to challenge kindred of a poor prisoner.

*Rich.* In faith I would go an hundred miles on my bare feet to do you good.

*Cham.* He may do well enough if he list.

*St. John.* Mr. Philpot, you are my countryman, and I would be glad you should do well.

*Rich.* You said even now, that you would desire to maintain your belief before ten of the best in the realm. You did not well to compare with the nobility of the realm. But what if you have ten of the best in the realm to hear you, will you be tried by them?

*Phil.* My lord, your lordship mistaketh me to think that I challenge ten of the best of the nobility of this realm. It was no part of my mind: but I meant, of the best learned on the contrary side.

*Rich.* Well, I take your meaning. What if means be made to the queen's majesty, that you shall have your request, will you be judged by them?

*Phil.* My lord, it is not meet that a man should be judged by his adversaries.

*Rich.* By whom then would you be judged?

*Phil.* I will make your honours judges, that shall be hearers of us.

*Rich.* I dare be bold to procure for you of the queen's majesty, that you shall have ten learned men to reason with you, and twenty or forty of the nobility to hear, so you will promise to abide their judgment. How say you, will you promise here afore my lords so to do?

*Phil.* I will be contented to be judged by them.

*Rich.* Yea, but will you promise to agree to their judgment?

*Phil.* There be causes why I may not so do, unless I were sure they would judge according to the word of God.

*Rich.* O, I perceive you will have no man judge but yourself, and think yourself wiser than all the learned men in this realm.

*Phil.* My lord, I seek not to be mine own judge, but am content to be judged by others, so that the order of judgment in matters of religion be kept that was in the primitive church, which is, first, that God's will by his word was sought, and thereunto both the spirituality and temporality was gathered together, and gave their consent and judgment; and such kind of judgment I will stand to.

*Lon.* My lords, he would make you believe that he was profoundly seen in ancient writers of the judgments of the primitive church, and there was never any such manner of judgment used as he now talketh of.

*Phil.* In the epistle of St. Cyprian I am able to shew it you.—*Lon.* Ah, I tell you there is no such thing; fetch me Cyprian hither.

*Phil.* You shall find it otherwise when the book cometh. And Dr. Chedsey, his chaplain, whom he appointed to fetch his book, whispered the bishop in his ear, and fetched not the book; by likelihood that he should have sustained the reproach thereof, if the book had been fetched. Well, my lord, (quoth I,) Mr. Doctor knoweth it is so, or else he would have fetched the book ere this.

*Rich.* You would have none other judge, I see, but the word.

*Phil.* Yes, my lord; I will be tried by the word, and by such as will judge according to the word. As for an example, if there were a controversy between your lordship and another upon the words of a statute, must not the words of the statute judge and determine the controversy?

*Rich.* No, marry, the judges of the law may determine of the meaning thereof.

*Lon.* He hath brought as good an example against himself as can be.

And here the bishop thought he had good handfast against me, and therefore enlarged it with many words to the judgment of the church.

*The Lords.* He hath overthrown himself by his own argument.

*Phil.* My lords, it seemeth to your honours that you have great advantage of me, by the example I brought in to express my cause; but if it be pondered thoroughly, it maketh wholly with me, and nothing against me, as my lord of London hath pretended. For I will ask of my lord Rich here, whom I know to have good knowledge in the laws and statutes of this realm, albeit a judge may discern the meaning of a statute agreeable to the words, whether the same may judge a meaning contrary to the express words or no?

*Rich.* He cannot so do.

*Phil.* Even so say I, that no man ought to judge the word

of God to have a meaning contrary to the express words thereof, as this false church of Rome doth in many things. And with this the lords seemed to be satisfied, and made no further replication herein.

*Rich.* I marvel then why you do deny the express words of Christ in the sacrament, saying, "This is my body," and yet you will not stick to say it is not his body. Is not God omnipotent? and is not he able as well by his omnipotency to make it his body as he was to make man flesh of a piece of clay? Did not he say, "This is my body which shall be betrayed for you?" and was not his very body betrayed for us?—Therefore it must needs be his body.

*Lon.* My lord Rich, you have said wonderful well and learnedly. But you might have begun with him before also in the 6th of John, where Christ promised to give his body in the sacrament of the altar, saying, *Panis quem ego dabo caro mea est*: The bread which I will give is my flesh. How can you answer to that?

*Phil.* If it please you to give me leave to answer first my lord Rich, I will also answer this objection.

*Rich.* Answer my lord of London first, and after come to me.

*Phil.* My lord of London may be soon answered, that the saying of St. John is, that the humanity of Christ, which he took upon him for the redemption of man, is the bread of life, whereby our bodies and souls be sustained to eternal life, of the which the sacramental bread is a lively representation and an effectual coaptation to all such as believe on his passion.—And as Christ saith in the same 6th of John, "I am the bread that came down from heaven;" but yet he is not material, neither natural, bread. Likewise the bread is his flesh, not natural or substantial, but by signification, and by grace in the sacrament.

And now to my lord Rich's argument: I do not deny the express words of Christ in the sacrament, "This is my body;" but I deny that they are naturally and corporally to be taken: they must be taken sacramentally and spiritually, according to the express declaration of Christ, saying, that the words of the sacrament which the Capernaïtes took carnally, as the Papists do now, ought to be taken spiritually, and not carnally, as they falsely imagine, not weighing what interpretation Christ hath made in this behalf, neither following the institution of Christ, neither the use of the apostles and of the primitive church, who never taught, neither declared, any such carnal manner of presence as is now exacted of us violently, without any ground of scripture or antiquity, who used to put out of the church all such as did not receive the sacrament with the rest, and also to burn that which was left after the receiving, as by the canon of the apostles and by the decree of the council of Antioch may appear.

*Lon.* No, that is not so; they were only *Catechumeni* which went out of the church at the celebration of the communion, and none other.

*Phil.* It was not only of such as were novices in faith, but all others that did not receive.

*Lon.* What say you to the omnipotency of God? Is not he able to perform that which he spake, as my lord Rich hath very well said? I tell thee, that God by his omnipotency may make himself to be this carpet, if he will.

*Phil.* As concerning the omnipotency of God, I say that God is able to do, as the prophet David saith, whatever he willeth; but he willeth nothing that is not agreeable to his word; as that is blasphemy which my lord of London hath spoken, that God may become a carpet. For as I have learned of ancient writers, *Non potest Deus facere quæ sunt nature contraria*: that is, God cannot do that which is con-

trary to his nature; as it is contrary to the nature of God to be a carpet. A carpet is a creature, and God is the Creator: and the Creator cannot be the creature. Wherefore, unless you can declare by the word, that Christ is otherwise present with us, than spiritually and sacramentally by grace, as he hath taught us, you pretend the omnipotency of God in vain.

After this, Mr. Philpot was obliged to undergo seven tedious public examinations, in all of which he confounded his adversaries, who could not resist the wisdom by which he spoke.

The bishops waxing now weary, and being not able by any sufficient ground, either of God's word or of the true ancient Catholic fathers, to convince and overcome him, fell by fair and flattering speech to persuade with him, promising that if he would revoke his opinions, and come home again to their Romish and Babylonical church, he should not only be pardoned that which was past, but also they would with all favour and cheerfulness of heart receive him again as a true member thereof. Which words when Bonner saw would take no place, he demanded of Mr. Philpot (and that with a charitable affection I warrant you) whether he had any just cause to allege why he should not condemn him as an heretic? Well, quoth Mr. Philpot, your idolatrous sacrament which you have found out, ye would fain defend, but ye cannot, nor ever shall.

In the end, the bishop seeing his unmoveable steadfastness in the truth, did pronounce openly the sentence of condemnation against him. And coming to these words, *Teque etiam tanquam hæreticum, obstinatum, pertinacem, et impenitentem*, &c. Mr. Philpot said, I thank God that I am an heretic out of your cursed church: I am no heretic before God. But God bless you, and give you once grace to repent your wicked doings, and let all men beware of your bloody church.

Moreover, whiles Bonner was about the midst of the sentence, the bishop of Bath pulled him by the sleeve, and said, My lord, my lord, know of him first whether he will recant or no. Then Bonner said, (full like himself,) O let him alone; and so read forth the sentence.

And when he had done, he delivered him to the sheriffs; and so two officers brought him through the bishop's house into Paternoster-row, and there his servant met him, and when he saw him, he said, Ah! dear master.

Then Mr. Philpot said to his man, Content thyself, I shall do well enough; for thou shalt see me again.

And so the officers thrust him away, and had his master to Newgate; and as he went he said to the people, Ah! good people, blessed be God for this day! And so the officers delivered him to the keeper. Then his man thrust to go in after his master, and one of the officers said unto him, Hence, fellow, what wouldest thou have? And he said, I would go speak with my master. Mr. Philpot then turned him about, and said to him, To-morrow thou shalt speak with me.

Then the under-keeper said to Mr. Philpot, Is this your man? And he said, Yea. So he did license his man to go in with him, and Mr. Philpot and his man were turned into a little chamber on the right hand, and there remained some time, until Alexander, the chief-keeper, did come unto him; who at his entering greeted him with these words, Ah, said he, hast not thou done well to bring thyself hither! Well, said Mr. Philpot, I must be content, for it is God's appointment; and I shall desire you to let me have your gentle favour, for you and I have been of old acquaintance. Well, said Alexander, I will shew thee gentleness and favour, so thou wilt be ruled by me. Then said Mr. Philpot, I pray you shew me what you would have me to do.



He said, If you would recant, I will shew you any pleasure I can. Nay, said Mr. Philpot, I will never recant whilst I have my life that which I have spoken, for it is most certain truth, and in witness hereof I will seal it with my blood. Then Alexander said, This is the saying of the whole pack of you heretics. Whereupon he commanded him to be set upon the block, and as many irons upon his legs as he could bear, for that he would not follow his wicked mind.

Then the clerk told Alexander in his ear, that Mr. Philpot had given his man money. And Alexander said to his man, What money hath thy master given thee? He answered, My master hath given me none. No, said Alexander, hath he given thee none? That will I know, for I will search thee. Do with me what you list, and search me all that you can, quoth his servant; he hath given me a token or two to send to his friends, as to his brother and sisters. Ah, said Alexander unto Mr. Philpot, thou art a maintainer of heretics; thy man should have gone to some of thine affinity, but he shall be known well enough. Nay, said Mr. Philpot, I do send it to my friends; there he is, let him make answer to it. But, good Mr. Alexander, be so much my friend that these irons may be taken off. Well, said Alexander, give me my fees, and I will take them off; if not, thou shalt wear them still. Then said Mr. Philpot, Sir, what is your fee? He said, Four pounds was his fees. Ah, said Mr. Philpot, I have not so much; I am but a poor man, and I have been long in prison. What wilt thou give me then? said Alexander. Sir, said he, I will give you twenty shillings, and that I will send my man for, or else I will lay my gown to gage; for the time is not long, I am sure, that I shall be with you; for the bishop said unto me that I should be soon despatched.

Then said Alexander unto him, What is that to me? And with that he departed from him, and commanded him to be had into limbo, and so his commandment was fulfilled; but before he could be taken from the block, the clerk would have a groat.

Then one Witterence, steward of the house, took him on his back, and carried him down, his man knew not whither. Wherefore Mr. Philpot said to his man, Go to Mr. Sheriff, and shew him how I am used, and desire Mr. Sheriff to be good unto me. And so his servant went straightway, and took an honest man with him.

And when they came to Mr. Sheriff, and shewed him how Mr. Philpot was handled in Newgate; the sheriff hearing this, took his ring from off his finger, and delivered it unto that honest man which came with Mr. Philpot's man, and bade him go unto Alexander, the keeper, and command him to take off his irons, and to handle him more gently, and to give his man again that which he had taken from him. And when they came again to the said Alexander, and told their message from the sheriff, Alexander took the ring, and said, Ah, I perceive that Mr. Sheriff is a bearer with him, and all such heretics as he is: therefore to-morrow I will shew it to his betters. Yet at ten of the clock he went into Mr. Philpot where he lay, and took off his irons, and gave him such things as he had taken before from his servant.

Upon Tuesday at supper, being the 17th day of December, there came a messenger from the sheriffs, and bade Mr. Philpot make him ready, for the next day he should suffer, and be burned at a stake with fire. Mr. Philpot answered and said, I am ready: God grant me strength, and a joyful resurrection. And so he went into his chamber, and poured out his spirit unto the Lord God, giving him most hearty thanks that he of his mercy had made him worthy to suffer for his truth.

In the morning the sheriffs came according to the order, about eight of the clock, and called for him, and he most joyfully came down unto them. And there his man did meet him, and said, Ah, dear master, farewell. His master said unto him, Serve God, and he will help thee. And so he went with the sheriffs to the place of execution; and when he was entering into Smithfield, the way was foul, and two officers took him up to bear him to the stake. Then he said merrily, What, will ye make me a pope? I am content to go to my journey's end on foot. But first coming into Smithfield, he kneeled down there, saying these words, I will pay my vows in thee, O Smithfield. And when he was come to the place of suffering, he kissed the stake, and said, Shall I disdain to suffer at this stake, seeing my Redeemer did not refuse to suffer the most vile death upon the cross for me? And then with an obedient heart full meekly he said the 106th, 107th, and 108th Psalms; and when he had made an end of all his prayers, he said to the officers, What have you done for me? and every one of them declared what they had done; and he gave to each of them a piece of money.

Then they bound him to the stake, and set fire unto this faithful martyr; who the 18th day of December, in the midst of the fiery flames, yielded his soul into the hands of Almighty God.

Some time after Mr. Philpot's martyrdom, a woman was taken up, and brought before Bonner, for asserting that Mr. Philpot was a true servant of God, and that Bonner was his murderer. On her promise that she would appear before him, at a time which he appointed, he dismissed her for the present. The good woman having luckily escaped from the fangs of this merciless wolf, took care to keep at a distance, and instead of appearing at the appointed time, wrote the bishop the following letter, with which the reader will be undoubtedly pleased, notwithstanding its honest bluntness.

#### A REPROVING LETTER TO BONNER.

*"Woe be unto the idolatrous shepherds of England, that feed themselves, should not the shepherds feed the flock? But ye have eaten the fat, ye have clothed you with the wool; the best fed have ye slain, but the flock have ye not nourished; the weak have ye not holpen up, the sick have ye not healed, the broken have ye not bound together, the outcasts have ye not brought again, the lost have ye not sought, but churlishly and cruelly have ye ruled them, Ezek. xxxiv.*

"Forasmuch, my lord, as my business is such that I cannot come to your lordship, according to my promise, I have been so bold to write these few words unto you, partly to excuse mine absence, and partly to answer your lordship's demands at my last most happy departure from you. As touching the breach of my promise with you, in not coming again at the hour appointed, your lordship shall understand that I take the counsel of the angel, which warned the wise men not to come again to Herod according to their promise, but to turn home again another way. Now, my lord, I perceiving your lordship to be a more cruel tyrant than ever was Herod, and more desirous to destroy Christ in his poor members than ever he was, which to destroy Christ killed his own son, I thought good to take the angel's counsel, and to come no more at you; for I see that you are set all in a rage like a ravening wolf against the poor lambs of Christ, appointed to the slaughter for the testimony of the truth. Indeed you are called the common cut-throat, and general slaughter-slave, to all the bishops of England; and therefore it is wisdom for me, and all other simple sheep of the Lord,



to keep us out of your butcher's stall, as long as we can: especially seeing that you have such store already, that you are not able to drink all their blood, lest you should break your belly; and therefore let them lie still and die for hunger. Therefore, my lord, I thought it good to tarry a time, until your lordship's stomach were come to you a little better; for I do perceive, by your great fat cheeks, that you lack no lamb's flesh yet, and belike you are almost glutted with supping so much blood, and therefore you will let some of the leanest die in prison, which will then be meat good enough for your barking beagles, Harpsfield and his fellows: but yet, my lord, it were a great deal more for your lordship's honour, if your chaplains might have the meat roasted in Smithfield, at the fire of the stake, yea, and when it is something fat and fair-liking; for now they have nothing but skin and bones, and if the dogs come hastily to it, they may chance shortly to be choked, and then your hunting will be hindered greatly, if it be not altogether marred. I hear say, my lord, that some of the butcherly curs came of late to my house to seek their prey, and that they go round about the city (as David saith) grinning and grudging that they have not meat enough. Therefore belike they have killed my poor brethren and sisters that have lain so long upon their butcherly stall, and eaten them up: for I hear say their friends could not be suffered to see them these three days and more. Therefore I perceive now, that if I had come again according to my promise, your lordship, like a ravening wolf, or else some of your bell-hounds, would quickly have worried me: but I see well my appointed time is not yet come, therefore I will yet live and thank Him for my deliverance with continual songs of laud and praise.—Thus have I been bold to trouble your lordship with telling you the truth, and the very cause that I came not to you again according to my unpurposed promise. I trust your lordship will take this in good part, and accept it as a lawful excuse, and not doubting but your lordship would have done the like if you had been in my case.

“Now as concerning the second part that caused me to write unto your lordship, which is to answer unto your subtle or rather cruel demand of my judgment of the death of that blessed martyr of Christ Jesus, good Mr. John Philpot, I will answer your lordship simply and plainly, what peril soever shall come thereof. Truly, my lord, I do not only think, but I am also most certain and sure, that he as a very man of God died a true martyr and constant confessor of his dear Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom he did most faithfully commit his sweet soul, who will surely keep the same with him in joy for evermore. Also, my lord, I do verily believe and know that your lordship hath committed an horrible and most cruel murder in the unjust condemning and killing of him, and that you shall make as heavy an account for his blood, which shortly shall be required at your hand, as ever your great-grandfather, cruel Cain, did or shall do for his innocent brother Abel. Moreover, because I am credibly informed that your lordship doth believe, and have in secret said, that there is no hell, I certify you that your lordship did never any thing in all your life that so much did redound to your lordship's dishonour, and perpetual shame and infamy, as your killing the body of this blessed prophet doth; especially seeing that he was none of your diocese, nor had offended any of your lordship's devilish and cruel laws. Verily I hear almost every body say, in all places where I come, that your lordship is made the common slaughter-slave to all your fellow bite-sheep, bishops I would say; yea, the very papists themselves begin now to abhor your blood-thirstiness, and speak shame of your ty-

ranny. Like tyranny! believe me, my lord, every child that can any whit speak, can call upon you by your name, and say, “Bloody Bonner is bishop of London,” and every man hath it as perfectly upon his finger's end, as his Pater-noster, how many you for your part have burned with fire, and famished in prison; they say the whole sum surmounteth to forty persons within this three-quarters of this year. Therefore, my lord, though your lordship believeth that there is neither heaven nor hell, nor God nor devil; yet if your lordship love your own honesty, (which was lost long ago,) you were best to surcease from this cruel burning of true Christian men, and also from murdering of some in prison; for that indeed offendeth men's minds most; yea, even your old friends the rankest Papists that be. For, say they, Felix, the heathen ruler, did not forbid Paul's friends to visit him in prison, and to bring him necessary relief; and therefore it is a very great shame and sin, to see a bishop that beareth the name of a Christian, to be more cruel upon his poor brethren than an heathen, Turk, or infidel.

“This is men's sayings in every place, not only of this realm, but also of the most part of the world, and the common talk they have of your lordship: therefore I thought to be so bold with your lordship, as to tell you of it, though perchance you will give me but small thanks for my labour. Well, as for that, I put it to your lordship's choice, for I have as much already as I look for. Finally, my lord, I will give you to understand, that the death of this constant martyr and valiant soldier of Jesus Christ hath given a greater shake towards the overthrowing of your papistical kingdom, than you shall be ever able to recover again these seven years, do the best you can, and set as many crafty daubers to patch it up with untampered clay as you will; yea, though prating Pendleton, that wicked apostate, apply all his wily wits to help them. Verily, my lord, by all men's reports, his blessed life could never have done the like sorrow to Satan's synagogue, whereof some say your lordship is a mighty member, as his happy death hath done. You have broken a pot indeed, but the precious word contained therein is so notably therewithal shed abroad, that the sweet savour thereof hath wonderfully well refreshed all the true household or congregation of Christ, that they cannot abide any more the stinking savour of your filthy ware that came from the dunghill of Rome, though your lordship's Judases do set them to sale every where to fill your bags. I put your lordship out of doubt, that if you do break any more such pots, you will mar your own market altogether: for I promise you, most men begin to mislike your devilish doings, and wonderfully to loath your Popish pedlarly wares.

“Thus have I (according to your lordship's commandments) shewed you simply what I think of that good man's death, whose blood crieth for vengeance against your lordship's butcherly bloody proceedings in the ears of the Lord of hosts, who will shortly revenge the same upon your pilled pate, and upon the rest of all your poll-shorn brethren, the very marked cattle of the great Antichrist of Rome. The measure of his iniquity is filled up to the brim, therefore will God shortly pour in double unto your deserved destruction. And then I shall rejoice, when your new-made proselytes will be glad to cover their crowns with a cow-t—(saving your lordship's reverence, I should have said first.) Well, I rather desire their conversion than confusion: the Lord send the one of them shortly, as may be most to his glory, Amen.

“I signify also unto your lordship, that the railing words which your lying preacher shewed forth of his filthy fountain, upon Sunday, against the dear servant of God, good Mr. Philpot, do greatly redound to your lordship's disho-

neasty, and much deface your spiritual honour. Verily, I see the great wrath of God hath so blinded your eyes, that you see not what is with you, or what is against you, but still you vomit out your own shame, and make all the world wonder upon you. Was it not enough for you to condemn him most unjustly, yea, contrary to your own laws, and to kill his innocent body most tyrannously, but you must also set a lying limb of the devil to blaspheme, slander, and belie him, now he is dead! O, viperous generation, seed of the serpent, and right children of the devil! full well do you counterfeit your father's steps, whom Christ calleth a murderer and a liar from the beginning; which two things be the only weapons of your war, wherewith you maintain all your mischief, that is to say, lying and murder; for those whom ye cannot overcome with your lying persuasions, them you kill most cruelly, and then blaspheme and belie them with railing sentences when they are dead. But all this will not blind the people of God, nor yet make them any whit the less believe the truth, nor abate their love from the true preachers thereof, yea, it is a true sign and a token that they are the very disciples of Christ; for he hath said, "Blessed are ye when men revile you, and say all manner of evil sayings against you, for my name's sake. Rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven." And doubtless great is the good man's reward in heaven by this time, as your lordship's damnation shall be great in hell, except you repent and surcease from shedding innocent blood.—But it is to be feared your heart is hardened as Pharaoh's was, seeing that with Judas ye have sold and betrayed your Master. Take heed, my lord, lest you come to the same end, or a worse, than he did: for, verily, I cannot perceive how you should escape it long; therefore say not but a woman gave you warning, if you list to take it. And as for the obtaining of your Popish purpose in suppressing the truth, I put you out of doubt, you shall not obtain it so long as you go this way to work as ye do; for verily I believe that you have lost the hearts of 20,000 that were rank Papists within this twelve months.

"It is found very true what one holy doctor saith, The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the gospel; when one is put to death, a thousand doth rise for him." And that this is true, you may well perceive by the hearty love that the people shewed unto good Mr. Philpot at his going to death. They went not about to make an idol of him, as your adders-brood would bear men in hand; but they worshipped God, which gave such strength to his dear child, to die so constantly for the testimony of his truth, unto the utter destruction of that detestable idolatry which your lordship doth most devilishly maintain with the force of fire, faggots, and sword: yea, and rather than fail, to famish men in prison again, as ye have done already. It is reported of your own tormentors, that the six prisoners that you have in your prison, be put in six several places all the day, and every night brought together, and set in the stocks. Forsooth, my lord, this doth get you a foul name all abroad the country, and yet all will not help your lordship's pestilent purpose, but every way hinder the same. For Zerubbabel will be found no liar, which said, The truth shall have victory. You do but strive against the stream, and kick against the pricks: the Lord doth laugh your doings to scorn, and will bring all your counsels and devices to nought; who of his great mercy shortly convert your lordship, or utterly confound you, and get his name a glory over you, Amen.

"Your lordship's orator, who prayeth daily to God that he may reward you according to your deeds.—Anno 1556."

*The Story of SEVEN MARTYRS, suffering together at London, for the Testimony of Christ's Gospel.*

The Catholic prelates of the pope's band being as yet not satisfied with this their one year's bloody murdering of the reverend, learned, and principal members of Christ's church, (whercof there were now very few which either were not consumed by fire, or else, for the avoiding of their Popish rage, compelled to flee their country,) continued still this next year also, which was anno 1556, in no less cruelty towards the poor, simple, and inferior sort of people, (I mean in degree, though, God be praised, not in steadfastness,) having yet sometimes amongst them such as were both learned and of good estimation, as in continuance of this story shall appear.

Wherefore as the first fruits thereof, to begin this year withal, about the 27th day of January, were burned in Smithfield, at London, these seven persons hereafter following, to wit.

Thomas Whittle, priest,  
Bartlet Green, gentleman,  
John Tudson, artificer,  
John Went, artificer,  
Thomas Browne,  
Isabel Foster, wife,  
Joan Warne, alias Lashford, maid.

All which seven, as they were burned together in one fire, so were they likewise all upon one sort and form of articles condemned in one day. Howbeit, forasmuch as the gifts of God in them were divers, some more abounding in knowledge than others, their dealings withal were also diverse. And therefore, for the better understanding hereof, I will (first passing over their private articles and examinations had at sundry times in the bishop's house) set forth their general examinations in the public consistory, upon the bishop's articles there ministered unto them, with their answers also unto the same.

*The form and words of Benner's Articles ministered to the seven persons above mentioned.*

And first to behold the manner of speech in these bishops, sitting in their majesty to terrify the ears of the simple withal, let us hear the pontifical phrase of this bishop, beginning in this sort:

"The within-written articles, and every of them, and every part and parcel of them, we, Edmund, by the permission of God, bishop of London, do object and minister to thee, Thomas Whittle, &c. of our mere office, for thy soul's health, and for the reformation of thine offences and misdemeanours, monishing thee in the virtue of obedience, and under the pains of both censures of the church, and also of other pains of the law, to answer fully, plainly, and truly, to all the same.

1. First, That thou N. hast firmly, steadfastly, and constantly believed in times past, and so dost now believe at this present, that there is here in earth a Catholic church, in the which Catholic church the faith and religion of Christ is truly professed, allowed, received, kept, and retained, of all faithful and true Christian people.

2. Item, That thou the said N. in times past hast also believed, and so dost believe at this present, that there are in the Catholic church seven sacraments, instituted and ordained by God, and by the consent of the holy church allowed, approved, received, kept, and retained.

3. Item, That thou the said N. wast in times past baptized in the faith of the said Catholic church, professing by thy godfathers and godmother the faith and religion of

Christ, and the observation thereof, renouncing there the devil and all his pomps and works, and wast by the said sacrament of baptism incorporate to the Catholic church, and made a faithful member thereof.

4. Item, That thou the said N. coming to the age of fourteen years, and as to the age of discretion, didst not depart from the said profession and faith, nor didst mislike any part of the same faith or doings, but didst like a faithful Christian person abide and continue in all the same by the space of certain years; ratifying and confirming all the same.

5. Item, That thou the said N. notwithstanding the premises, hast of late, that is to say, within these two years last past, within the city and diocese of London, swerved at the least way from some part of the said Catholic faith and religion; and among other things thou hast misliked and earnestly spoken against the sacrifice of the mass, the sacrament of the altar, and the unity of the church, railing and maligning the authority of the see of Rome, and the faith observed in the same.

6. Item, That thou the said N. hast heretofore refused, and dost refuse at this present, to be reconciled again to the unity of the church, not acknowledging and confessing the authority of the said see of Rome to be lawful.

7. Item, That thou the said N. misliking the sacrifice of the mass, and the sacrament of the altar, hast refused to come to thy parish church to hear mass, and to receive the said sacrament, and hast also expressly said, that in the said sacrament of the altar there is not the very body and blood of our Saviour Christ, really, substantially, and truly; but hast affirmed expressly that the mass is idolatry and abomination, and that in the sacrament of the altar there is none other substance but only material bread and material wine, which are tokens of Christ's body and blood only, and that the substance of Christ's body and blood is in no wise in the said sacrament of the altar.

8. Item, That thou the said N. being convented before certain judges or commissioners, for thy disorder herein, and being found obstinate, wilful, and heady, wast by their commandment sent unto me and my prison, to be examined by me, and process to be made against thee for thy offence herein.

9. Item, That all and singular the premises have been, and be true and manifest, and thyself not only infamed and suspected thereof, but also culpable therein; and by reason of the same thou wast and art of the jurisdiction of me, Edmund, bishop of London, and before me, according to the order of the ecclesiastical laws, are to be convented, and also by me to be punished and reformed."

*Here follow their Answers in general to the above.*

To the first article they altogether agreeing, affirmed the same to be true; John Tudson and Thomas Browne further adding, that the church of England, as it was at that present used, was no part of the true Catholic church.

To the second article they answered, that they acknowledged but only two sacraments in Christ's Catholic church, that is to say, baptism and the supper of the Lord: John Went and Tudson affirming, that the sacrament of the altar, as it is used, is an idol, and no sacrament at all.

To the third article they all agreed, and confessed it to be true; that they were baptized in the faith of Christ, and of the church then taught; and afterward during the time of king Edward VI. they hearing the gospel preached, and the truth opened, followed the order of the religion and doctrine then used and set forth in the reign of the said king Edward.

To the fourth article they granted also and agreed; John Went adding, moreover, that about seven years past, he then being about twenty years of age, began to mislike certain things used in the church of England, as the ministration of the sacrament of the altar, likewise all the ceremonies of the said church, and did likewise at the present time mislike the same as they were used, although his godfather and godmother promised for him the contrary. John Tudson added also in much like sort, and said, that when he came to the years of discretion, that is, about nine years past, being about eighteen years of age, he did mislike the doctrine and religion then taught and set forth in the church of England, saving in king Edward's time, in whose time the gospel was truly set forth; and further said, that the doctrine set forth in the queen's reign was not agreeable to God's word, nor yet to the true Catholic church that Christ speaketh of, &c. Isabel Foster, with other, granted, adding likewise and saying to the said four articles, that she continued in the same faith and religion which she was baptized in after she came to the years of discretion, as other common people did, howbeit, blindly and without knowledge, till the reign of king Edward VI. at which time she hearing the gospel truly preached and opened to the people, received thereupon the faith and religion then taught and set forth, &c.

To the fifth article, they answered the same to be true, according to the contents thereof; Thomas Whittle adding, moreover, that he had swerved and gone away, and not in whole but in part, not from the whole Catholic church, but from the church of Rome, in speaking against the mass, the sacrifice thereof, and the see of Rome. Joan Lashford, alias Warne, granting with the other said article, addeth moreover that she never hitherto swerved or went away, nor yet doth, from any part of Christ's Catholic faith and religion, but saith, that from the time she was eleven years of age she hath misliked the sacrifice of the mass, the sacrament of the altar, and the authority of the see of Rome, with the doctrine thereof, because they be against Christ's Catholic church, and the right faith of the same. Bartlet Green answering with the other to this article, addeth and saith, that he swerveth not from the Catholic faith, but only from the church of Rome, &c.

To the sixth article, they answer and confess the same to be true, rendering the cause thereof because (say they) the same church and doctrine therein set forth and taught, disagreeeth from the unity of Christ's word and the true Catholic faith, &c. Whereunto Bartlet Green answered, that he is contented to be reconciled to the unity of Christ's Catholic church, but not of the church of Rome. In like manner added also John Went.

To the seventh article, they answer and confess the contents thereof to be true, giving withal the reason and cause of this their so doing, for that the mass with the sacrament thereof, as it was then used and set forth in the church of England, is dissonant to the word and teaching of the people, &c. John Went furthermore said, as concerning the mass, that he believeth no less but the mass which he calleth the supper of the Lord, as it is now used in the realm of England, is naught, full of idolatry, and against God's word, so far as he seeth it; howbeit, he saith, that since the queen's coronation, by chance he hath been present where the mass hath been said, whereof he is sorry. Isabel Foster also answering to the said articles, with the other before, confessed moreover, that since queen Mary's reign she hath not heard the mass, nor received the sacrament, but hath refused to come in place where it was ministered: for she knoweth no such sacrament to be. And being demanded of her belief in the same, she saith,

"Two things have very much troubled me whilst I was in the Temple, pride and gluttony; which, under the colour of glory and good fellowship, drew me almost from God. Against both there is one remedy,—prayer, earnest and without ceasing. And forso much as vain-glory is so subtle an adversary, that almost it woundeth deadly ere ever a man can perceive himself to be smitten, therefore we ought so much the rather by continual prayer to labour for humbleness of mind. Truly gluttony beginneth under a charitable pretence of mutual love and society, and hath in it most uncharitableness. When we seek to refresh our bodies, that they may be the more apt to serve God, and to perform our duties towards our neighbours, then stealeth it in as a privy thief, and murdereth both body and soul, that now it is not apt to pray, or serve God, apt to study, or labour for our neighbour. Let us therefore watch and be sober; for our adversary the devil walketh about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour. And remember what Solomon saith, A patient man is better than a strong warrior: and he that conquereth his own stomach, is better than he that conquereth towns and cities.

"BARTLET GREEN."

And now therefore to return to our history: For the better maintenance of himself in these his studies, and other his affairs, he had a large exhibition of his grandfather Mr. Doctor Bartlet, who during the time of Green's imprisonment made unto him large offers of great livings, if he would recant, and (forsaking the truth and gospel of Christ) come home again to the church and synagogue of Rome. But those his persuasions took small effect in his faithful heart, as the sequel did declare. He was a man beloved of all men (except of the Papists, who love none that love the truth,) and so he well deserved; for he was of a meek, humble, discreet, and most gentle behaviour to all. Injurious he was to none, beneficial to many, especially to those that were of the household of faith; as appeareth amongst other by his friendly dealings with Mr. Christopher Goodman, being at that present a poor exile beyond the seas. With whom this Bartlet Green, as well for his toward learning, as also for his sober and godly behaviour, and often society in Oxford, in the days of good king Edward; which now, notwithstanding his friend's misery and banishment, he did not lightly forget; and that turned as it chanced (not without the providence of Almighty God) to the great grief of both; the one of heart for the loss of his friend, and the other of body in suffering the cruel and murdering rage of Papists.

The cause hereof was a letter which Green did write unto the said Goodman, containing as well the report of certain demands or questions, which he meant to have sent unto Mr. Philpot, as also an answer to a question made by the said Christopher Goodman, in a letter written unto him, in which he required to have the certainty of the report which was spread amongst them on the other side of the seas, that the queen was dead. Whereunto Mr. Green answered simply, and as the truth then was, that she was not dead.

These letters, with many other written to divers of the godly exiles by their friends here in England, being delivered by a messenger to carry over, came by the apprehension of the said bearer unto the hands of the King and queen's council; who amongst them espied this letter of Mr. Green, written unto his friend Christopher Goodman, in which they found these words, The queen is not yet dead. Which words were only written as an answer, to certify Mr. Goodman of the truth of his former demand. Howbeit, to some of the council they seemed very heinous words, yea, treason they would have made them, if the law would have suffered.

Which when they could not do (and being yet very loath to let any such depart freely, whom they suspected to be a favourer of the gospel,) they then examined him upon his faith in religion, but upon what points is not certainly known.

Nevertheless, as it seemeth, his answers were such as little pleased them, but especially the avowed sort; and therefore after they had detained him in prison, as well in the Tower of London as elsewhere, they sent him at last unto Bonner, bishop of London, to be ordered according to his ecclesiastical law.

The bishop perceiving Green's learning and constancy to be such, as neither he nor any of his doctors and chaplains could by the scriptures refute, began then to object and put in practice his chief and strongest argument against him, which was the rigour of the law, and cruelty of execution; an argument, I assure you, which, without the special grace of our God, to flesh is unsupportable. And therefore using laws as a cloak of his tyranny, the 28th day of November, the said bishop examined him upon certain points of the Christian religion. Whereunto when he had answered, the bishop appointed the register (as their most common manner is) to draw thereout an order of confession; which being afterwards read unto Green, was also subscribed by him, as a confirmation of his former assertions; the tenor whereof here ensueth:

*The Confession and Saying of Bartlet Green.*

Bartlet Green, born in the city of London, in the parish of Bassingshal, of the diocese of London, and of the age of 25 years, being examined in the bishop's palace the 27th day of November, anno 1555, upon certain articles, answered as followeth, viz. That neither in the time of king Edward, after the mass by him was put down, neither in the time of queen Mary after the mass was restored again, he hath heard any mass at all; but he saith, that in the reign of the said queen's majesty, he the said Bartlet, two times, to wit, at two Easter-tides or days, in the chamber of John Pulline, one of the preachers in king Edward's time, within the parish of St. Michael's, Cornhill, of the diocese of London, did receive the communion with the said Pulline and Christopher Goodman, some time reader of the divinity lecture in Oxford, now gone beyond the sea; and the second time, with the said Pulline, and with one Rimnegar, master of arts, of Magdalen-college in Oxford; and this examine also saith, that at both the said communions he, and the other before named, did take and receive bread and wine, which bread and wine he called sacramental bread and sacramental wine, which he saith were used there by them, Pulline only reading the words of the institution, expressed in the book of communion.

In which receiving and using, this examine saith, that the other afore-named did receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and that they received material bread and material wine, no substance thereof changed, and so no real presence of the body and blood of Christ there being, but only grace added thereto. And further, this examine saith, that he had heretofore, during the reign of the queen's majesty aforesaid, refused, and so now doth refuse, to come and hear mass, and to receive the sacrament of the altar, as they are now used and ministered in this church of England; because he saith, that concerning the mass he cannot be persuaded in his conscience that the sacrifice pretended, in the same is agreeable to God's word, or maintained by the same; and that without deadly offence he cannot worship the body and blood of Christ, that is pretended to be there.



And as concerning the sacrament of the altar, this examine saith, that he heretofore during the said reign hath refused, and now doth refuse, to receive the same, as is now used in this church of England, because it is not used according to the institution of Christ, but both in a strange tongue, and also not ministered in both kinds; and besides that, contrary to God's word, it is there taught that the thing there ministered is to be adored, as the real and true body of Christ. And furthermore this examine saith, that during the said reign he had not been confessed to the priest, nor received absolution at his hands, because he is not bound by God's word to make auricular confession.

BARTLET GREEN.

Many other conferences and public examinations they brought him unto. But in the end, seeing his steadfastness of faith to be such, as against the which neither their threatenings nor yet their flattering promises could prevail, the 15th day of January the bishop caused him, with the rest above named, to be brought into the consistory at St. Paul's; where being set in his judgment-seat, accompanied with Fecknam, then dean for the same church, and other his chaplains, after he had condemned the other six, he then called for Bartlet Green, and asked him if he would recant? He said, Nay, he would not. But, my lord, (said he) in old time there were no men put to death for their conscience, until such time as bishops found the means to make it death to believe contrary to them; but excommunication, my lord, was the greatest penalty which men had for their conscience: yea, insomuch, that St. Augustine wrote and commanded that no man should be put to death for his opinion.

Then Bonner said, that when St. Augustine saw what inconveniences followed of that commandment, he wrote again to the temporal rulers, commanding them to punish their bodies also.

But, said Green, he bade not put them to death.

He bade punish them, quoth Bonner.

Yea, said Green, but not put them to death.

That they should be punished, quoth Bonner again.

This talk ended, he asked Green if he would recant, and return to their Romish mother? Which when he denied, the bishop pronounced the sentence definitive against him, and so committed him to the sheriffs of London, who caused him to be carried to Newgate.

And as he was going thither, there met with him two gentlemen, being both his special friends, minding belike to comfort this their persecuted brother: but at their meeting, their loving and friendly hearts, not able any longer to hide themselves, were manifested by the abundance of their pitiful tears. To whom, when Green saw them, he said in these or like words, Ah, my friends, is this your comfort you are come to give me, in this my occasion of heaviness? Must I, who needed to have comfort ministered to me, become now a comforter of you? And thus declaring his most quiet and peaceable mind and conscience, he cheerfully spake to them and others, until he came to the prison door, into which he joyfully entered, and there remained always either in prayer (whereunto he much gave himself,) or else in some other godly meditations and exercises, unto the 27th day of January, when he with his other above-mentioned brethren went most cheerfully unto the place of their torments, often repeating, as well by the way as also at the stake, these Latin verses following:

Christe Deus, sine et spes est mihi nulla salutis:  
Te duce vera sequor, te duce falsa nego.

*In English thus,*

O Christ, my God, sure hope of health,  
Besides thee have I none:  
The truth I love, and falsehood hate,  
Be thee my guide alone.

3. THOMAS BROWN, Martyr.

Thomas Brown, born in the parish of Histon, within the diocese of Ely, came afterwards to London, where he dwelled in the parish of St. Bride's, in Fleet-street, a married man, of the age of 37 years, who because he came not to his parish church, was presented by the constable of the parish to Bonner.

Being had to Fulham, with the others, there to be examined, he was required upon Thursday, being the 26th day of September, to come into the chapel to hear mass, which he refusing to do, went into the warren, and there kneeled among the trees. For this he was accused by the bishop, because he said it was done in despite and contempt of their mass; which seemed to the bishop and his chaplains no small offence. At length being produced to his last examination before the said bishop the 15th day of January, there to hear sentence definitive against him; first he was required, with many fair words and glazing promises, to revoke his doctrine; to whom the aforesaid bishop speaking these words, said, Brown, ye have been before me many times, oft I have travailed with thee, to win thee from thine errors; yet thou, and such like, have and do report that I go about to seek thy blood, &c.

To whom the said Thomas Brown answered again, Yea, my lord, indeed ye be a blood-sucker; and I would I had as much blood as is water in the sea, for you to suck.

Bonner then proceeding to the articles, when he had read them unto him again, as he had done divers times before, asked whether he was content and willing to relinquish those his heresies and erroneous opinions, as he called them, and return again unto the unity of the Catholic faith! Whereunto he made answer again, saying, If they were heresies, he would forsake them. They be heresies, quoth the bishop. How will ye prove it? said Brown: for I will not go from mine answer, except you can prove them to be heresies, which ye can never do; for that which you call heresy, is no heresy. With that Bonner, not able, or else not disposed, to supply the part of a good teacher in proving that which the other had denied, by good authority and doctrine of the scripture, went about with words and promise of pardon to allure him to renounce those his heresies, as he called them, and to return unto the unity of his mother, the holy Catholic church, &c.

To whom the said Thomas answered again, Prove it (said he) to be heresy that I do hold and maintain, and I will turn to you. But you condemn me, because I will not confess and believe the bread in the sacrament of the altar, as you call it, to be the body of Christ, and therefore ye spill mine and such like innocents' blood, being the queen's true subjects, for which you shall answer, and that shortly.

After this being spoken, Bonner, as he had done to the other before, read in writing the sentence definitive against him. The form of which sentence wherewith the Papists were wont to condemn all the innocent saints of Christ, has already been mentioned. And so this done, he was committed to the sheriffs to be had away, and was burned the 27th day of the said month of January, faithfully abiding with the others the pope's torments, for the true confession of the Christian faith.



4. JOHN TUDSON, *martyr*.

The same day and time, when the aforesaid Thomas Brown with his fellows were condemned, as is above rehearsed, being the 15th day of January, John Tudson was also brought forth with the rest of the said company, unto the like condemnation. This John Tudson was born in Ipswich, in the county of Suffolk, after that was apprentice in London; who being complained of to sir Richard Cholmley and Dr. Story, was by them sent unto Bonner, bishop of London, and was divers times before him in examination.

The articles and interrogatories ministered unto him, as unto the rest, before are specified, with his answers also unto the same annexed, &c. After this he was brought unto the open consistory; where the said blessed and true servant of the Lord, John Tudson, appearing before the said bishop and his accomplices, was moved with sundry persuasions to go from his opinion, which they named heresy, and to persist in the unity of the church which they were of; but he, constantly persisting in that which he had received by the preachers in king Edward's time, refused so to do, saying, there was no heresy in his answers: for I (said he) defy all heresy. The bishop yet still used his old-accustomed persuasion to remove him, promising moreover all his offences and errors, as he called them, should be forgiven him, if he would return, &c. Then said Tudson, Tell me wherein I have offended, and I will return. Then said the bishop, In your answers. No, said Tudson again, I have not therein offended; and ye, my lord, pretend charity, but nothing thereof appeareth in your works. Thus after a few words the bishop pronounced against him the sentence of condemnation; which being read, the godly and constant martyr was committed to the secular power, and so with much patience finished this life the 27th day of January.

5. JOHN WENT, *martyr*.

John Went, born at Langham, in Essex, within the diocese of London, of the age of 27, and a sheerman by occupation, was first examined by Dr. Story upon the sacrament of his popish altar; and because the poor man did not accord with him thoroughly in the real presence of the body and blood of Christ, the said Story did send him up to Bonner, bishop of London. Who likewise, after divers examinations upon the articles aforesaid, in the consistory attempted the like manner of persuasions with him, as he did to the others, to recant and return. To whom in few words the said Went answered again, he would not, but that by the leave of God he would stand firm and constant in that he had said. And when the bishop yet notwithstanding did still urge and call upon him, with words and fair glozes, to give over himself to their opinion, he could have no other answer of him but this, No, I say as I have said, &c. Whereupon being condemned by the bishop's sentence, he was committed unto the sheriffs, and so brought to his martyrdom, which he with no less constancy suffered to the end, with the rest of that blessed society above-mentioned.

6. ISABEL FOSTER, *martyr*.

With these five persons before mentioned and condemned, were also two women in the said company condemned the said time, and likewise burned for the same; the one a wife, called Isabel Foster, the other a maid, named Joan Warne, or otherwise Lashford.

This aforesaid Isabel was born in Grafestock, in the diocese of Carlisle, and afterwards married to one John Foster, cutler, of the parish of St. Bride's, in Fleet-street, being of

the age of 55 years. She likewise, for not coming unto the church, being sent unto Bonner, and so imprisoned, was sundry times examined by the said bishop, but never overcome nor removed from the constant confession of Christ's gospel.

At length, coming unto her final examination before the bishop in the consistory, the 15th day of the said month of January, she was moved again whether she would go from her former answers. Whereunto she gave a resolute answer in few words: I will not (said she) go from them, by God's grace; and thereunto did adhere, neither being cast down by the threats of the bishop, nor yet yielding through his alluring enticements, promising both life and liberty, if she would associate herself in the unity of the Catholic church. Whereunto she said again in this wise, That she trusted she was never out of the Catholic church, &c. and so persisting in the same, continued constant till the sentence definitive was pronounced, and then she was committed by commandment of the bishop to the secular power; and so brought a few days after to the stake, the 27th of the aforesaid month, where she like a faithful witness of the Lord's truth ended her troubles here, to find a better rest in the kingdom of Christ our Saviour.

7. JOAN LASHFORD, *alias WARNE, martyr*.

We have already shewn that Elizabeth Warne, who with her husband John Warne, in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, were apprehended in Bow Church-yard for being there at a communion, and both suffered for the same, first the man in the month of May, then the wife in July after; and now the daughter in the month of January followed her parents in the same martyrdom.

This Joan Lashford, born in the parish of Little Allhallows, in Thomas-Street, was the daughter of one Robert Lashford, cutler, and of the aforesaid Elizabeth, who afterwards was married to John Warne, upholsterer, who was persecuted for the gospel of God to the burning fire; and after him his wife; and after her this Joan Lashford, her daughter; who about the age of twenty years, ministering to her father and mother in prison, suspected and known to be of the same doctrine and religion, was sent to Bonner, bishop of London, by Dr. Story, and so committed to the Compter in the Poultrey, where she remained the space of five weeks, and from thence had to Newgate, where she continued the space of some months.

After that, remaining prisoner in the custody of the said Bonner, her confession was, being examined, that the whole twelvemonth before, and more, she came unto no Popish mass service in the church, neither would do, either to receive the sacrament of the altar, or to be confessed, because her conscience would not suffer her so to do; confessing and protesting, that in the sacrament of the altar there is not the real presence of Christ's body and blood; nor that auricular confession or absolution after the Popish sort was necessary, nor the mass to be good or according to the scripture, but said that both the said sacrament, confession, absolution, and the mass, with all other their superfluous sacraments, ceremonies, and divine service, as then used in this realm of England, were most vile, and contrary to Christ's words and institution; so that neither they were at the beginning, nor shall be at the latter end. This godly damsel, feeble and tender of age, yet strong by grace, in this her confession and faith stood so firm, that neither the flattering promises nor the violent threats of the bishop, could turn her: but being moved and exhorted by the bishop to return to the Catholic unity of the church, said boldly to

him again, If ye will leave off your abomination, so I will return, and otherwise I will not.

Whereupon the bishop yet again promised her pardon of all her errors, as he called them, if she would be conformed. To this she answered again, saying unto the bishop, Do as it pleaseth you, and I pray God that you may do that which may please God.

And thus she constantly persevering in the Lord's holy truth, was by the sentence definitive condemned, and committed unto the sheriffs; by whom, the aforesaid 27th day of January, she with the rest being brought to the stake, there washed her clothes in the blood of the Lamb, dying most constantly for his word and truth, to whom most lovingly she espoused herself.

And thus much concerning the life, story, and condemnation, of these seven martyrs before specified.

*FIVE other MARTYRS in Canterbury, four Women and one Man, at two Stakes and one Fire, all together burned.*

After these seven before rehearsed, martyred together in Smithfield, shortly after in the same month, the 31st day of January, followed another like fellowship of godly martyrs at Canterbury, four women and one man, whose names be these:

John Lomas, a young man,  
Agnes Snoth, widow,  
Anne Albright,  
Joan Sole, wife,  
Joan Catmer,

First, JOHN LOMAS, of the parish of Tenderden, was accused of that religion which the Papists call heresy, and cited upon the same to appear at Canterbury; examined there of the first article, whether he believed the Catholic church, or no? answered thus, That he believed so much as is contained in God's book, and no more.

Then being assigned to appear again under the pain of the law, the next Wednesday se'nnight after, which was the 17th day of January, the said Lomas being examined whether he would be confessed of a priest or no? answered and said, That he found it not written that he should be confessed to any priest in God's book, neither would be confessed, unless he were accused by some man, of sin. Again, being examined whether he believed the body of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar really, under the forms of bread and wine, after the consecration, or no? he answered, That he believed no reality of Christ's body to be in the sacrament, neither found he written that he is there under form or tressel, but he believed so much as is written. Being then demanded whether he believed that there is a Catholic church or no, and whether he would be content to be a member of the same? he answered thereunto, That he believed so much as was written in God's book; and other answer than this he refused to give. Whereupon the sentence was given and read against him the 18th day of January; and so being committed to the secular power, he constantly suffered for the conscience of a true faith, with the four women here following.

*2. AGNES SNOTH, martyr.*

*Agnes Snoth*, widow, of the parish of Smarden, likewise accused and cited for the true profession of Christ's religion, was divers times examined before the pharisaical fathers; who, there compelled to answer to such articles and interrogatories as should be ministered unto her, first denied to be confessed to a priest; notwithstanding, she denied not to

confess her offences as one to another, but not auricularly to any priest. And as touching the sacrament of the altar, she protested, that if she or any other did receive the sacrament so as Christ and his apostles after him did deliver it, then she and they did receive it to their comfort; but as it is now used in the church, she said that no man could otherwise receive it than to his damnation, as she thought. Afterwards being examined again concerning penance, whether it were a sacrament or no? she plainly denied the same, and that the popish manner of their absolutions was not consonant to the word, nor necessary to be taken; with such other like, agreeing with the answers and confession of John Lomas before mentioned.

Whereupon the sentence being likewise read, she was committed to the sheriffs of Canterbury, and so suffering martyrdom with the rest, declared herself a perfect and constant witness of Christ and of his truth, the 31st day of January.

*3. ANNE ALBRIGHT, alias CHAMPNESS, martyr.*

Against *Anne Albright*, likewise appearing before the judge and his colleagues, it was also objected concerning the same matter of confession. Whereunto she answered in these words, saying, that she would not be confessed of a priest; and added moreover, speaking unto the priest, You priests are the children of perdition, and can do no good by your confession. And likewise speaking to the judge and his assistants, she told them that they were subverters of Christ's truth.

And as touching the sacrament of the altar, she said it was a naughty and abominable idol, and so utterly denied the same sacrament.

Thus persisting and persevering in her former sayings and answers, she was condemned the said 18th day of the said month with the others above mentioned: with whom also she suffered quietly, and with great comfort, for the right of Christ's religion.

*4. JOAN SOLE, martyr.*

In the like manner *Joan Sole*, of the parish of Horton, was condemned by the same pharisees and priests, for not allowing confession auricular, and for denying the real presence and substance of Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar; who, farther, their pharisaical sentence being read, was brought by the sheriffs to the stake with the other four, and sustained the like martyrdom with them, through the assistance of God's holy grace and Spirit mightily working in her, to the glory of his name, and confirmation of his truth.

*5. JOAN CATMER, martyr.*

The fifth and last of this heavenly company of martyrs was *Joan Catmer*, of the parish of Hythe, wife of George Catmer, burned before. Who being asked what she said to confession made to a priest? denied to be confessed to any such priest. And moreover, the judge speaking of the sacrament of the altar, she said and affirmed, That she believed not in that sacrament as it was then used; for that it was made (she said) a very idol. In this her confession she remaining and persisting, was by the like sentence cruelly by them condemned, and so suffered with the aforesaid Thomas Lomas and the other three fellow-martyrs, ratifying and confirming with their blood the true knowledge and the doctrine of the glorious gospel of Christ Jesus our Saviour.

These five persons were burnt at two stakes, and one fire, together at Canterbury; who, when the fire was flaming

about their ears, did sing psalms; whereat the good knight, sir John Norton, being there present, wept bitterly.

The 8th day of August, was brought William Sarton, weaver, of Bristol, before one Dalby, chancellor of Bristol aforesaid, and by him committed to prison, and also condemned, for holding that the sacrament was a sign of an holy thing; also he denied that the flesh and blood of Christ is there after the words of consecration. He was burned the 18th of September, anno 1556, and as he went to the fire he sung psalms. The sheriff, John Griffith, had prepared green wood to burn him; but one Mr. John Pikes, pitying the man, caused divers to go with him to Ridland, half a mile off, who brought good store of haum sheaves, which indeed made good despatch with little pain, in comparison to that he should have suffered with the green wood. In the mean space, whilst they went for the sheaves, the said Sarton made many good exhortations to the people, and after died joyfully and patiently.

*A Note of PREST'S Wife, of Exeter.*

In Cornwall, not far from Launceston, within the diocese of Exeter, in queen Mary's days, dwelled a poor man, whose name was Prest, his wife being an honest woman, very simple, but of good zeal and upright life, being taught by God in hearing of his word (albeit it was in those days very seldom preached any where,) and feeling a sweet taste thereof, framed her life anew after the rule of the same; and banished quite from her all the popish dregs of superstition and hypocrisy, and gave herself wholly to prayer and invoking the name of God, both for the afflicted church of Christ, in those days very dangerously tossed and turmoiled, as also for her own inward contentation and spiritual consolation, which she not a little felt to her unspeakable joy and incomparable comfort. And when some, who had before known her, saw that marvellous change in her, and (as the cruel serpent) envied her felicity, they went upon the same immediately, and accused her to certain justices of the shire, being extreme enemies to the truth, and persecutors of the same; who taking the matter in hand, as very glad of such occasion, sent for her to the place where she was, and began to demand her belief in their popish sacrament of the altar.

The good poor woman, who had learned not to be ashamed to confess her master, Christ, before men, and to render account of her faith when it was asked, told freely and frankly her opinion therein, and hid back nothing that either she thought might profit them, if they had any grace to receive it, or else might sound to God's glory and praise, though it were never so much by them threatened and rebuked. Whereupon she was forthwith committed to the gaol of Launceston, where she remained a quarter of a year, or thereabouts, and afterwards was taken from that vile and filthy prison, and delivered over to the hands of two champions of the pope's; the one called Dr. Raynolds, dean of Exeter, and the other named Mr. Blaxton, treasurer of the same church, men fervently hot in the furtherance of the Romish affairs, and in withstanding the truth of the pure gospel. So the time that this good woman was under their hands, she had many sore conflicts by them. And the said Blaxton having a concubine, which sundry times resorted to him with other of his gossips; always when they came, this said good woman was called forth to his house; and there to make his minion, with the rest of his company, some mirth, he would examine her with such mocking manner, deriding

the truth, that it would have vexed any Christian soul to have seen it. Then when he had long used his foolishness in this sort, and had sported himself enough in deriding this Christian martyr; in the end he sent her to prison again, and there kept her very miserably, saving sometimes he would send for her when his aforesaid guest came to him, to use with her his accustomed folly. But, in fine, the vile wretches, (after many combats and scoffing persuasions,) when they had played the part of a cat with a mouse, at length they condemned her, and delivered her over to the secular power, who within a short space after most cruelly brought her to the place where she would suffer, and there, in great contempt of the truth which she most constantly confessed, they consumed her body immediately with fire into ashes; which she very patiently suffered and most joyfully received, yielding her soul and life unto the Lord, and her body to the tormentors; for which the Lord's name therefore be praised, Amen.

*The Martyrdom of one SNEEL, burned about Richmond, in Queen Mary's time.*

At Bedale, a market-town in Yorkshire, were two men in the latter days of queen Mary, the one named John Snel, and the other Richard Snel; who being suspected for religion, were sent unto Richmond, where Dr. Dakins had commission from the bishop of Chester to have the examination of them.

This Dr. Dakins many times conferred with them, sometimes threatening fire and faggot if they would not recant, and sometimes flattering them with fair fables, if they would return into the holy Catholic church. But they stood constantly to the sure rock, Jesus Christ, in whom they put their whole trust and confidence; whilst at last being so sore imprisoned that their toes rotted off, and the one of them could not go without crutches, they brought them to the church by compulsion, where the one of them heard their abominable mass, having a certain sum of money given him by the benevolence of the people; and so departed thence. But the first news that was heard of him within three or four days, was, that he had drowned himself in a river running by Richmond, called Swaile.

Immediately after, Dr. Dakins, giving sentence that the other should be burned, came home to his house, and never joyed after, but died. The commissary of Richmond, named Hillings, preached at Snel's burning, exhorting him to return to the church; but his labour was in vain, the constant martyr standing strongly to the faith which he professed.

Then being brought to the stake, whereunto he was tied by a girdle of iron, there was given unto him gunpowder, and a little straw was laid under his feet, and set round about with small wood and tar-barrels; the fire was put in the straw, which by and by flaming about his head, he cried thrice together, "Christ, help me!" insomuch, that one Robert Atkinson being present, said, Hold fast there, and we will all pray for thee. Thus this blessed martyr ended his life.

*The Life, Sufferings, and Martyrdom, of THOMAS CRANMER, the first Archbishop of Canterbury, burnt at Oxford the 21st of March, 1556.*

This eminent prelate was born at Aslacton in Nottinghamshire, on the 2nd of July, 1489. His family was ancient, and came in with William the Conqueror. He was





H. G. F. T. M.

J. S. M. M.







early deprived of his father, *Thomas Cranmer, Esq.* and after no extraordinary education, was sent by his mother to Cambridge, at the age of fourteen, according to the custom of those times.

Having completed his studies at the university, he took the usual degrees, and was so well beloved, that he was chosen fellow of Jesus-college; soon after which he became celebrated for his great learning and abilities.

In 1521 he married, by which he forfeited the fellowship of Jesus-college; but his wife dying in childbed within the year, he was re-elected. This favour he most gratefully acknowledged, and chose to decline an offer of a much more valuable fellowship in cardinal Wolsey's new seminary at Oxford, rather than to relinquish friends who had treated him with the most distinguished respect.

In 1523 he commenced doctor of divinity; and being in great esteem for theological learning, he was chosen divinity lecturer in his own college, and appointed by the university one of the examiners in that science. In this office he principally inculcated the study of the holy scriptures, then greatly neglected, as being indispensably necessary for the professors of that divine knowledge.

The plague happening to break out at Cambridge, Mr. Cranmer, with some of his pupils, removed to Waltham-abbey, where falling into company with Gardiner and Fox, the one secretary, the other almoner, of king Henry VIII. that monarch's intended divorce of Catharine, his queen, the common subject of discourse in those days, came upon the carpet: when Cranmer advising an application to our own, and to the foreign, universities, for their opinion in the case, and giving these gentlemen much satisfaction, they introduced him to the king, who was so pleased with him, that he ordered him to write his thoughts on the subject, made him his chaplain, and admitted him into that favour and esteem which he never afterwards forfeited.

In 1530 he was sent by the king, with a solemn embassy, to dispute on the subject of the divorce at Paris, Rome, and other foreign parts. At Rome he delivered his book which he had written in defence of the divorce, to the pope, and offered to justify it in a public disputation: but after various promises and appointments, none appeared to oppose him; while in private conferences he forced them to confess that the marriage was contrary to the law of God. The pope constituted him penitentiary-general of England, and dismissed him. In Germany he gave full satisfaction to many learned men, who were before of a contrary persuasion; and prevailed on the famous Osander (whose niece he married while there) to declare the king's marriage unlawful.

During the time he was abroad, the great archbishop Warham died: Henry, convinced of Cranmer's merit, determined that he should succeed him; and commanded him to return for that purpose. He suspected the cause, and delayed: he was desirous by all means to decline this high station; for he had a true and primitive sense of the office. But a spirit so different from that of the churchmen of his time, stimulated the king's resolution; and the more reluctance Cranmer shewed, the greater resolution Henry exerted. He was consecrated on March 30, 1533, to the office; and though he received the usual bulls from the pope, he protested at his consecration against the oath of allegiance, &c. to him: for he had conversed freely with the reformed in Germany, had read Luther's books, and was zealously attached to the glorious cause of reformation.

The first service he did the king in his archiepiscopal character was pronouncing the sentence of his divorce from queen Catharine; and the next, in joining his hands with

Anne Boleyn; the consequence of which marriage was the birth of the glorious Elizabeth, to whom he stood godfather.

As the queen was greatly interested in the reformation, the friends to that good work began to conceive high hopes; and, indeed, it went on with desirable success. But the fickle disposition of the king, and the fatal end of the unhappy Anne, for a while alarmed their fears, though, by God's providence, without any ill effects. The pope's supremacy was universally exploded; monasteries, &c. destroyed upon the fullest detection of the most abominable vices and inordinances; that valuable book of the *Erudition of a Christian man*, was set forth by our great archbishop with public authority; and the sacred scriptures at length, to the infinite joy of Cranmer and the worthy lord Cromwell, his constant friend and associate, were not only translated, but introduced into every parish. The translation was received with inexpressible joy; every one that was able purchased it, and the poor flocked greedily to hear it read; some persons in years learnt to read on purpose, that they might peruse it; and even little children crowded with eagerness to hear it.—We cannot help reflecting on this occasion, how much we are bound to prize this sacred treasure, which we enjoy so perfectly, and how much to contend against every attempt of those enemies, and that church, which would deprive us of it, and again reduce us to legends and schoolmen, to ignorance and idolatry.

Cranmer, that he might proceed with true judgment, made a collection of opinions from the works of the ancient fathers and later doctors: of which bishop Burnet saw two vols. in folio; and it appears by a letter of lord Burleigh's, that there were then six volumes of Cranmer's collections in his hands: a work of incredible labour, but vast utility.

A short time after this, he gave a shining proof of his sincere and disinterested constancy, by his noble opposition to what are commonly called king Henry's Six Bloody Articles. (By these none were allowed to speak against transubstantiation, on pain of being burned as heretics, and forfeiting their goods and chattels, as in case of treason. It was also thereby made felony, and forfeiture of lands and goods, to defend the communion in both kinds, or marriage of the clergy, or of those who had vowed celibacy; or to speak against private masses and auricular confession.) However, he weathered the storm; and published, with an incomparable preface written by himself, the larger Bible, six of which even Bonner, then newly consecrated bishop of London, caused to be fixed for the perusal of the people in his cathedral of St. Paul's.

The enemies of the reformation, however, were restless; and Henry, alas! was no Protestant in his heart. Cromwell fell a sacrifice to them; and they aimed every possible shaft at Cranmer. Gardiner in particular was indefatigable: he caused him to be accused in parliament, and several lords of the privy council moved the king to commit the archbishop to the Tower. The king perceived their malice; and one evening, on pretence of diverting himself on the water, ordered his barge to be rowed to Lambeth side: the archbishop, being informed of it, came down to pay his respects, and was ordered by the king to come into the barge, and sit close by him. Henry made him acquainted with the accusations of heresy, faction, &c. which were laid against him; and spoke of his opposition to the Six Articles: the archbishop modestly replied, That he could not but acknowledge himself to be of the same opinion with respect to them; but was not conscious of having offended against them.—The king then, putting on an air of pleasantry, asked him, if his bedchamber could stand the test of these Articles? The

archbishop confessed that he was married in Germany, before his promotion; but assured the king, that on passing that act he had parted with his wife, and sent her abroad to her friends. His majesty was so charmed with his openness and integrity, that he discovered the whole plot that was laid against him; and gave him a ring of great value, to produce upon any future emergency.

A few days after this, Cranmer's enemies summoned him to appear before the council. He accordingly attended, when they suffered him to wait in the lobby amongst the footmen, treated him on his admission with haughty contempt, and would have sent him to the Tower. But he produced the ring, and gained his enemies a severe reprimand from Henry, and himself the highest degree of security and favour.

On this occasion he shewed that lenity and mildness for which he was always so much distinguished: he never persecuted any of his enemies, but on the contrary freely forgave even the inveterate Gardiner, on his writing a supplicatory letter to him for that purpose.—The same lenity he shewed towards Dr. Thornton, the suffragan of Dover, and Dr. Barber, who (though entertained in his family, and intrusted with his secrets, and indebted to him for many favours) had ungratefully conspired with Gardiner to take away his life.

When Cranmer first discovered their treachery, he took them aside into his study, and telling them that he had been basely and falsely accused by some, in whom he had always reposed the greatest confidence, desired them to advise him how he should behave himself towards them? They, not suspecting themselves to be concerned in the question, replied, That such vile abandoned villains ought to be prosecuted with the greatest rigour; nay, deserved to die without mercy. At this the archbishop, lifting up his hands to heaven, cried out, Merciful God, whom may a man trust! And then taking out of his bosom the letters by which he had discovered their treachery, asked them if they knew those papers? When they saw their own letters produced against them, they were in the utmost confusion, and, falling down upon their knees, humbly sued for forgiveness. The archbishop told them that he forgave them, and would pray for them; but that they must not expect him ever to trust them for the future.

As we are upon the subject of the archbishop's readiness to forgive and forget injuries, it may not be improper here to relate a pleasant instance of it, which happened some time before the above circumstances:

The archbishop's first wife, whom he married at Cambridge, was kinswoman to the hostess at the Dolphin inn, and boarded there; and he often resorted thither on that account, the Popish party had raised a story that he was hostler to that inn, and never had the benefit of a learned education. This idle story a Yorkshire priest had with great confidence asserted in an ale-house which he used to frequent, railing at the archbishop, and saying that he had no more learning than a goose. Some people of the parish informed lord Cromwell of this, and the priest was committed to the Fleet prison. When he had been there nine or ten weeks, he sent a relation of his to the archbishop, to beg his pardon, and to sue for a discharge. The archbishop instantly sent for him, and after a gentle reproof, asked the priest whether he knew him? To whom he answering, No; the archbishop expostulated with him, why he should then make so free with his character. The priest excused himself, by saying he was disguised with liquor; but this, Cranmer told him, was a double fault. He then said to the priest, if he was inclined to try what a scholar he was, he should have liberty

to oppose him in whatever science he pleased. The priest humbly asked his pardon, and confessed himself to be very ignorant, and to understand nothing but his mother-tongue. No doubt then (said Cranmer) you are well versed in the English Bible, and can answer any question out of that: pray tell me who was David's father? The priest stood still for some time to consider; but at last told the archbishop he could not recollect his name.—Tell me then (says Cranmer) who was Solomon's father? The poor priest replied, that he had no skill in genealogies, and could not tell. The archbishop then advising him to frequent ale-houses less, and his study more, and admonishing him not to accuse others for want of learning till he was master of some himself, discharged him out of custody, and sent him home to his cure.

These may serve as instances of Cranmer's clement temper. Indeed, he was much blamed by many for his too great lenity; which, it was thought, encouraged the Popish faction to make fresh attempts against him; but he was happy in giving a shining example of that great Christian virtue which he most diligently taught.

The king, who was a good discernor of men, remarking the implacable hatred of Cranmer's enemies towards him, changed his coat of arms from three cranes to three pelicans feeding their young with their own blood, and told his grace, "That these birds should signify to him, that he ought to be ready, like the pelican, to shed his blood for his young ones, brought up in the faith of Christ; for, said the king, you are like to be tried, if you will stand to your tackling, at length." The event proved the king to be no bad prophet.

In 1546, king Henry experienced the impartiality of death; and left his crown to his only son, Edward, who was godson to Cranmer, and had imbibed all the spirit of a reformer. This excellent young prince, influenced no less by his own inclinations than by the advice of Cranmer, and other friends of reformation, was diligent in every endeavour to promote it. Homilies were composed by the archbishop, and a Catechism; Erasmus's Notes on the New Testament translated, and fixed up in churches; the sacrament administered in both kinds; and the liturgy used in the vulgar tongue. Ridley, the archbishop's great friend, and one of the brightest lights of the English reformation, was equally zealous in the good cause: and with him the archbishop drew up the forty-two articles of religion, which were revised by other bishops and divines; as through him he had perfectly conquered all his scruples respecting the doctrine of the corporal presence, and published a much esteemed treatise, entitled, A Defence of the true and catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.

But this happy scene of prosperity was not to continue: God was pleased to deprive the nation of king Edward, in 1553, designing in his wise providence to perfect the new-born church of his Son Jesus Christ, in England, by the blood of martyrs, as at the beginning he perfected the church in general.

Anxious for the success of the reformation, and wrought upon by the artifices of the duke of Northumberland, king Edward had been persuaded to exclude his sisters, and to bequeath the crown to that duke's amiable and every way deserving daughter, the lady Jane Gray. The archbishop did his utmost to oppose this alteration in the succession; but the king was over-ruled; the will was made, and subscribed by the council and the judges. The archbishop was sent for, last of all, and required to subscribe: but he answered, that he could not do it without perjury, having sworn

to the entail of the crown on the two princesses, Mary and Elizabeth. To this the king replied, That the judges, who being best skilled in the constitution, ought to be regarded in this point, had assured him, that notwithstanding that entail, he might lawfully bequeath the crown to lady Jane. The archbishop desired to discourse with them himself about it; and they all agreeing that he might lawfully subscribe the king's will, he was at last prevailed with to resign his own private scruples to their authority, and set his hand to it.

Having done this, he thought himself obliged in conscience to join the lady Jane: but her short-lived power soon expired; when Mary and persecution mounted the throne, and Cranmer could expect nothing less than what ensued, — attainder, imprisonment, deprivation, and death.

He was condemned for treason, and pardoned; but to gratify Gardiner's malice, and her own implacable resentment against him for her mother's divorce, Mary gave orders to proceed against him for heresy. His friends, who foresaw the storm, had advised him to consult his safety by retreating beyond sea; but he chose rather to continue steady to the cause, which he so nobly supported hitherto, and preferred the probability of sealing his testimony with his blood, to an ignominious and dishonourable flight.

The Tower was crowded with prisoners, inasmuch that Craumer, Ridley, Latimer, and Bradford, were all put into one chamber; which they were so far from thinking an inconvenience, that, on the contrary, they blessed God for the opportunity of conversing together, reading and comparing the scriptures, confirming themselves in the true faith, and mutually exhorting each other to constancy in professing it, and patience in suffering for it. — Happy society! blessed martyrs! rather to be envied than the purpled tyrant with the sword deep drenched in blood, though encircled with all the pomp and pageantry of power.

In April, 1554, the archbishop, with bishop Ridley and Latimer, was removed from the Tower to Windsor, and from thence to Oxford, to dispute with some select persons of both universities. But, alas! what farces are disputations, where the fate of men is fixed, and every word is misconstrued! And such was the case here: for on April the 20th Craumer was brought to St. Mary's before the queen's commissioners, and refusing to subscribe to the Popish articles, he was pronounced an heretic, and sentence of condemnation was passed upon him. Upon which he told them, that he appealed from their unjust sentence to that of the Almighty; and that he trusted to be received into his presence in heaven for maintaining the truth, as set forth in his most holy gospel.

After this, his servants were dismissed from their attendance, and himself closely confined in Bocardo, the prison of the city of Oxford. But this sentence being void of law, as the pope's authority was wanting, a new commission was sent from Rome in 1555; and in St. Mary's church, at the high altar, the court sat, and tried the already condemned Cranmer. He was here well nigh too strong for his judges; and if reason and truth could have prevailed, there would have been no doubt who should have been acquitted, and who condemned.

The February following, a new commission was given to bishop Bonner and bishop Thirlby, for the degradation of the archbishop. When they came down to Oxford, he was brought before them; and after they had read their commission from the pope, (for not appearing before whom in person, as they had cited him, he was declared contumacious, though they themselves had kept him a close prisoner,) Bonner in a scurrilous oration insulted over him in the most

unchristian manner, for which he was often rebuked by bishop Thirlby, who wept, and declared it the most sorrowful scene he had ever beheld in his whole life. In the commission it was declared, that the cause had been impartially heard at Rome, the witnesses on both sides examined, and the archbishop's counsel allowed to make the best defence for him they could.

At the reading of this, the archbishop could not help crying out, "God! God! what lies are these! that I, being continually in prison, and not suffered to have counsel or advocates at home, should produce witness and appoint my counsel at Rome. God must needs punish this shameless and open lying!"

When Bonner had finished his invective, they proceeded to degrade him; and that they might make him as ridiculous as they could, the episcopal habit which they put on him was made of canvas and old rags. Bonner in the mean time, by way of triumph and mockery, calling him Mr. Canterbury, and the like.

He bore all this treatment with his wonted fortitude and patience, and told them the degradation gave him no concern, for he had long despised those ornaments; but when they came to take away his crosier, he held it fast, and delivered his appeal to Thirlby, saying, "I appeal to the next general council."

When they had stripped him of all his habits, they put on him a poor yeoman-beadle's gown, threadbare and ill-shaped, and a townsman's cap; and in this manner delivered him to the secular power to be carried back to prison, where he was kept entirely destitute of money, and totally secluded from his friends. Nay, such was the iniquity of the times, that a gentleman was taken into custody by Bonner, and narrowly escaped a trial, for giving the poor archbishop money to buy him a dinner.

Craumer had now been imprisoned almost three years, and death should have soon followed his sentence and degradation: but his cruel enemies reserved him for greater misery and insult. Every means that could be thought of was employed to shake his constancy; but he held fast to the profession of his faith. Nay, even when he saw the barbarous martyrdoms of his dear companions, Ridley and Latimer, he was so far from shrinking, that he not only prayed to God to strengthen them, but also by their example to animate him to a patient expectation and endurance of the same fiery trial.

The Papists, after trying various severe ways to bring Cranmer over, without effect, at length determined to try what gentle methods would do. They accordingly removed him from prison to the lodgings of the dean of Christ-church, where they urged every persuasive and affecting argument to make him deviate from his faith; and, indeed, too much melted his gentle nature, by false sunshine of pretended civility and respect.

The unfortunate prelate, however, withstood every temptation; at which his enemies were so irritated, that they removed him from the dean's lodgings to the most loathsome part of the prison in which he had been confined, and then treated him with unparalleled severity. This was more than the infirmities of so old a man could support: the frailty of human nature prevailed, and he was induced to sign six different recantations, drawn from him by the malice and artifices of his enemies.

This, however, did not satisfy them: they were determined not to spare his life. Nothing less than his death could satiate the gloomy queen, who said, "that as he had been the promoter of heresy, which had corrupted the whole



nation, the abjuration, which was sufficient in other cases, should not serve his turn; for she was resolved he should be burned." Accordingly she sent orders to Dr. Cole, to prepare a sermon on the occasion of his death, which was fixed to be on the 21st of March.

The archbishop had no suspicion that such would be his fate, after what he had done; but he soon found his mistake.

The Papists, determined to carry their resentment to the most extravagant length, thought to inflict a farther punishment on him, by obliging him to read his recantation publicly in St. Mary's church; and on this they proposed to triumph in his death; but their base intentions were happily frustrated.

On the morning of the day appointed for his execution, he was conducted between two friars to St. Mary's church. As soon as he entered, Dr. Cole mounted the pulpit, and the archbishop was placed opposite to it on a low scaffold, a spectacle of contempt and scorn to the people.

Cole magnified his conversion as the immediate work of God's inspiration; exhorted him to bear up with resolution against the terrors of death; and by the example of the thief on the cross, encouraged him not to despair, since he was returned, though late, into the bosom of the church. He also assured him, that dirges and masses should be said for his soul in all the churches of Oxford.

As soon as the archbishop perceived, from Cole's sermon, what was the bloody decree, struck with horror at the base inhumanity of such proceedings, he gave by all his gestures a full proof of the deep anguish of his soul.

At length, being called upon by Cole to declare his faith and reconciliation with the Catholic church, he rose with all possible dignity, and, while the audience was wrapped in the most profound expectation, he kneeled down, and repeated the following prayer:

"O Father of heaven! O Son of God, redeemer of the world! O Holy Ghost, proceeding from them both! three Persons and one God, have mercy upon me, most wretched and miserable sinner! I, who have offended both heaven and earth, and more grievously than any tongue can express, whither then may I go, or where shall I fly for succour? To heaven I may be ashamed to lift up mine eyes, and in earth I find no refuge: what shall I then do? shall I despair? God forbid! O good God, thou art merciful, and refusest none who come to thee for succour! To thee therefore do I run: to thee do I humble myself, saying, O Lord God, my sins be great, but yet have mercy upon me, for thy great mercy! O God the Son, thou wast not made man, this great mystery was not wrought, for few or small offences; nor didst thou give thy Son unto death, O God the Father, for our little and small sins only, but for all the greatest sins of the world: so that the sinner return unto thee with a penitent heart, as I do here at this present; wherefore have mercy upon me, O Lord, whose property is always to have mercy: for although my sins be great, yet thy mercy is greater. I crave nothing, O Lord, for my own merits, but for thy name's sake, that it may be glorified thereby, and for thy dear Son Jesus Christ's sake. And now, therefore, our Father, &c."

He then rose up, exhorted the people to a contempt of this world, to obedience to their sovereign, and to mutual love and charity. He told them, that being now on the brink of eternity, he would declare unto them his faith, without reserve or dissimulation. He then repeated the Apostles' Creed, and professed his belief thereof, and of all things contained in the Old and New Testament.

By speaking thus in general terms, the attention of the audience was kept up; but amazement continued that attention, when they heard him, instead of reading his recantation, declare his great and unfeigned repentance for having been induced to subscribe the popish errors; he lamented with many tears, his grievous fall, and declared that the hand which had so offended, should be burnt before the rest of his body.

He then renounced the pope in most express terms, and professed his belief concerning the eucharist to be the same with what he had asserted in his book against Gardiner.

This was a great disappointment to the Papists; they made loud clamours, and charged him with hypocrisy and falsehood. To which he meekly replied, that he "was a plain man, and never had acted the hypocrite, but when he was seduced by them to recantation."

He would have gone on further? but Cole cried, Stop the heretic's mouth, and take him away.

Upon this the monks and friars rudely pulled him from the scaffold, and hurried him away to the stake, (where Ridley and Latimer had before been offered up,) which was at the north side of the city, in the ditch opposite Baliol-college.

But if his enemies were disappointed by his behaviour in the church, they were doubly so by that at the stake. He approached it with a cheerful countenance, prayed and undressed himself; his shirt was made long down to his feet, which were bare, as was his head, where a hair could not be seen. His beard was so long and thick, that it covered his face with wonderful gravity: and his reverend countenance moved the hearts both of friends and enemies.

The friars tormented him with their admonitions; while Cranmer gave his hand to several old men who stood by, bidding them farewell. When he was chained to the stake, and the fire kindled, he seemed superior to all sensation but of piety. He stretched out the offending hand to the flame, which was seen burning for some time before the fire came to any other part of his body; nor did he draw it back, but once to wipe his face, till it was entirely consumed; saying often, This unworthy hand, this hand hath offended! and raising up his eyes to heaven, he expired with the dying prayer of St. Stephen in his mouth, Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!

He burned to all appearance without pain or motion; and seemed to repel the torture by mere strength of mind, shewing a repentance and fortitude, which ought to cancel all reproach of timidity in his life.

Thus died archbishop Cranmer, in the 67th year of his age, and the 23d of his primacy, leaving an only son, of his own name, behind him.

He was a man naturally of a mild and gentle temper, not soon provoked, and yet so easy to forgive, that it became a kind of proverb concerning him, "Do my lord of Canterbury a shrewd turn, and he will be your friend as long as you live."

His candour and sincerity, meekness and humility, were admired by all who conversed with him: but the queen could not forgive his zeal for the reformation, nor his divorce of her mother, and therefore she brought him to the stake; which has justly numbered him amongst the noblest martyrs who suffered for the truth of the gospel.

He may truly be ranked with the greatest primitive bishops, and the fathers of the very first class, who were men as well as himself; and therefore, if in a scrutiny of their, or of his character, some infirmities and imperfections may appear, we may learn to make a wise and moral improvement by them. His learning was great, and his endeavour to encon-

rage it greater. To him, under God, we are indebted for the great blessing we enjoy of Reformation, of which he was the pillar and ornament; and while we repeat the liturgy, and hear the Bible, in our congregations, so long shall we venerate the name of Archbishop Cranmer.

Cranmer's labours were well seconded by Ridley, Latimer, and Hooper, who were his fellow-martyrs in the cause of reformation: but the characters of this illustrious quadri-virate differed one from the other: Cranmer was most respected, Latimer was most followed, Ridley best esteemed, and Hooper most beloved. The art and address of Cranmer proved a happy balance to the zeal of Latimer, while the relaxed notions of Hooper were tempered by the virtue and wisdom of Ridley.

Mr. Cranmer during his imprisonment wrote a great number of letters to different persons, whom he knew to be professors of Christ's gospel. Among these we shall preserve the following:

*A Letter from Archbishop Cranmer to Mrs. Wilkinson, exhorting her to fly in the time of persecution.*

"The true comforter in all distress is only God, through his Son Jesus Christ; and whoever hath him, hath company enough, if he were in a wilderness all alone; and he that hath twenty thousand in his company, if God be absent, is in a miserable wilderness and desolation. In him is all comfort, and without him is none. Wherefore I beseech you, seek your dwelling there, where you may truly and rightly serve God, and dwell in him, and have him ever dwelling in you. What can be so heavy a burden as an unquiet conscience, to be in such a place as a man cannot be suffered to serve God in Christ's religion? if you be loath to depart from your kindred and friends, remember that Christ called them his mother, sisters, and brothers, that do his Father's will. Where we find, therefore, God truly honoured according to his will, there we can lack neither friend nor kindred.

"If you be loath to depart for the slander of God's word, remember, that Christ, when his hour was not yet come, departed out of his country into Samaria, to avoid the malice of the Scribes and Pharisees; and commanded his apostles, that if they were pursued in one place, they should fly to another. And was not Paul let down by a basket out of a window, to avoid the persecution of Aretas? And what wisdom and policy he used, from time to time, to escape the malice of his enemies, the Acts of the Apostles do declare. And after the same sort did the other apostles: albeit, when it came to such a point that they could no longer escape danger of the persecutors of God's true religion, then they shewed themselves that their flying before came not of fear, but of godly wisdom to do more good; and that they would not rashly, without urgent necessity, offer themselves to death; which had been but a temptation of God. Yea, when they were apprehended, and could no longer avoid, then they stood boldly to the profession of Christ, then they shewed how little they regarded death; and how much they feared God more than men, how much they loved and preferred the eternal life to come above this short and miserable life.

"Wherefore I exhort you, as well by Christ's commandment, as by the example of him and his apostles, to withdraw yourself from the malice of your and God's enemies, into some place where God is most purely served; which is no slandering of the truth, but preserving of yourself to God and the truth, and to the society and comfort of Christ's little flock. And that you will do, do it with speed, lest by your own folly you fall into the persecutors' hands. And the

Lord send his Holy Spirit to lead and guide you wheresoever you go! and all that he godly will say, Amen."

AGNES POTTEN and JOAN TRUNCHFIELD, and other Martyrs.

In the story of Robert Samuel, mention was made before of two godly women of the same town of Ipswich, which shortly after him suffered likewise, and obtained the crown of martyrdom: the names of whom were, *Agnes*, the wife of Robert Potten, and another, *Joan*, wife of Michael Trunchfield, a shoemaker, both dwelling in one town: who, about the same time that the archbishop was burned at Oxford, suffered likewise in the town of Ipswich.

Their opinion was this, that in the sacrament was the memorial only of Christ's death and passion: For, say they, Jesus Christ is ascended up into heaven, and is on the right hand of God the Father, according to the scriptures, and not in the sacrament as he was born of the Virgin Mary.

For this they were burned; in whose suffering their constancy was to be wondered at, who being simple women, resolutely stood to the confession and testimony of God's word and truth; insomuch that when they had prepared and undressed themselves ready for the fire, with comfortable words of the scripture they earnestly required the people to credit and to lay hold on the word of God, and not upon man's devices and inventions, despising the ordinances and institutions of the Romish Antichrist, with all his superstitions and rotten religion; and so continuing in the torment of fire, they held up their hands, and called unto God constantly so long as life did endure.

This Potten's wife, one night a little before her death, being asleep in her bed, saw a bright burning fire, right up as a pole, and on the side of the fire she thought there stood a number of queen Mary's friends looking on. Then, being asleep, she seemed to muse with herself whether her fire should burn so bright or no? and indeed her suffering was not far unlike to her dream.

This also I thought further to note, how these two being always together in prison, the one, which was Michael's wife, seemed to be not so ardent and zealous as Potten's wife was, although (God be thanked) they did both stoutly stand to the confession of the truth; but when the said Michael's wife came to the stake, and saw nothing but present death before her, she much exceeded the other in joy and comfort; albeit both of them did so joyfully suffer, as it was marvelled at by those that knew them, and did behold their end. And thus these two martyrs ended their life with great triumph.

The Story of JOHN MAUNDREL, WILLIAM COBERLY, and JOHN SPICER, Martyrs.

First, *John Maundrel*, which was the son of Robert Maundrel, of Rowd, in the county of Wiltshire, farmer, was from his childhood brought up in husbandry, and after he came to man's state, did abide and dwell in a village called Buchampton, in the parish of Kevel, within the county of Wiltshire aforesaid, where he had wife and children, being of good name and fame. Which John Maundrel, after that the scripture was translated into English by the faithful apostle of England, William Tindal, became a diligent hearer and a fervent embracer of God's true religion, so that he delighted in nothing so much, as to hear and speak of God's word, never being without the New Testament about him, although he could not read himself. But when he came into any company that could read, his book was always ready, having

a very good memory ; so that he could recite by heart most places of the New Testament.

So it was, that in the days of king Henry the Eighth, at what time Dr. Trigonion and Dr. Lee did visit the abbeyes, the said John Maundrel was brought before Dr. Trigonion at an abbey called Edyngton, within the county of Wiltshire aforesaid ; where he was accused that he had spoken against the holy water and holy bread, and such like ceremonies, and for the same did wear a white sheet, bearing a candle in his hand about the market, in the town of Devizes, which is in the said county. Nevertheless, his fervency did not abate, but by God's merciful assistance he took better hold, as the sequel will declare.

For in the days of queen Mary, when popery was restored again, and God's true religion put to silence, the said John Maundrel left his own house, and departed into the county of Gloucestershire, and into the north part of Wiltshire, wandering from one to another to such men as he knew feared God, and became a servant to keep cattle. He spent some time with John Bridges, or some other, at Kingswood ; but after a time he returned to his country, and there coming to the Vyes, to a friend of his named Anthony Clee, had talk with him in a garden of returning home to his house.

And when the other exhorted him, by the words of scripture, to fly from one city to another, he replied again by the words of the Apocalypse xxi. of them that be fearful, &c. saying, that he needs must go home ; and so did. Where he, with Spicer and Coberly, used at times to confer together.

At length, upon the Sunday following, they agreed together to go to the parish church of Kevel, where the said Maundrel and the other two, seeing the parishioners in the procession to follow and worship the idol there carried, advertised them to leave the same, and to return to the living God, namely, speaking to one Robert Barksdale, head man of the parish ; but he took no regard to their words.

After this, the vicar came into the pulpit, who there being about to read his bederol, and to pray for the souls in purgatory ; the said John Maundrel, speaking with an audible voice, said, that was the pope's pinfold ; the other two affirming the same. After which words, by commandment of the priest, they were had to the stocks, where they remained till the service was done, and then were brought before a justice of peace, and so the next day carried to Salisbury all three, and presented before bishop Capon, and W. Geoffrey, being chancellor of the diocese. By whom they were imprisoned, and oftentimes examined of their faith in their houses, but seldom openly ; and at the last examination they demanded how they did believe ?

They answered, As Christian men should and ought to believe : and first, they said, they believed in God the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost, the twelve articles of the creed, and the holy scripture, from the first of Genesis to the last of the Apocalypse.

But that faith the chancellor would not allow. Wherefore he opposed them in particular articles : first, whether that they did not believe that in the sacrament of the altar (as he termed it) after the words of consecration spoken by the priest at mass, there remained no substance of bread nor wine, but Christ's body, flesh and blood, as he was born of the Virgin Mary ? Whereunto they answered negatively, saying, That the popish mass was abominable idolatry, and injurious to the blood of Christ ; but confessing that in a faithful congregation, receiving the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, being duly ministered according to Christ's institution, Christ's body and blood is spiritually received of the faithful believer.

Also, being asked whether the pope was supreme head of the church, and Christ's vicar on earth ; they answered negatively, saying, That the bishop of Rome doth usurp over emperors and kings, being Antichrist, and God's enemy. The chancellor said, Will you have the church without a head ? They answered, Christ was the head of his church ; and under Christ, the queen's majesty. What, said the chancellor, a woman head of the church ! Yea, said they, within her grace's dominions.

Also, whether the souls in purgatory were delivered by the pope's pardons, and the suffrages of the church ? they said, They believed faithfully that the blood of Christ had purged their sins, and the sins of them that were saved unto the end of the world ; so that they feared nothing the pope's purgatory, or esteemed his pardons.

Also, whether images were necessary to be in the churches, as laymen's books, and saints to be prayed unto and worshipped : they answered negatively : John Maundrel adding, that wooden images were good to roast a shoulder of mutton, but evil in the church, whereby idolatry was committed.

Those articles thus answered, (for their articles were one, and their answers in a manner alike,) the chancellor read their condemnation, and so delivered them to the sheriff. Then spake John Spicer, saying, O master sheriff, now must you be their butcher, that you may be guilty also with them of innocent blood before the Lord. This was the 23d of March, anno 1556, and the 24th day of the same month they were carried out of the common gaol to a place betwixt Salisbury and Wilton, where were two posts set for them to be burnt at. Which men coming to the place, kneeled down, and made their prayers secretly together ; and then being unclothed to their shirts, John Maundrel spake with a loud voice, Not for all Salisbury ! Which words men judged to be an answer to the sheriff, which offered him the queen's pardon if he would recant. And after that in like manner spake J. Spicer, saying, This is the joyfulest day that ever I saw. Thus were they three burnt at two stakes ; where most constantly they gave their bodies to the fire, and their souls to the Lord, for testimony of his truth.

As touching William Coberly, this moreover is to be noted, that his wife also, called Alice, being apprehended, was in the keeper's house the same time detained while her husband was in prison. Where the keeper's wife, named Agnes Penicote, had secretly heated a key fire-hot, and laid it on the grass in the back side. So speaking to Alice Coberly to fetch her the key in all haste, the said Alice went with speed to bring the key : and so taking up the key in haste, did piteously burn her hand. Whereupon she crying out at the sudden burning of her hand : Ah, thou d'rab, (quoth the other,) thou that canst not abide the burning of the key, how wilt thou be able to abide burning thy whole body ? And so she afterwards revoked.

*The Persecution and Martyrdoms of RICHARD SPURG, THOMAS SPURG, JOHN CAVILL, and GEORGE AMBROSE, Laymen : and ROBERT DRAKE, and WILLIAM TIMS, Ministers.*

These six pious Christians resided in the county of Essex, and diocese of London. Being accused of heresy, they were all apprehended, and sent by the lord Rich, and other commissioners, at different times, to bishop Gardiner, lord chancellor of England ; who, after a short examination, sent the four first to the Marshalsea prison, in the Borough, and the two last to the King's Bench, where they continued during the space of a whole year, till the death of Bishop Gardiner.

When Dr. Heath, archbishop of York, succeeded to the chancellorship, four of these persecuted brethren, namely, Richard and Thomas Spurg, John Cavill, and George Ambrose, weary of their tedious confinement, presented a petition to the lord chancellor, subscribing their names, and requesting his interest for their enlargement. A short time after the delivery of this petition, sir Richard Read, one of the officers of the court of Chancery, was sent by the chancellor to the Marshalsea to examine them.

RICHARD SPURG, the first who passed examination, being asked the cause of his imprisonment, replied, that he, with several others, being complained of by the minister of Bocking, for not coming to their parish church, to the lord Rich, was thereupon sent up to London by his lordship, to be examined by the late chancellor.

He acknowledged that he had not been at church since the English service was changed into Latin, (except on Christmas-day was twelvemonth,) because he disliked the same, and the mass also, as not agreeable to God's holy word.

He then desired that he might be no farther examined concerning this matter, until it pleased the present chancellor to inquire his faith concerning the same, which he was ready to deliver.

THOMAS SPURG, on his examination, answered to the same effect with the other, confessing that he absented himself from church, because the word of God was not then truly taught, nor the sacraments of Christ duly administered, as prescribed by the same word.

Being farther examined touching his faith in the sacrament of the altar; he said, that if he stood accused in that particular, he would answer as God had given him knowledge, which he should do at another opportunity.

JOHN CAVILL likewise agreed in the chief particulars with his brethren; but farther said, the cause of his absenting himself from church was, that the minister there had advanced two doctrines contrary to each other; for, first, in a sermon he delivered when the queen came to the crown, he exhorted the people to believe the gospel, declaring it to be the truth, and that, if they believed it not, they would be damned; and that, secondly, in a future discourse, he declared that the New Testament was false in forty places; which contrariety gave him much disgust, and was, among other things, the cause of his absenting himself from church.

GEORGE AMBROSE answered to the same effect, adding moreover, that after he had read the late bishop of Winchester's book, entitled, *De Vera Obedientia*, with bishop Bonner's preface thereto annexed, both inveighing against the authority of the bishop of Rome, he esteemed their principles more lightly than he had done before.

ROBERT DRAKE was minister of Thundersly, in Essex, to which living he had been presented by the lord Rich in the reign of Edward VI. when he was ordained priest by Dr. Ridley, then bishop of London, according to the reformed English service for ordination.

On the accession of queen Mary to the throne of England, he was sent for by Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who demanded of him, whether he would conform, like a good subject, to the laws of the realm then in force? He answered, that he would abide by those laws that were agreeable to the law of God; upon which he was immediately committed to prison.

WILLIAM TIMS was a deacon and curate of Hockley, in Essex, in the reign of king Edward VI. but being deprived of his living soon after the death of that monarch, he absconded, and privately preached in a neighbouring wood, whither many of his flock attended to hear the word of God.

In consequence of these proceedings, he was apprehended by one of the constables, and sent up to the bishop of London, by whom he was referred to Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and lord chancellor, who committed him to the King's-bench prison.

A short time after his confinement, he, with the others before mentioned, was ordered to appear before the bishop of London, who questioned them in the usual manner concerning their faith in the sacrament of the altar.

Mr. Tims answered, that the body of Christ was not in the sacrament of the altar, really and corporally, after the words of consecration spoken by the priest; and that he had been a long time of that opinion, ever since it had pleased God of his infinite mercy to call him to the true knowledge of the gospel of his grace.

On the 28th of March, 1556, these six persons were all brought into the consistory court, in St. Paul's church, before the bishop of London, in order to be examined for the last time, who assured them, that if they did not submit to the church of Rome, they should be condemned for heresy.

The bishop began his examination with Tims, whom he called the ringleader of the others: he told him, that he had taught them heresies, confirmed them in their erroneous opinions, and endeavoured, so far as in him lay, to render them as abominable as himself: with many other accusations equally false and opprobrious.

He was then asked by the bishop, what he had to say in his own vindication, in order to prevent him proceeding against him as his ordinary? To which he replied as follows:

"My lord, I marvel that you will begin with a lie. You call me the ringleader and teacher of this company; but how untruly you have said, shall shortly appear. For there is none of all these my brethren, which are brought hither as prisoners, but when they were at liberty and out of prison, they dissented from you and your doings, as much as they do at this present, and for that cause they are now prisoners. So it is evident that they learned not their religion in prison.

"And as for me, I never knew them, until such time as I by your commandment was prisoner with them; how could I then be their ringleader and teacher? So that all the world may see how untruly you have spoken.

"And as for my fault, which you make so grievous, whatsoever you judge of me, I am well assured that I hold none other religion than Christ preached, the apostles witnessed, the primitive church received, and now of late the apostolical and evangelical preachers of this realm have faithfully taught; for the which you have cruelly burned them, and now you seek our blood also. Proceed on hardly by what rule you will: I force not, I do not refuse you for my ordinary."

The bishop then finding it necessary to come to a point with him, demanded if he would submit himself to the holy mother-church: promising that if he did, he should be kindly received; and threatening, at the same time, that if he did not, judgment should be pronounced against him as an heretic.

In answer to this, Tims told his lordship he was well persuaded that he was within the pale of the Catholic church, whatever he might think; and reminded him, that he had most solemnly abjured that very church to which he since professed such strenuous allegiance; and that, contrary to his oath, he again admitted in this realm the authority of the pope, and was therefore perjured and forsworn in the highest degree. He also recalled to his memory, that he had spoken with great force and perspicuity against the



usurped power of the pope, though he afterwards sentenced persons to be burnt, because they would not acknowledge the pope to be the supreme head of the church.

Have I? said Bonner, sternly. Where have I written any thing against the church of Rome?

"My lord, (said Tims,) the bishop of Winchester wrote a very learned oration, entitled, *De Vera Obedientia*, which containeth worthy matter against the Romish authority: unto the which book you made a preface, inveighing against the bishop of Rome, reproving his tyranny and falsehood, calling his power false and pretended. The book is extant, and you cannot deny it."

The bishop, struck with the poignancy of this reproof, evasively told him, that the bishop of Winchester wrote a book against the supremacy of the pope's holiness, and he wrote a preface to the same book, tending to the same purpose; but that the cause of the same arose not from their disregard to his holiness, but because it was then deemed treason by the laws of the realm to maintain the pope's authority in England.

He also observed, that at such time it was dangerous to profess to favour the church of Rome, and therefore fear compelled them to comply with the prevailing opinions of the times: for if any person had conscientiously acknowledged the pope's authority in those days, he would have been put to death; but that since the queen's happy accession to the throne, they might boldly speak the dictates of their consciences; and farther reminded him, that as my lord of Winchester was not ashamed to recant his errors at Paul's cross, and that he himself had done the same; every inferior clergyman should follow the example of their superiors.

Mr. Tims still persisting in the vindication of his own conduct, and reprehension of that of the bishop, again replied, "My lord, that which you have written against the supremacy of the pope, may be well proved from scripture; that which you now do is contrary to the word of God, as I can sufficiently prove."

Bonner, after much farther conversation, proceeded to form of law, causing his articles, with the respective answers to each, to be publicly read in court.

Mr. Tims acknowledged only two sacraments, baptism, and the Lord's supper; commended the bishop of Winchester's book, *De Vera Obedientia*, and the bishop of London's preface to the same. He declared that the mass was blasphemy against Christ's passion and death; that Christ is not corporally but spiritually present in the sacrament, and that, as they used it, it was an abominable idol.

Bonner exhorted him to revoke his errors and heresies, conform to the church of Rome, and not abide so strenuously by the literal sense of the scripture, but use the interpretation of the fathers.

Our martyr frankly declared he would not conform thereunto, notwithstanding the execrations denounced against him by the church of Rome; and demanded of the bishop what he had to support the doctrine of the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, but the bare letter of scripture?

On the bishop's replying, The authority of the holy Catholic church; Tims informed him, that he had the Popish church, for which he was perjured and forsworn; declaring that the see of Rome was the see of Antichrist, and therefore he would never consent to yield obedience to the same.

The bishop, finding Mr. Tims so inflexible in his adherence to the faith he professed, that every attempt to draw him from it was vain and fruitless, read his definitive sentence; and he was delivered over to the secular power.

Bonner then used the same measures with Drake as he had done with Tims; but Drake frankly declared, that he denied the church of Rome, with all the works thereof, even as he denied the devil and all his works.

The bishop perceiving all his exhortations fruitless, pronounced sentence of condemnation, and he was immediately delivered into the custody of the sheriffs.

After this, Thomas and Richard Spurg, George Ambrose, and John Cavill, were severally asked, if they would forsake their heresies, and return to the Catholic church? They all refused consenting to the church of Rome; but said, they were willing to adhere to the true Catholic church, and continue in the same.

Bonner then read their several definitive sentences; after which he committed them to the custody of the sheriffs of London, by whom they were conducted to Newgate.

On the 14th of April, 1556, the day appointed for their execution, they were all led to Smithfield, where they were chained to the same stake, and burnt in one fire, patiently submitting themselves to the flames, and resigning their souls into the hands of that glorious Redeemer, for whose sake they delivered their bodies to be burnt.

#### LETTERS OF WILLIAM TIMS.

*To his faithful sister in the Lord, parishioner in the town of Hockley, Agnes Glascock.*

"The grace, mercy, and peace, of God our Father, through Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour, with the sweet comfort of his holy and mighty Spirit, to the performance of his will, to your everlasting comfort, be with you, my dear sister Glascock, both now and evermore, Amen."

"My most dear and entirely beloved sister, (yea, mother I might rightly well call you, for the motherly care which you have always had for me,) I have me most heartily commended unto you, giving God most hearty thanks for you, that he hath given you so loving a heart, to Christ's poor gospel, and his poor afflicted flock for the same: and as you have full godly begun, so I beseech God to give you power to go forward in the same, and never more to look back, fearing neither fire, neither sword: and then, I warrant you, you have not far to run."

"And now, my dear heart, remember well what I have taught you when I was present with you, and also written being absent, and no doubt we shall shortly meet again with a most joyful meeting. I go upon Friday next to the bishop of London's coal-house, which is the 20th day of March, where I think it will be hard for any of my friends to speak with me. Howbeit, I trust I shall not long tarry there, but shortly after be carried up after my dear brethren and sisters, which are gone before me into heaven in a fiery chariot: therefore now I take my leave of you, till we meet in heaven; and bid you after. I have tarried a great while for you, and seeing you be so long a making ready, I will tarry no longer for you. You shall find me merrily singing, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth, at my journey's end. Therefore now, my dear heart, make good haste, and loiter not by the way, lest night take you, and so ye be shut out of the gate, with the foolish virgins. And now, my sister, in witness that I have taught you nothing but the truth, here I write my name with my blood for a testimonial unto you, that I will seal the simple doctrine which I have taught you, with the rest. And thus fare you well: and God defend you from Antichrist, and all his ministers, the false priests, Amen."



[These words following were written with his own blood:]

"Continue instant in prayer—ask in faith—and obtain your desire. By me, WILLIAM TIMS, in the King's Bench for the gospel of Christ."

*Another Letter of the said William Tims, wherein he comforts his sister Glascock, being in great sorrow and repentance for going to the mass.*

"God be merciful unto you, pardon and forgive all your sins, and send you faith to believe the same, that you may be partaker of his heavenly kingdom, Amen."

"My dear sister, I have most heartily commended unto you, and as I have lamented your falling from God, by being partaker with that idolatrous priest; so have I, since I heard of your earnest repentance, very much rejoiced, and also praised Almighty God for his mercy shewn unto you, in that he hath not left you to yourself, but since your denial he hath shewed his mercy on you, by looking back on you as he did on Peter, and so caused you to repent as Peter did, and bitterly to weep for your sins: whereas if God had left you to yourself, you had run forward from one evil to another, till at length your heart should either have been hardened, or else you should have despaired of the mercy of God. And seeing that God hath been so merciful unto you as he hath been, be you not unthankful unto him for the same. For I certify you, that your sorrowful heart that you have had, doth declare unto me that God hath pardoned and forgiven all your sins for the bloodshedding of that immaculate Lamb, Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour.

"Therefore as Peter, after the time that Christ had forgiven him his sin, did boldly confess Christ before all his enemies; even so, my dear heart in the Lord, seeing that God hath so mercifully pardoned and forgiven you your sins, now cleave unto him, and be at defiance with his enemies the Papists. And as they do bear witness with their father the devil, by going to the church, and shedding the innocent blood of all those that will not go with them; even so do you bear witness with Christ, by not coming there. For all those that do go thither shall be partakers of their brethren's blood that is shed for the testimony of Christ, except they repent and amend: which grace that they may so do, I beseech the eternal God for his Christ's sake, if it be his good will, to give them in his good time. And the same good God that hath been so merciful unto you to call you to repentance, him I beseech to keep you in his fear and love, that you may have always affiance in him, and evermore seek his honour and glory, to your everlasting comfort in Christ, Amen. Thus fare you well. From the King's Bench, this 28th of August.

"By me, WILLIAM TIMS."

*The Story of JOHN HARPOLE, of the Parish of St. Nicholas, in Rochester; JOAN BEACH, Widow, of Tunbridge; and JOHN HULLIER,—Martyrs.*

Against Joan Beach, widow, within the diocese of Rochester, by Maurice, bishop of the said diocese, it was alleged:

1. That she was of the parish of Tunbridge, in the diocese of Rochester.

2. Item, That all persons which preach, teach, believe, or say, otherwise or contrary to that their mother holy Catholic Church of Christ, are excommunicate persons and heretics.

3. Item, That the said Joan Beach hath, and yet doth affirm, maintain, and believe, contrary to the said mother church of Christ, viz. That in the blessed sacrament of the altar, under form of bread and wine, there is not the very

body and blood of our Saviour, in substance, but only a token and a memorial thereof; that the very body and blood of Christ is in heaven, and not in the sacrament.

4. Item, That she hath been, and yet is, amongst the parishioners of Tunbridge openly noted, and vehemently suspected, to be a sacramentary and heretic.

*Her personal Answers to the said Articles.*

First, That she was and is of the said parish of Tunbridge, in the diocese of Rochester.

2. That all persons who do preach and hold otherwise and contrary to that which the holy Catholic church of Christ doth, are to be reputed for excommunicate and heretics; adding withal, that nevertheless she believeth not the holy Catholic Church to be her mother, but believeth only the Father of heaven to be her Father.

3. That she hath, and yet doth verily believe, hold, and affirm, in the sacrament of the altar, under forms of bread and wine, not to be the very body and blood of our Saviour in substance, but only a token and remembrance of his death to the faithful receiver, and that his body and substance is only in heaven, and not in the sacrament.

4. Lastly, as touching how she hath been or is noted and reputed among the parishioners of Tunbridge, she said she could not tell; howbeit, she believeth she was so taken and reputed.

*Examination and Condemnation of John Harpole and Joan Beach.*

The like matter, and the same four articles, were also the same present time and place ministered to John Harpole by the aforesaid bishop Maurice; who, after the like answers received of him as of the other before, adjudged and condemned them both together to death, by one form of sentence.

And thus these two Christian martyrs, coupled in one confession, being condemned by the bishop, suffered together at one fire in the town of Rochester, where they ended their lives about the first of the month of April.

*JOHN HULLIER, Minister and Martyr.*

Next after these ensueth the martyrdom of *John Hullier*, minister, who first being brought up in the school of Eton, was afterward scholar and then conductor in the King's-college at Cambridge; suffered under Doctor Thurlby, bishop of Ely, and his chancellor, for the sincere setting out of the light of God's gracious gospel revealed in these our days. In whose behalf this is to be lamented, that so little matter is left unto us touching the process of his judgment and order of his suffering, who so innocently gave his life in such a cause. His martyrdom was about the second of April, 1556.

*A Letter of Mr. John Hullier, Minister.*

"John Hullier, being of long time prisoner, and now openly judged to die for the testimony of the Lord Jesus, wisheth heartily to the whole congregation of God the strength of his holy Spirit, to their everlasting health both of body and soul.

"I now, most dear Christians, having the sweet comfort of God's saving health, and being confirmed with his free Spirit, (be he only praised therefore,) am constrained in my conscience, thinking it my very duty, to admonish you, as ye tender the salvation of your souls, by all manner of means to separate yourselves from the company of the pope's hirelings, considering what is said in the Revelation of St. John, by the angel of God, touching all men. The words be these, 'If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive

his mark in his forehead, or in his hand, the same shall drink the wine of the wrath of God, which is poured into the cup of his wrath, and he shall be punished with fire and brimstone before the holy angels, and before the Lamb, and the smoke of their torment ascendeth up evermore.' Mark well here, good Christians, who is the beast, and worshippers, that shall be partakers of that unspeakable torment: this beast is none other but the carnal and fleshly kingdom of Antichrist, the pope, with his rabble of false prophets and ministers; which, to maintain their high titles, worldly promotions, and dignities, do with much cruelty daily more and more set forth and establish their own traditions, decrees, and decretals, contrary to God's holy ordinances, statutes, laws, and commandments, and wholly repugnant to his sincere and pure religion.

"Now what do they else but worship this beast and his image, who after they had once already escaped from the filthiness of the world, through the knowledge of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, are yet again tangled therein, and overcome, using dissimulation for fear of their displeasure, doing one thing outwardly, and thinking inwardly another; so having them in reverence under a cloak and colour, to whom they ought not so much as to say, God speed; and adjoining themselves to the malignant congregation, which they ought to abhor as a den of thieves and murderers, and as the brothel-house of most blasphemous fornicators; whose voices being contrary to Christ's voice, if they were of his flock, they would not know, but would flee from them; as he himself, being the good Shepherd of our souls, doth full well in his holy gospel testify. Again, what do they else, I pray you, but receive the beast's mark in their foreheads and in their hands, which do bear a fair face and countenance outwardly in supporting them, being ashamed openly to confess Christ and his holy gospel? But this dissimulation, Christ and his gospel will in no wise allow; of whom it is said, Luke ix. 'Whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words, in this adulterous and sinful generation, of him also shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he shall come in the glory of his Father with his holy angels.' Therefore saith almighty God by his prophet Malachi, ch. i. 'Cursed be the dissemblers.'

"Wherefore, good Christians, for God's most dear love, deceive not yourselves through your own wisdom, and through the wisdom of the world, which is foolishness before God: but certify and stay your own conscience with the sure truth and faithful word of God, and with the infallible testimonies of holy scripture. For although God's mercy is over all his works, yet it doth not extend but only to them that hold fast the confidence and rejoicing in hope unto the end; not being weary in well doing, but rather waxing every day stronger and stronger in the inward man. Therefore in the Revelation of St. John, where it is treated of the beast and his image, it is also said, 'Here is the sufferance of saints, and here are they that keep the commandments and the faith of Jesus Christ,' Rev. xiii. Whereby Almighty God doth shew plainly, that he doth use those wicked men as instruments for a time, to try the patience and faith of his peculiar people, without the performance whereof we can have no part among the living; but as it is said in the same Revelation, 'The fearful shall have their part in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death.'

"But peradventure ye will object and say unto me, What shall we do? Shall we cast ourselves headlong to death? I say not so; but this I say, that we are all bound (if ever we look to receive salvation at God's hand) in this case wholly

to be obedient to his determinate counsel and foreknowledge, expressed by the gift of the Spirit in holy scripture; and then to cast all our care upon him, who worketh all in all for the best unto them that love him; and thus he giveth commandment, saying, 'Come away from her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues,' Apoc. xviii. Now, who hearing this terrible voice of God, which must needs be fulfilled, will not with all speed and diligence apply himself to do thereafter, except such as will presumptuously tempt him: Come out from among them, and join not yourselves to their unlawful assemblies; yea, do not once shew yourselves with the least part of your body to favour their wicked doings, but glorify God, as most right is, as well in your whole body outwardly as inwardly in your spirit, or else you can do neither of both well; for your body doth belong to God as well as your spirit. At the dreadful day of judgment we shall all receive the works of our bodies, according to that we have done, whether it be good or bad.

"Therefore whatsoever we do, we may not bring the spirit in bondage to the body, but contrariwise we must subdue the body, and the will of the flesh, to the spirit, that the spirit may freely accomplish the will of God in all things; for otherwise we shall never be partakers of his promise, with the true children of Abraham. For as St. Paul saith, 'They which are the children of the flesh, are not the children of God. If we shall live according to the flesh, we shall die. For to be carnally minded is death, but to be spiritually minded is life and peace; because that the fleshly mind is enmity to God; for it is not obedient to the law of God, neither can be. So then they that are in the flesh, cannot please God.' Now choose you which way you will take: either the narrow way that leadeth unto life, which Christ himself and his faithful followers have gone through before; or else the broad path-way that leadeth to destruction, which the wicked worldlings take their pleasure in for a while. I, for my part, have now written this short admonition unto you of good will, as God is my witness, to exhort you to that way, which at length you yourselves shall prove and find to be best, yea, and rejoice thereof. And I do not only write this, but I will also (with the assistance of God's grace) ratify and confirm, and seal the same with the effusion of my blood, when the full time shall be expired that he hath appointed; which, so far forth as I may judge, must needs be within these few days. Therefore I now bid you all most heartily farewell in the Lord, whose grace be with your spirit, Amen. Watch and pray, watch and pray, pray. So be it.

"JOHN HULLIER."

*The Death and Martyrdom of SIX constant PROFESSORS of CHRIST, burned at Colchester, for the testimony of the Gospel, the 28th day of April.*

Not long after the death of Robert Drakes, William Timms, and other Essex Martyrs, executed in Smithfield, as is above specified, followed in the same order likewise of martyrdom at one fire, in the town of Colchester, (where the most part of them did inhabit,) six other blessed martyrs, whose names be these:

Christopher Lyster, of Dagneham, husbandman;  
John Mace, of Colchester, apothecary;  
John Spencer, of Colchester, weaver;  
Simon Joyne, sawyer;  
Richard Nichols, of Colchester, weaver;  
John Hamond, of Colchester, tanner.

Of these above named, the bishop, because he (as it seemed by the short process recorded by his register) waxed now weary, made a very quick despatch. For soon after that they were delivered unto one John Kingstone, bachelor of civil law, and then commissary to the bishop, by the earl of Oxford and other commissioners, (as appeareth by a bill indented, made between the commissioners and the said commissary, for the receipt of the said prisoners, dated the 28th of March, *Anno Regni Regis et Reginae Philippi et Mariae secundo et tertio*; which is the year of our Lord 1556,) and by him sent up to his lord and master, the bishop caused them to be brought unto him at Fulham. Where in the open church judicially were ministered unto them the same articles that were propounded unto Bartlet Green, and others, mentioned before. To the which they made their several answers, agreeing together in one truth.

1. To the first article they all consented and agreed; John Spencer adding further thereto, That the church malignant, which is the church of Rome, is no part of Christ's Catholic church; and that he neither hath nor doth believe the doctrine and religion taught and set forth in the said Romish and malignant church.

2. To the second they answered, That they believed that in the true Catholic church of Christ there be but two sacraments; that is to say, the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ.

3. To the third article they all agreed, confessing that they were baptized in the faith and belief of the Catholic church, and that their godfathers and godmothers had professed and promised for them, as it is contained in the same article.

4. To the fourth they answered, That they always were, and yet then did continue in the faith and profession wherein they were baptized; Richard Nichols adding also, That he had more plainly learned the truth of his profession by the doctrine set forth in king Edward the VIth's days, and thereupon he had builded his faith, and would continue in the same to his life's end, God assisting him.

5. To the fifth they answered, That they neither swerved nor went away from the Catholic faith of Christ. Howbeit they confessed that within the time articulate, and before, they had misliked and earnestly spoken against the sacrifice of the mass, and against the sacrament of the altar, affirming that they would not come to hear or to be partakers thereof, because they had and then did believe, that they were set forth and used contrary to God's word and glory. And, moreover, they did grant, that they had spoken against the usurped authority of the bishop of Rome, as an oppressor of Christ's church and gospel, and that he ought not to have any authority in England. For all which sayings they were no whit sorry, but rather rejoiced and were glad.

6. To the sixth they answered, That they never refused, nor yet then presently did refuse, to be reconciled to the unity of Christ's Catholic church. But they said they had, and then did, and so ever would hereafter, utterly refuse to come to the church of Rome, or to acknowledge the authority of the see thereof, but did utterly abhor the same, for putting down the book of God, the Bible, and setting up the Babylonical mass, with all other of Antichrist's merchandise.

7. To the seventh article, the effect thereof they all granted. And Simon Joyne declared further, that the cause of his refusing to be partaker of their trumpery was, for that the commandments of God were there broken, and Christ's ordinances changed and put out, and the bishop of Rome's ordinances instead thereof put in. Moreover, as touching the sacrament of Christ's body, Christopher Lyster affirmed,

that in the said sacrament there is the substance of bread and wine, as well after the words of consecration as before; and that there is not in the same the very body and blood of Christ really, substantially, and truly, but only sacramentally and spiritually by faith in the faithful receivers; and that the mass is not propitiatory for the quick or the dead, but mere idolatry and abomination, &c. &c.

These answers thus made, the bishop did dismiss them for that present until the afternoon: at which time having their articles and answers read to them again, and they standing most firmly unto their Christian profession, they were by divers ways and means tried if they would revoke the same their professed faith, and return to the unity of Antichrist's church.

Which thing when they refused, the bishop stoutly pronounced the sentence of condemnation against them, committing them unto the temporal power. Who, upon the receipt of the king and queen's writ, sent them unto Colchester, where the 28th day of April most cheerfully they ended their lives, to the glory of God's holy name, and the great encouragement of others.

#### THE MARTYRDOM OF VARIOUS PERSONS.

HUGH LAVEROCK, *an old man*, and JOHN APPRICE, *a blind man*, Martyrs, burnt at Stratford-le-bonne.

In the discourse of this parcel or part of history, I know not whether more to marvel at the great and unsearchable mercies of God, (with whom there is no respect in degrees of persons, but he chooseth as well the poor, lame, and blind, as the rich, mighty, and healthful, to set forth his glory,) or else to note the unreasonable, or rather unnatural doing of these unmerciful Catholics, in whom was so little favour or mercy to all sorts and kinds of men, that they spared neither impotent age, neither lame nor blind, as may well appear by these poor creatures, whose names and stories hereunder follow: *Hugh Laverock*, of the parish of Barking, painter, of the age of 68, a lame cripple, and *John Apprice*, a blind man.

These two poor and simple creatures, being belike accused by some promoting neighbour of theirs unto the bishop, and other of the king and queen's commissioners, were sent for by their officer: and so being brought and delivered into the hands of the said bishop, were the first day of May examined before him in his palace at London, where he first propounded and objected against them those nine articles, whereof mention is made of before, ministered as well unto Bartlet Green, as also unto many others. To which they answered in effect as Christopher Lyster, John Mace, and other before mentioned, had done. Whereupon they were again sent to prison, and beside other times, the 9th of the same month in the consistory of Paul's, were again openly produced, and there (after the old order) exhorted to recant their opinions against the sacrament of the altar.

Whereunto Hugh Laverock first said, I will stand to mine answers, and to that I have confessed: and I cannot find in the scriptures, that the priests should lift up over their head a cake of bread.

The bishop then turned him to J. Apprice, and asked him what he would say? To whom he answered, Your doctrine that ye set forth and teach, is so agreeable with the world, and embraced of the same, that it cannot be agreeable with the scripture of God: and ye are not of the Catholic church, for ye make laws to kill men, and then make the queen to be the executioner.

At which words the bishop, somewhat tickled, and therefore very loath to delay their condemnation any longer, (such now was his hot *burning* charity,) commanded that they should be brought after him unto Fulham, whither he went before dinner, and there in the afternoon, after his solemn manner, in the open church he pronounced the definitive sentence of condemnation against them, and so delivering them into the hands of the temporal officer, thought to rid his hands of them; but could not so despatch his conscience before the judgment of God, from the guiltiness of innocent blood.

The poor men, being now in the temporal officer's hands, might not there be suffered long to remain, and therefore the 15th day of May, very early in the morning, were carried from Newgate in a cart to Stratford-le-Bow, and most courageously in the fire praising God, yielded up their souls into his hands, through a lively faith in Jesus Christ, whom unto the end they did most constantly confess.

At their death, Hugh Laverock, after he was chained, cast away his crutch, and comforting John Apprice, his fellow-martyr, said unto him, Be of good comfort, my brother, for my lord of London is our good physician; he will heal us both shortly, thee of thy blindness and me of my lameness. And so patiently these two good saints of God suffered together.

#### *Three Women the same time burnt in Smithfield.*

The next day, in the said month of May, were brought to the fire three women, with whom also was afterwards joined another, who being in the same constancy with them, was likewise partaker of the said condemnation.—The names of these were,

Katharine Hut, of Bocking, widow;  
Joan Horns, of Bilerica, maid;  
Eliz. Thackvel, of Great Bursted, maid;  
Margaret Ellis, of Bilerica, maid.

How these, with divers others more, were persecuted and sent up, especially by sir John Mordant and Edmund Tyrel, esq. justices of peace, this their letter following will declare:

"Our humble commendations to your lordship.—These shall be to advertise you, that we have sent unto your good lordship Joan Potter, the wife of Hugh Potter, James Harris, servant of William Harris, of Bromhill, and Margaret Ellis, for that they be not conformable to the orders of the church, nor to the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar, to use your lordship's pleasure with them, as you think good; not doubting, with the punishment of these and other before sent to your lordship, but that the parish of Great Bursted and Bilerica shall be brought to good conformity. Thus, committing your good lordship to the tuition of the Almighty God, we take our leave. From Great Bursted, this present 2d day of March, 1556.

"Your lordship's to command,

"J. MORDANT, E. TYREL."

After the receipt of these letters, bishop Bonner entering to examination of these four women above named, laid and objected the like articles to them as after his usual form he used to minister, and are before expressed. Whereunto the said women likewise agreeing in the same spirit and doctrine, accorded in their answers as the others before them.

After their answers received, they were brought again, about the 13th of April, to further examination, and so at length to their final judgment; where *Katharine Hut*, widow, standing before the bishop, boldly and constantly stood to

that which she had said before, neither yielding to his fair promises, nor overthrown with his terror. Who being required of the sacrament to say her mind, and to revoke herself unto the fellowship of the Catholic faith, openly protested, saying, I deny it to be God, because it is a dumb god, and made with men's hands. Wherein the good and faithful martyr of Christ firmly persisting, so received her sentence, being condemned of Bonner to the fire; which she with great constancy sustained by the grace and strength of the Lord, and did there abide for the cause and love of Christ.

*Joan Horns*, maid, brought forth likewise to her judgment and condemnation, with like firmness and Christian fortitude declared herself a true martyr and follower of Christ's testament, giving no place to the adversary; but being charged that she did not believe the sacrament of Christ's body and blood to be Christ himself, of the which sacrament, contrary to the nature of a sacrament, the adversaries are wont to make an idol-service; to this she protesting openly her mind, said as followeth: If you can make your god to shed blood, or to shew any condition of a true lively body, then will I believe you: but it is but bread, as touching the substance thereof, (meaning the matter whereof the sacrament consisteth;) and that which you call heresy, I trust to serve my Lord God in, &c.

And as concerning the Romish see, she said, My lord, (speaking to Bonner,) I forsake all his abominations; and from them, good Lord, deliver us. From this her stable and constant assertion, when the bishop was too weak to remove her, and too ignorant to convince her, he knocked her down with the butcherly axe of his sentence. And so the holy virgin and martyr, committed to the shambles of the secular sword, was offered up with her other fellows a burnt sacrifice to the Lord.

As touching *Margaret Ellis*, she likewise persevering in her aforesaid confession, and resisting the false Catholic errors and heresies of the Papists, was by the said Bonner adjudged and condemned; but before the time of her burning came, prevented by death in Newgate prison, departed and slept in the Lord.

No less strength in the grace of the Lord appeared in the other maid, *Elizabeth Thackvel*, whose heart and mind the Lord had so confirmed in his truth, so armed with patience, that as her adversaries could by no sufficient knowledge of scripture convince her affirmation, so by no forcible attempts they could remove her confession. Whereupon she standing to the death, being in the like sort condemned by the said bishop, gave her life willingly and mildly for the confirmation and sealing up of the sincere truth of God's word.

These three innocent and godly women, thus falsely and wrongfully by men condemned for the just quarrel and cause of God's gospel, were had to Smithfield, and there, cruelly bound to the stake, gave their bodies to the tormentors, and their spirits they commended to God. For whose glory they were willing and ready to suffer whatsoever the cruel hands of their enemies should work against them, dying more joyfully in the flaming fire, than some of them that burned them did peradventure in their beds. Such a Lord is God, glorious and wonderful in all his saints.

The martyrdom of these saints of God was the 16th of May, 1556.

THOMAS DROWRY, a blind Boy, and THOMAS CROKER, bricklayer, Martyrs.

Ye heard a little before of two men, the one blind, the other lame, which suffered about the 15th of May. And



here is not to be forgotten another as godly a couple, which suffered the like martyrdom for the same cause of religion at Gloucester: of which two, the one was a blind boy, named *Thomas Drowry*, (mentioned before in the history of bishop Hooper, whom the said virtuous bishop confirmed then in the Lord, and in the doctrine of his word.)

With him also was burned another in the same place, and at the same fire, in Gloucester, about the 5th of May, whose name was *Thomas Croker*, bricklayer.

Concerning which blind boy, how long he was in prison, and in what year he suffered, I am not certain. Of this credible intelligence I have received by the testimony of the register then of Gloucester, named *John Taylor*, alias *Barker*, that the said blind boy at his last examination and final condemnation, was brought (by the officers under whose custody he had remained) before *Dr. Williams*, then chancellor of Gloucester, sitting judicially with the said register *Taylor*, in the consistory, near unto the south door, in the nether end of the church of Gloucester. Where the said chancellor then ministered unto the boy such usual articles as are accustomed in such cases, and are sundry times mentioned in this book.—Amongst which he chiefly urged the article of transubstantiation, saying,

Dost thou not believe, that after the words of consecration spoken by the priest, there remaineth the very real body of Christ in the sacrament of the altar?—To whom the blind boy answered, No, that I do not.

*Chan.* Then thou art an heretic, and shalt be burned. But who hath taught thee this heresy?

*Boy.* You, master chancellor.

*Chan.* Where, I pray thee?

*Boy.* Even in yonder place; (pointing with his hand, and turning towards the pulpit, standing upon the north side of the church.)

*Chan.* When did I teach thee so?

*Boy.* When you preached there (naming the day) a sermon to all men, as well as to me, upon the sacrament. You said, the sacrament was to be received spiritually by faith, and not carnally and really, as the Papists have heretofore taught.

*Chan.* Then do as I have done, and thou shalt live as I do, and escape burning.

*Boy.* Though you can so easily dispense with yourself, and mock with God, the world, and your conscience, yet will I not so do.

*Chan.* Then God have mercy upon thee: for I will read the condemnation sentence against thee.

*Boy.* God's will be fulfilled.

The register being herewith somewhat moved, stood up, and said to the chancellor: Fie for shame, man! will you read the sentence against him, and condemn yourself! Away, away, and substitute some other to give sentence and judgment.

*Chan.* No, register, I will obey the law, and give sentence myself according to mine office.

And so he read the sentence condemnatory against the boy, (with an unhappy tongue and a more unhappy conscience,) delivering him over unto the secular power, who, the said 5th day of May, brought the said blind boy to the place of execution at Gloucester, together with *Thomas Croker*, condemned also for the like testimony of the truth. Where both together, in one fire, most constantly and joyfully yielded their souls into the hands of the Lord Jesus.

*Three burnt at Beckles, May 21.*

After the death of these above rehearsed, were three men

burnt at Beckles, in Suffolk, in one fire, about the 21st of May, anno 1556; whose names are here specified: *Thomas Spicer*, of Winston, labourer; *John Denny*, and *Edmund Poole*.

This *Thomas Spicer* was a single man, of the age of 19 years, and by vocation a labourer, dwelling in Winston, in the county of Suffolk, and there taken in his master's house in summer, about the rising of the sun, being in his bed, by *James Ling* and *John Keretch*, of the same town, and *William Davels*, of Debnam, in the said county.

The occasion of his taking was, for that he would not go to their popish church to hear mass, and receive their idol, at the commandment of sir *John Tyrel*, knight, of Gippinghall, in Suffolk, and certain other justices there, who sent both him and them to Eye dungeon, in Suffolk, till at length they were all three together brought before *Dunning*, then chancellor of Norwich, and *Mr. Mings*, the register, at the town of Beckles, to be examined.

And there the said chancellor, endeavouring what he could to turn them from the truth, could by no means prevail; wherefore, minding in the end to give sentence on them, he burst out in tears, entreating them to remember themselves, and to turn again to the holy mother church, for that they were deceived, and out of the truth, and that they should not wilfully cast away themselves: with such like words.

Now as he was thus labouring them, and seemed very loath to read the sentence, (for they were the first that he condemned in that diocese,) the register, sitting by, being weary of tarrying, or else perceiving the martyrs to be at a point, called upon the chancellor in haste to rid them out of the way, and to make an end. At which words the chancellor read the condemnation over them with tears, and delivered them to the secular power.

#### *The Articles.*

The articles objected to these, and commonly to all other condemned in that diocese, by *Dr. Hopton*, bishop of Norwich, and by *Dunning*, his chancellor, were these:

First, It was alleged against them, that they believed not the pope of Rome to be supreme head, immediately under Christ, on earth, of the universal Catholic church.

2. That they believed not holy bread and holy water, ashes, palms, and all other like ceremonies used in the church, to be good and laudable for stirring up the people to devotion.

3. That they believed not, after the words of consecration spoken by the priest, the very natural body of Christ, and no other substance of bread and wine, to be in the sacrament of the altar.

4. That they believed it to be idolatry to worship Christ in the sacrament of the altar.

5. That they took bread and wine in remembrance of Christ's passion.

6. That they would not follow the cross in procession, nor to be confessed to a priest.

7. That they affirmed no mortal man to have of himself free will to do good or evil.

For this doctrine and articles above prefixed, these three, as is aforesaid, were condemned by *Dr. Dunning*, and committed to the secular power, sir *John Silliard* being the same time high sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk. And the next day following upon the same, they were all burnt together in the said town of Beckles.

In the mean time while these good men were at the stake, and had prayed, they said the Creed, and when they came to the reciting of the Catholic church, sir *John Silliard* spake



to them, That is well said, sirs ; I am glad to hear you say you do believe the Catholic church : that is the best word I have heard of you yet.

To which Edmund Poole answered, That though they believe the Catholic church, yet do they not believe in their Popish church, which is no part of Christ's Catholic church, and therefore no part of their belief.

When they rose from prayer, they all went joyfully to the stake, and being bound thereto, and the fire burning about them, they praised God in such an audible voice, that it was wonderful to all those that stood by and heard them.

Then one Robert Bacon, dwelling in the said Beckles, a very enemy of God's truth, and a persecutor of his people, being there present within hearing thereof, willed the tormentors to throw one faggot to stop the knaves' breaths, as he termed them ; so hot was his burning charity. But these good men, not regarding their malice, confessed the truth, and yielded their lives to the death for the testimony of the same, very gloriously and joyfully.

#### *Four Men condemned at Lewis.*

In June next following, about the 6th of the same month, four martyrs suffered together at Lewis, whose names were these : *Thomas Harland*, of Woodmancote, carpenter ; *J. Oswald*, of Woodmancote, husbandman ; *Thomas Avington*, of Ardingly, turner ; and *Thomas Read*.

To *Thomas Harland*, I find in the bishop of London's register, it was objected his not coming to church. Whereunto he answered, That after the mass was restored, he never had will to hear the same, because (said he) it was in Latin, which I did not understand ; and therefore as good, quoth he, never a whit as never the better.

*John Oswald* denied to answer any thing, until his accusers should be brought face to face before him ; and nevertheless said, That fire and faggots could not make him afraid : but as the good preachers which were in king Edward's time, have suffered and gone before, so was he ready to suffer and come after, and would be glad thereof.

These four, after long imprisonment in the King's Bench, were burned together at Lewis, in Sussex, in one fire, the day aforesaid.

#### *Two others in the same town.*

In the same town of Lewis, and in the same month likewise, were burned *Thomas Whood*, minister, and *Thomas Milles*, about the 20th day of the same month, for resisting the erroneous and heretical doctrine of the pretended Catholic church of Rome.

#### *A Merchant's Servant burnt at Leicester.*

We read of a certain young man, a merchant's servant, who for the like godliness suffered cruel persecution of the Papists, and was burnt at Leicester the 26th day of the month of June.

#### *The Death of WILLIAM SLECH, in the King's Bench.*

The last day of the month of May, in the year aforesaid, *William Slech* being in prison for the said doctrine of the Lord's gospel, and the confession of his truth, died in the King's Bench, and was buried on the back side of the prison ; for that the Romish Catholic spirituality thought him not worthy to come within the Popish holy church-yards, neither in any other Christian burial, as they call it.

#### *Two others dead in the same place.*

*William Adherall*, minister, imprisoned in the King's Bench, there died the 24th of the same month, and was buried in the back side. Also *John Clement*, wheelwright, who dying in the said prison, upon the dunghill, was buried in the back side two days after, viz. the 26th day of June.

#### *A Story of one GREGORY CROW, marvellously preserved with his New Testament, upon the Seas, May 26, 1556.*

Forasmuch as we are now about the month of May, before we proceed any farther, and because the story is not long, and not unworthy of being noted, it shall not grieve the studious reader to hear the following story, which was written to me by one of the party, called *Thomas Morse*.

Upon Tuesday after Whitsunday, the 26th day of May, in this present year 1556, (or else as he rather thinketh in the year before, 1555,) a certain poor man, whose name was *Gregory Crow*, dwelling in *Maulden*, went to the sea, minding to have gone into *Kent* for fulling earth ; but by the way, being foul weather, was driven upon a sand, where presently the boat sunk, and was full of water, so that the men were forced to hold themselves by the mast of the boat, and all things that would swim did swim out of her. Amongst which *Crow* saw his Testament in the water, and caught it, and put it in his bosom. Now it was ebbing water, so that within one hour the boat was dry, but broken so as they could not save her ; but they went themselves upon the sand (being ten miles at least from the land,) and there made their prayers together, that God would send some ship, that way to save them, (being two men and one boy in all) for they might not tarry upon the sand above half an hour, but it would be flood. In the which time they found their chest, wherein was money to the sum of five pounds six shillings and eight pence, the which money the man which was with the said *Crow* (whose name I know not) took and gave unto *Crow*, who was owner thereof ; and he cast it into the sea, saying, If the Lord will save our lives, he will provide us a living. And so they went upon the mast there, hanging by the arms and legs for the space of ten hours ; in the which time the boy was so weary, and beaten with the sea, that he fell off, and was drowned.

And when the water was gone again, and the sand dry, *Crow* said to his man, It were best for us to take down our masts, and when the flood cometh we will sit upon them, and so it may please God to bring us to some ship that may take us up. Which thing they did, and so at ten of the clock of the night of the same Tuesday, the flood did bear up the mast whereupon they sat.

And upon the Wednesday in the night, the man died, being overcome with hunger and watching. So there was none left but this *Crow*, who driving up and down in the sea, called upon God as he could, and might not sleep, for fear that the sea would have beaten him off.

So at length I myself (said *Thomas Morse*) being laden to *Antwerp* with my crayer, going from *Lee* upon Friday, having within my crayer of mariners and merchants to the number of 46 persons, and so coming to the *Foreland*, the wind was not very good, so that I was constrained to go somewhat out of my way, being in the afternoon about six of the clock ; where at the last we saw a thing afar off, appearing unto us like a small buoy, that fishermen use to lay with their hooks.

When we saw it, some said, Let us have some fish. And I said to him that was at the helm, Keep your course away,

for we shall but hinder the fishermen, and have no fish neither; and so at my commandment he did. But at length he at the helm, standing higher than all we did, said, Methink, master, it is a man. But yet they, being in doubt that it was but a fisher's buoy, turned the ship from him again to keep their course.

Crow beholding the ship to turn from him, being then in utter despair, and ready now to perish with watching, famine, and moreover miserably beaten with the seas, at last took his mariner's cap from his head, and holding up the same with his arm as high as he could, thought by shaking it as well as he might, to give them some token of better sight.

Whereupon the steersman more sensibly perceiving a thing to move, advertised us again, declaring how he did see plainly a man's arm; and with that we all beheld him well, and so came to him and took him up. And as soon as we had him in our ship, he began to put his hand in his bosom; and one asked him if he had money there. No, said he, I have a book here; I think it be wet. And so drew out his Testament, which we then dried. But the sea had so beaten him, that his eyes, nose, and mouth, were almost closed with salt, that the heat of his face and the weather had made. So we made a fire, and shifted him with dry clothes, and gave him *aqua composita* to drink, and such meat as was in the ship, and then let him sleep.

The next day we awaked him about eight of the clock in the morning, and his blood began somewhat to appear in his flesh, (for when we took him up, his flesh was even as though it had been sodden, or as a drowned man's is,) and then we talked with him of all the matter before rehearsed. And so sailing to Antwerp, the merchants which saw the thing, published the same in Antwerp; and because it was wonderful, the people there, both men and women, came to the ship to see him, and some of them gave him a petticoat, and some a shirt, some hosen, and some money, (always noting how he cast away his money, and kept his book.)

And many of the women wept when they heard and saw him: and master-governor of the English nation there had him before him, and talked with him of all the matter, and pitying his case, commanded the officer of the English house to go with him to the free oste-houses amongst the English merchants, and I with them; at three houses there were given him six pounds ten shillings. And so from thence he went with me to Rouen, where the people also came to him to see him, marvelling at the great works of God.

And thus much concerning this poor man with his New Testament preserved in the sea, which Testament the pope's clergy condemneth on the land. In which story this by the way understand, good reader, that if this poor man, thus found and preserved in the sea, with a New Testament in his bosom, had had instead of that a pix with a consecrated host about him, no doubt it had been rung ere this time all Christendom over for a miracle, so far as the pope hath any land. But to let the pope with his false miracles go, let us return again to our matter begun, and adjoin another history of much like condition, testified likewise by the information of the said Thomas Morse above mentioned, to the intent to make known the worthy acts of the Almighty, that he may be glorified in all his wondrous works. The story is thus declared, which happened anno 1556, about Michaelmas.

*Another like Story of God's Providence upon three men delivered upon the Sea.*

There was a ship (saith the said Thomas Morse) whereof I had a part, going toward the Bay for salt, with two ships

of Bricklesey, which were together going for salt, as before is said. At that time we were within ten miles of the North Foreland, otherwise called Tenet, the wind did come so contrary to our ship, that we were forced to go clean out of the way, and the other ships kept their course still, until our ship was almost out of sight of them. And then they saw a thing driving upon the sea, and hoisted out their boat, and went into it: and it was three men sitting upon a piece of their ship, which had sitten so two days and two nights.

There had been in their ship eight men more which were drowned, being all Frenchmen, dwelling in a place in France called Oloronne. They had been at Dantzic, and lost their ship about Oxford Naas, as might be learned by their words. They were men that feared God: the one of them was owner of the ship. Their exercise, while they were in our ship, was, that after their coming in they gave thanks for their deliverance: both morning and evening they exercised prayer, and also before and after meat; and when they came into France, our ships went to the same place where these men dwelled, and one of them did sell unto our men their ship's lading of salt, and did use them very courteously and friendly, and not at that time only, but always whensoever that ship cometh thither, (as she hath been there twice since,) he always doth for them so that they can lack nothing. I should have noted, that after our ship had taken up those three men out of the sea, they had the wind fair presently, and came and overtook the other two ships again; and so they proceeded in their voyage together.

For the greater credit of this story, to satisfy either the doubtful, or to prevent the quarreller, I have not only alleged the name of the party which was the doer of it, but also expressed the matter in his own words. Of him I received it: a man so well known amongst the merchants of London, that whosoever heareth the name of Thomas Morse will never doubt thereof. And again, the matter itself being so notoriously known to merchants, as well here as at Antwerp, that though his name were not expressed, the story cannot be destitute of witnesses.

*THIRTEEN MARTYRS burned at Stratford le-Bow.*

The following thirteen persons were apprehended in the different places where they lived, the greater part of them being inhabitants of the county of Essex, and were sent at various times up to London, to be examined by bishop Bonner concerning their religious principles:

Henry Wye,	George Searls,
William Holywell,	Lyon Couch,
Ralph Jackson,	Henry Adlington,
Laurence Peru,	John Routh,
John Derifall,	Edmund Hurst,
Thomas Bowyer,	Elizabeth Peper,
and Agnes George.	

On the ninth of June they were all brought together before Dr. Darbyshire, the bishop's chancellor, who, in form of law, administered to them the following articles:

1. That there is on earth a Catholic church, wherein the religion of Christ is truly professed.

To this they all answered in the affirmative; but added, They believed the true faith of Christ was wherever the word of God was truly preached.

2. That there were seven sacraments.

They all answered in the negative: some affirmed, That in the church of Christ there were only two sacraments, viz. baptism and the Lord's supper; others desired to believe as

the scriptures taught them ; and others refused to reply, not properly understanding these points.

3. That they were baptized in the faith of the Catholic church, professing, by their godfathers, &c. the religion of Christ, and to renounce the devil and all his works, &c.

To this they all assented without exception.

4. That when they came to years of discretion, they did not depart from the said profession and faith, and did not disprove any part thereof for several years.

The greater part of them answered in the affirmative. One of the women added, That in the days of king Edward VI. she departed from her old faith and religion, and embraced the gospel of Christ, as it was then taught.

5. That of late they had swerved from their former Catholic faith, and spoken against the mass, the sacrament of the altar, and authority of the papal see.

This, upon the whole, they confessed to be true.

One of them said, the mass was of such a nature, that he could not, in his own conscience, believe it to be authorized from God. Another observed, that for nine or ten years past he could not approve the mass nor the sacrament of the altar, because they could not be proved from the scripture of truth ; declaring, at the same time, that at the age of fourteen he had taken an oath against the authority of the papal see, and would by the grace of God firmly abide by the same.

6. That they refused to be reconciled to the unity of the church, or to confess the lawfulness of the papal see.

To this article they all, except two, answered in the affirmative. Those who refused, said they did not understand the import of the same. The two women added, They refused to be reconciled to the faith and religion that was then used in the realm of England, though they never refused to be reconciled and brought to the unity of the Catholic church of Christ.

7. That disproving the service of the church, they refused to come to their parish churches, denied the bodily presence of Christ in the sacrament, called the mass an abomination, &c.

This was answered in general in the affirmative ; but one denied that he called the mass an abomination, or an idol : another, though he granted the article, confessed his infirmity, that he went to his parish church, and received it before he was put in prison.

8. This article related to their being brought before the commissioners, and by them sent to the bishop of London ; to which they answered in the following order.

Edmund Hurst, Ralph Jackson, and George Searls, answered in the affirmative.

Henry Wye said, that he was brought before several justices of peace in Essex, concerning one Highted, his late master, and thereupon committed to Colchester castle, and from thence sent to London to the bishop of London, for farther examination.

William Holywell made the like confession, excepting the circumstance of Highted.

John Derifall said, he was called before the lord Rich, and Mr. Mildmay, of Chelmsford, and by them sent to the bishop of London, to be farther examined.

Thomas Bowyer said, he was brought before one Mr. Wiseman, of Falsted, and by him sent to Colchester castle, and from thence to the bishop of London, to be farther examined.

Lyon Couch said, that he was three times brought before the king and queen's commissioners, and by them sent to the bishop of London.

Henry Adlington said, that coming to Newgate to speak with one Gratwick, prisoner there for the testimony of Jesus Christ, was apprehended and brought before Dr. Story, and by him sent to the bishop of London.

Agnes George said, that she was committed to prison in Colchester, by Mr. Maynard, an alderman of the town, for refusing to go to church, and by him sent to the bishop of London.

Elizabeth Peper said, that she was apprehended by two constables and an alderman, for refusing to come to church, and by them sent to the bishop of London, to be farther examined.

9. That they believed the premises to be true, as confessed above, and that they were of the diocese of London.

This was generally agreed to.

Elizabeth Peper added, she was of the town of Colchester ; and Agnes George said, she was of the parish of Barefold.

These thirteen persons being thus examined by the bishop of London's chancellor, in open court, persisting in their answers, and refusing to recant, or be reconciled to the church of Rome, had sentence of condemnation pronounced against them ; and being delivered over to the secular power, were all sent to Newgate.

Three others were also condemned to die at the same time ; but before the day appointed for their execution, a reprieve was sent them by cardinal Pole.

On the Sunday following the condemnation of these pious Christians, Dr Fecknem, dean of St. Paul's, told the audience in his sermon, that they held as many tenets as there were faces among the whole ; which being represented to them, they drew up the following confession of their faith, to which they respectively subscribed their names :

1. There are but two sacraments in Christ's church, that is, the sacrament of baptism, and the Lord's supper. For in these are contained the faith of Christ his church ; that is, the two testaments, the law and the gospel. The effect of the law is repentance, and the effect of the gospel remission of sins.

2. We believe there is a visible church, wherein the word of God is preached, and the holy sacraments truly administered, visible to the world, although it be not credited, and by the death of saints confirmed, as it was in the time of Elias the prophet, as well as now.

3. The see of Rome is the see of Antichrist, the congregation of the wicked, &c. whereof the pope is head under the devil.

4. The mass is not only a profanation of the Lord's supper, but also a blasphemous idol.

5. God is neither spiritually nor corporally in the sacrament of the altar, and there remaineth no substance in the same, but only the substance of bread and wine.

For these the articles of our belief, we being condemned to die, do willingly offer our corruptible bodies to be dissolved in the fire, all with one voice assenting and consenting thereunto, and in no point dissenting or disagreeing from any of our former articles.

Early in the morning of the 28th of June, 1556, being the day appointed for their execution, they were conducted from Newgate to Stratford-le-Bow, the place allotted for them to confirm that faith they had professed, and to which they had so strenuously adhered.

On their arrival at the destined place, the sheriff made use of a stratagem to bring them over to the Romish faith. He divided them into two companies, and placed them in separate apartments. This done, he visited one company.

told them the other had recanted, by which their lives would be saved; and exhorted them to follow their example, and not cast themselves away by their own mere obstinacy.

But this scheme failed in its effect: for they told the sheriff, that their faith was not built on man, but on Christ crucified.

The sheriff, finding his project fail with the first party to whom he applied, had recourse to the same means with the others, admonishing them to recant like wise men, and not be guilty of destroying themselves by their own bigotry and prejudice.

But they answered to the same effect as their brethren had done before, assuring the sheriff that their faith was not built on man, but on Christ and his infallible word.

They were then brought from their different apartments, and led together to the place of execution, where they embraced each other, and after praying in the most fervent manner, prepared themselves for their fate.

These thirteen steadfast believers in Christ were chained to different stakes, but all burnt together in one fire, shewing such love to each other, and firm faith in their Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ, that the concourse of spectators assembled on the occasion were astonished at the undaunted behaviour of so many poor innocents thus patiently enduring the acutest torments, rather than comply with the errors and superstitions of the church of Rome.

In the diocese of Litchfield, about the 14th of June, in the same year, John Colstock, who was lately come from London before, and now dwelling at Wellington, though he suffered no martyrdom, yet sustained some trouble, being attached and examined by the bishop, named Ralph Bane, for his religion, especially for two points: in holding against the reality of Christ in the sacrament, and against auricular confession to be made to the priest. For which cause being compelled to recant, he was enjoined in the church of St. Cudde to bear a faggot before the cross, bare-headed, having in the one hand a taper, and in the other a pair of beads, &c.

Amongst divers other which in the same diocese, and the same time, were suspected and troubled for the like, was Thomas Flier, of Uttoxeter, shoemaker: Nicholas Ball, of Uttoxeter, capper; Thomas Pyot, of Chedull; and Henry Crimes, for marrying his wife on Palm-Sunday even, &c.

Concerning which Thomas Flier, being a godly and zealous man, this furthermore is to be noted, that whereas in the town of Uttoxeter commandment was directed unto him, amongst others, from the ordinary, for pulling down monuments of superstition, and namely the rood-loft, or place where the crucifix stood; he being one of the churchwardens or sidemen, on a time had talk upon the same with certain of his neighbours, where one wished them ill to achieve that should go about such an act.

What words passed else amongst them, ministering matter of further provocation, it is not perfectly known. In fine, the said Flier being offended, and afterwards meeting with him that had used such words before, began to commune with him of the matter: but in the end the man so little repented him of those sayings, that he added yet more fierce words, and at length strokes also, in such wise that the said Thomas Flier was slain. And yet so was the matter handled, and such amends was made with money by the murderer and his friends to the said Flier's wife, that he suffered little or nothing for the same, save only that he was banished the town, and sworn and bound never to come in it so long as the said Flier's wife should live.

### *Three Men dead in the Prison of the King's Bench.*

After the burning of these in Stratford, the same month died in the above prison, one *Thomas Parret*, and was buried in the back side the 27th of the month abovesaid. Also, *Martin Hunt* in the same prison was famished the 29th day. At which time likewise died in the same prison, as I find recorded, one *John Norice*, and after the same sort as the other was buried on the back side of the said prison the day above mentioned.

### *The Martyrdoms of ROBERT BERNARD, ADAM FOSTER, and ROBERT LAWSON, who were burned at St. Edmundsbury, in Suffolk.*

The first of these martyrs was a poor labourer, who lived in the parish of Franksden, in the county of Suffolk. Being apprehended by the constable of the parish for not going to church, he was brought before Dr. Hopton, bishop of Norwich, who inquired of him whether he had been with a priest at Easter to confess, or whether he had received the sacrament of the altar.

To these questions Bernard frankly replied, No, I have not been with the priest, nor confessed myself unto him; but I have confessed my sins to Almighty God, and I trust he hath forgiven me: wherefore I need not go to the priest for such matters, as he cannot forgive his own sins.

The bishop, after using various arguments to go to confession, without effect, pronounced him an heretic; on which Bernard said, My lord, it grieveth me not one whit to be called an heretic by you, for so your forefathers called the prophets and apostles of Christ long before this time.

Incensed at this abrupt reply, the bishop arose, and bid Bernard follow him. He then went to the sacrament of the altar; to which he kneeled and prayed, and severely reprov'd Bernard for not doing the same: but our martyr told him, he knew no authority for such behaviour, in the word of God.

The bishop then addressing him, pointed to the pix over the altar, in which the wafer or host is kept, and said, Why, lewd fellow, whom seest thou yonder? Nobody, my lord, replied Bernard. Seest not thou thy Maker, varlet? demanded the prelate. My Maker! (returned the countryman) no, I see nothing but a few clouts hanging together in a heap.

This answer so irritated the bishop, that he commanded the gaoler to take him away and lay irons enough on him, declaring that he would reduce him to subjection before he had done with him.

The next day he was again brought before the bishop, who asked him if he retained the same opinions as he professed yesterday. To which Bernard replied, Yes, my lord, I remember myself well, for I am the same man to-day that I was yesterday, and hope I shall remain steadfast to the end of my life in the principles I have professed.

One of his lordship's attendants being desirous of examining Bernard himself, advised the bishop to prevent giving himself any farther trouble, by committing his examination to him. Having obtained permission so to do, he took Bernard to an inn, where several Popish emissaries were assembled. They first used many fair words and alluring promises, to persuade him to abjure what they called his heretical opinions. This, however, not taking effect, they threatened him with whipping, the stocks, and burning; but all to no purpose. He told them, Friends, I am not better than my Master, Christ, and the prophets, whom your forefathers



served after this sort; and I for his sake am content to suffer the like at your hands, if God should so permit, trusting that he will strengthen me in the same, according to his promise, and that of all his ministers.

After this declaration, they took him back to the bishop, who, according to the usual form of proceeding in the court, condemned him as an heretic; and he was delivered over to the secular power.

ADAM FOSTER lived in the parish of Mendlesham, in the county of Suffolk. He was apprehended in his own house by two constables, at the command of a neighbouring justice, for absenting himself from mass, and not receiving the sacrament at Easter. Being taken before the bishop of Norwich, who examined him concerning his religious principles, and finding him steadfast in his faith, according to the doctrines set forth in the days of king Edward VI. he condemned him as an heretic, and he was delivered to the secular power to be proceeded against according to law.

ROBERT LAWSON, by trade a linen-draper, was apprehended on the same account as the two former; and being brought before sir J. Tyrel, he committed him to the prison of Eye, in Suffolk. After laying there a short time, he was conducted to the bishop of Norwich for examination, when, holding fast to the principles he had professed, and also withstanding every effort made use of by the bishop to bring him to recant, he was deemed an heretic, received sentence of death, and was delivered into the hands of the sheriff, in order for execution.

When these three martyrs were carried to their deaths, after they had made their prayer, being at the stake, and the tormentors attending the fire, they most triumphantly ended their lives, in such happy and blessed condition, as did notably set forth their constancy and joyful end, to the praise of God, and their commendation in him, and also to the encouragement of others in the same cause to do the like. The Lord of strength fortify us to stand as his true soldiers, in what standing soever he shall think it good to place us!

In the examination of Roger Bernard, he was compared by the priests to JOHN FORTUNE, and called his scholar. This John Fortune, otherwise called Butler, of Hintlesham, in Suffolk, was by his occupation a blacksmith, whom they had before them in examination a little before, the 20th of April. In spirit he was zealous and ardent, in the scriptures ready, in Christ's cause stout and valiant, in his answers marvellous, and no less patient in his wrongful suffering than constant in his doctrine. Whether he was burned, or died in prison, I cannot certainly find; but rather I suppose that he was burned. Certain it is, howsoever he was made away, he never yielded. What his answers and examinations were before Dr. Parker and the bishop, ye shall hear, written with his own hand.

*The Examination of John Fortune, before Dr. Parker and Mr. Foster.*

First, Dr. Parker asked me how I believed in the Catholic faith? And I asked him which faith he meant; whether the faith that Stephen had, or the faith of them that put Stephen to death? Dr. Parker being moved, said, What a naughty fellow is this! you shall see anon he will deny the blessed sacrament of the altar.

Then said Mr. Foster, I know you well enough: you are a busy merchant: how sayest thou by the blessed mass?

And I stood still, and made no answer.

Then said Mr. Foster, Why speakest thou not, and makest

the gentleman an answer? And I said, Silence is a good answer to a foolish question.

Then said the doctor, I am sure he will deny the blessed sacrament of the altar also. And I said, I know none such, but only the sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Then said he, You deny the order of the seven sacraments; and why dost thou not believe in the sacrament of the altar? And I said, Because it is not written in God's book.

Then said he, You will not believe unwritten verities. And I said, I will believe that those unwritten verities that agree with the written verities, be true; but those unwritten verities that be of your own making, and invented by your own brain, I do not believe.

Well, said Mr. Foster, you shall be whipped and burned for this gear, I trow.

Then said I, If you knew how these words do rejoice my heart, you would not have spoken them. Why, thou fool, (said he,) dost thou rejoice in whipping? Yea, said I; for it is written in the scripture, and Christ saith, Thou shalt be whipped for my name's sake; and since the time that the sword of tyranny came into your hands, I heard of none that was whipped: happy were I, if I be the first to suffer this persecution.

Away with him then, said he; for he is ten times worse than Samuel. And so he was carried to prison again.

*The second Examination of John Fortune, before the Bishop of Norwich.*

When I came before the bishop, he asked me, if I did not believe in the Catholic church? I said, I believe in that church whereof Christ is the head.

Then said the bishop, Dost thou not believe that the pope is supreme head of the church? And I said, No, Christ is head of the true church.

So do I believe also, said the bishop: but the pope is God's vicar upon earth, and the head of the church, and I believe that he hath power to forgive sins also.

Then said I, The pope is but a man, and the prophet David saith, that no man can deliver his brother, nor make agreement for him unto God: for it cost more to redeem their souls, so that he must let that alone for ever.

Then the bishop said, Like as the bell-wether weareth her bell, and is the head of the flock of sheep; so is the pope our head. And as the lives of bees have a master-bee, that bringeth the bees to the hives again; so doth our head bring us home again to our true church.

Then I asked him, whether the pope were a spiritual man? And he said, Yea. And I said again, They are spiteful men, for in 17 months there were three popes, and one poisoned another for that presumptuous seat of Antichrist.

It is maliciously spoken, said he; for thou must obey the power, and not the man. (And thus was the pope denied to be the supreme head.) Well, said he, what sayest thou to the ceremonies of the church?

And I answered, All things that are not planted by my heavenly Father, shall be plucked up by the roots, said Christ. For they are not from the beginning, neither shall they continue to the end.

Bishop. They are good and godly, and necessary to be used.

For. St. Paul calleth them weak and beggarly.

Bishop. No, that is a lie.

I hearing that, said, That St. Paul writeth thus in the fourth to the Galatians, "You foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you, that ye seek to be in bondage to these weak



and beggarly ceremonies?" Now which of you do lie, you or St. Paul? And also it is said, that works instituted and enjoined without the commandment of God, pertain not to the worship of God, according to the text, Matt. xv. "In vain do men worship me with men's traditions and commandments!" and St. Paul saith, "Wherefore do ye carry us away from the grace of Christ to another kind of doctrine?" And Christ openly rebuked the scribes, lawyers, pharisees, doctors, priests, bishops, and hypocrites, for making God's commandments of none effect, to support their own tradition.

*Bishop.* Thou liest, there is not such a word in all the scriptures, thou naughty heretic; thou art worse than all other heretics: for Hooper and Bradford allowed them to be good, and thou dost not. Away with him.

Here you may perceive, how that the Catholic church cannot err, but whatsoever they say must needs be true. And so my lord bishop cannot lie, as it may appear to all men plainly in the text.

### *The third Examination of John Fortune.*

The next day I was brought before the said bishop again, where he made a sermon upon the sixth chapter of St. John's gospel, of Christ's words, "I am the bread that came down from heaven, &c." And thereupon had a great bibble-babble to no purpose. So in the end I was called before him, and he said to me, How believest thou in the sacrament of the altar? dost thou not believe, that after the consecration there is the real substance of the body of Christ? And I answered him, That is the greatest plague that ever came into England.

Why so? said he. I said, If I were a bishop, and you a poor man as I am, I would be ashamed to ask such a question; for a bishop should be apt to teach, and not to learn.

I am appointed by the law, said the bishop, to teach; so are not you. And I said, Your law breaketh out very well, for you have burned up the true bishops and preachers, and maintained liars to be in their stead.

*Bishop.* Now you may understand that he is a traitor; for he denieth the higher powers.

*For.* I am no traitor; for St. Paul saith, "All souls must obey the higher powers: And I resist not the higher powers concerning my body; but I must resist your evil doctrine wherewith you would infect my soul."

Then said a doctor, My lord, you do not well: let him answer shortly to his articles.

*Bis.* How sayest thou? Make an answer quickly to these articles.

*For.* St. Paul saith, Heb. x. "Christ did one sacrifice once for all, and sat him down on the right hand of his Father," triumphing over hell and death, making intercession for sins.

*Bish.* I ask thee no such question, but make answer to this article.

*For.* If it be not God before the consecration, it is not God after: for God is without beginning and without ending.

Then said he, Lo, what a stiff heretic is this! He hath denied altogether. How sayest thou, Is it idolatry to worship the blessed sacrament, or no?

*For.* God is a spirit, and will be worshipped in spirit and in truth.

*Bish.* I ask thee no such question; answer me directly.

*For.* I answer, that this is the god Mauzzim, that robbeth God of his honour.

*Bish.* It is pity that the ground beareth thee, or that thou hast a tongue to speak.

Then said the scribe, Here are a great many more articles. Then said the bishop, Away with him; for he hath spoken too much.

### *Another Examination of John Fortune.*

And when I came to my examination again, the bishop asked me, if I would stand unto mine answer that I had made before?—And I said, Yea, for I had spoken nothing but the truth.

Then I desired him to stand to the text, and he read the gospel on Corpus Christi day, which said, I am the bread which came down from heaven: believest thou not this? And I said, Yea, truly. And he said, Why dost thou deny the sacrament? Because your doctrine is false.

Then said he, How can that be false which is spoken in the scripture? And I said, Christ said, I am the bread, and you say the bread is he: therefore your doctrine is false.

And he said, Dost thou not believe that the bread is he? And I said, No.

*Bish.* I will bring thee to it by the scriptures.

*For.* Hold that fast, my lord; for that is the best argument that you have yet.

*Bish.* Thou shalt be burned like an heretic.

*For.* Who shall give judgment upon me?

*Bish.* I will judge an hundred such as thou art, and never be shriven upon it.

*For.* Is there not law for the spirituality as well as for the temporality?

And sir Clement Higham said, Yes: what meanest thou by that?

*For.* When a man is perjured by the law, he is cast over the bar, and sitteth no more in judgment: and the bishop is a perjured man, and ought to sit in judgment on no man.

*Bish.* How provest thou that?

*For.* Because you took an oath in king Henry's days, to resist the pope. So both spiritual and temporal are perjured, that here can be no true judgment.

*Bish.* Thinkest thou to escape judgment by that? No, for my chancellor shall judge thee. He took no oath, for he was then out of the realm.

*Mr. Higham.* It is time to weed out such fellows as you be indeed.

*Bish.* Good fellow, why believest not thou in the sacrament of the altar?

*For.* Because I find it not in God's book, nor yet in the doctors. If it were there, I would believe it with all my heart.

*Bish.* How knowest thou it is not there?

*For.* Because it is contrary to the second commandment: and seeing it is not written in God's book, why do you then rob me of my life?

Then the bishop having no more to say, commanded the bailiff to take him away.—And thus much touching the examinations of this man. Now whether he died in fire, or was otherwise prevented with death, as I said before, I am uncertain.

In the register of Norwich this I do find, that his sentence of condemnation was drawn and registered; but whether it was pronounced, in the said register is not expressed, according as the usual manner of the notary is so to declare, in the end of the sentence. Nevertheless, this is most certain, that he never abjured nor recanted, howsoever it pleased the Lord by death to call him out of the world.

### *The Death of J. CARELES in the King's Bench.*

About this time, the first day of July, among divers other prisoners which died the same year in the King's Bench, was

also John Careles, of Coventry, a weaver; who though he were by the sacred judgment of Almighty God prevented by death, so that he came not to the full martyrdom of his body, yet he is no less worthy to be counted in honour and place of Christ's martyrs, than other that suffered most cruel torments, as well for that he was for the same truth's sake a long time imprisoned, as also for his willing mind and zealous affection he had thereunto, if the Lord had so determined.

*The History and Martyrdom of a learned and virtuous young Man, called JULIUS PALMER, some time fellow of Magdalen-College, in Oxford; with two other Martyrs, to wit JOHN GWIN, and THOMAS ASKIN, burned together in Newbery, at a place there called the Sand Pits.*

The same month of July, in which Careles, as before is declared, was released out of prison by death, in a short time after, about the 16th day of the same month of July, suffered these three godly martyrs above mentioned, at Newbery, in which number was *Julius Palmer*, some time student and fellow of Magdalen-college, in Oxford, and afterwards schoolmaster in the town of Reading.

#### JULIUS PALMER.

As all God's works are wondrous, in calling of all sorts of men to confirm his truth, and to bear witness unto his assured and infallible word, which the adversaries have depraved and corrupted with their fair glozes, to establish the fleshly kingdom of Antichrist, and to purchase security in the world, which they seek to keep in their possession by all possible means, rather cursing with the thunderbolt of excommunication, burning, hanging, drowning, racking, scourging, and persecuting, by secret practice and open violence, the simple sheep of our Saviour Christ, than that their false forged packing should be detected, their estimation impaired, their kitchen cooled, their rents, revenues, goods, lauds, and possessions, abated: I say, as God's works be wonderful, which chooseth some of all sorts to confess his gospel; so there is no one example in the whole godly fellowship of martyrs more to be marked, yea, more to be wondered at, than this, that one who all king Edward's days was a Papist within the university of Oxford, and so obstinate as that he did utterly abhor godly prayer, and sincere preaching, and almost by all with whom he lived was therefore likewise abhorred, and, as I may say, pointed at with the finger, did yet after in queen Mary's time suffer most cruel death at the Papists' hands, at Newbery, in Berkshire, for his zealous profession of the blessed truth.

His name was Julius Palmer, born in Coventry, where also his parents dwelt. His father had some time been mayor of the city. How he was brought up in his young and tender years, from his first entering, we know not; but as we have learned, he was some time scholar to Mr. Harley, who taught the free scholars of Magdalen-college, in Oxford, by whose diligence and the goodness of his own capacity, he became a toward young scholar in prose and verse; for he had a very prompt and ready memory, a wit sharp and pregnant. He spake Latin with great facility, and wanted not competent knowledge in the Greek tongue, inso-much that divers times he supplied the room of the Greek reader in his house. He was a subtle disputer, both in the public schools and also at home: he used to say, that he was never so pleasantly occupied as when he came to the hard debating of profound questions in philosophy: so that he hath oftentimes watched and spent the whole night in the

discussing and searching out the truth of deep and diffuse questions; and this used he to do sundry times with divers of his equals.

In familiar talk he greatly delighted, for the exercise of his learning, to defend the contrary to that which was affirmed, yet with modesty, and without all ostentation; for he greatly abhorred all overthwart cavilling, all frivolous talk, and unsavoury babbling. He was not captious, but would reason so soberly, and with such probability, that even his adversaries would no less marvel at the dexterity of his invention, than at his comely and decent behaviour in prosecuting the same.

And although he applied to divinity very lately, it appeared that he recompensed the small time of his study with the greatness of his diligence bestowed in the same, and his late coming to the truth, with his earnest and zealous proceeding therein. For by the secret inspiration of God's holy Spirit inwardly working in his heart, he gave an apparent signification in his young years, that if God had spared his life to age, he would have grown to such maturity and ripeness of judgment, as to have been an ornament to Christ's church, and an honour to his country.

In private study he was so indefatigable, that he arose ordinarily every morning at four of the clock, and went not to bed before ten at night. Inso-much that as he grew in years and understanding, so he came to be a bachelor of arts, and at length, for the hopeful appearing in him, to the preferment of a fellowship in Magdalen college, where also he was admitted to the office of a reader in logic, anno 1550. Now, if he had at the first favoured sincere religion, so much as he followed his book, then had we had the less matter to note in him. But indeed he was so much addicted to the Romish faith, that his company and conversation in the same house was altogether with such as were utter enemies to the gospel of Christ. If he came to common prayer at any time, it was by violence and compulsion; for otherwise he came not. Sermons would he hear none himself, nor yet suffer his scholars to resort unto them by his good-will; for he was fully persuaded that they might be better occupied at home. The preachers themselves he did both disdain and despise, and all such as were setters forth of sound doctrine beside. For which contumacy and stubbornness, he was so oft called before the officers of the college, and punished sometimes by the purse, sometimes by the lack of his commons, and otherwhile by certain tasks and exercises of learning enjoined unto him, that divers supposed him to have endeavoured of set purpose continually to seek occasion whereby he might be counted a sufferer for the religion of the Romish church.

In the end, not long before the death of king Edward, that godly prince, certain slanderous libels and railing verses were privily fixed to the walls and doors in sundry places of the college, against the president, which was then Dr. Haddon, whereby was ministered further matter of trouble to Palmer. For whereas it was well known that he, and some of his companions, had a very little while before spoken contumelious words against the president; it could not now be avoided, but that thereby arose a vehement suspicion, that he conspiring with others had contrived, made, and scattered abroad the said slanderous writings. Great inquisition was made in the college, to search out the author of so malicious and spiteful a deed; but nothing could be found and proved against Palmer, or any of his companions. Now Palmer being hereupon examined by the officers, did not only with stout courage deny the fact to have been his, but also spake further many reproachful words touching

the said officers, and sent the same to them in writing, whereby he was by them adjudged to be an unworthy member of that society. And so for this and other Popish pranks, continuing obstinate still, he was expelled the house.

After he was thus despatched of his room, he was fain for his own maintenance to apply himself to be a teacher of children in the house of sir Francis Knolles, in which trade he continued until the coming in of queen Mary. And when her visitors were sent to Magdalen-college, under the title of reformation, (whereas all things were better before,) I mean, to displace divers of the followers that were learned, and to put right Catholics, as they termed them, in their rooms; then came this Julius Palmer, waiting to be restored to his living again, of which he had been deprived before, thinking by good right to be restored by them, whose faith and religion (as he said) he did to the uttermost of his power defend and maintain: and indeed at length he obtained the same. Then after he was restored again to his house in queen Mary's reign, God dealt so mercifully with him, that in the end he became of an obstinate Papist an earnest and zealous gospeller.

Concerning whose conversion to the truth, for the more credit to be given to the same, we have here put down a letter written by one Mr. Bullingham, fellow in some part of king Edward's time with the said Palmer, then also of the same faction of religion with him, and towards the latter end of the said king's reign, a voluntary exile in France for Papistry; in queen Mary's days likewise a chaplain unto Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; and after the coming in of queen Elizabeth, such an one as for his obstinacy was quite clean despatched from all his livings by her majesty's commissioners. And yet now, God be praised therefore, a most constant professor and earnest teacher of the word of God. This man, at the request of a certain friend of his in London, being desirous to know the truth thereof, wrote unto him concerning this Julius: the copy of which letter we thought good here to insert.

*The Letter of Mr. Bullingham is this:*

"Mr. Bullingham, I wish you and all your's continual health in the Lord.—Hitherto have I not written any thing unto you concerning Julius Palmer, that constant witness of God's truth, for that his doings and sayings known unto me, were worn out of my remembrance; and to write an untruth, it were rather to deface and blemish than to adorn and beautify him. After his conversion to the most holy gospel, I never saw his face; wherefore the less have I to certify you of. But so much as seemeth to me to serve most unto the purpose, here I commend unto you; and in witness that my sayings are true, I subscribe my name, willing, praying, and beseeching you to publish the same to the whole world, &c.

"At what time I, Bullingham, intended to forsake England, and to fly into France, for the wicked pope's sake, (which came to pass indeed, for in Rouen I was for a time,) this Julius Palmer and Richard Duck brought me outwards in my journey till we came to London, where on a day Julius Palmer and I walked to St. James's, the queen's palace; and as we leaned at the great gate of that palace, Palmer spake thus unto me: Bullingham, you know in what misery and calamities we are fallen for the pope and his religion; we are young men, abhorred of all men now presently, and like to be abhorred more and more. Let us consider what hangeth over our heads. You are departing into a strange country, both friendless and moneyless, where I fear me you shall taste of sourer sauces than hitherto you have done. And as for me, I am at my wit's end. The face of hell itself

is as amiable unto me as the sight of Magdalen-college; for there I am hated as a venomous toad. Would God I were raked under the earth! And as touching our religion, even our consciences bear witness that we taste not such an inward sweetness in the profession thereof, as we understand the gospellers do taste in their religion: yea, to say the truth, we maintain we wot not what, rather of will than of knowledge. But what then? rather than I will yield unto them, I will beg my bread.—So Palmer bequeathed himself to the wide world, and I passed over into Normandy.

"At my return into England again, my chance was to meet Palmer in Paul's, where a rood was set up. This our meeting was in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, and our miserable departing not long before the end of king Edward's days. Then after our greeting, thus said Palmer: Bullingham, is this our god, for whom we have smarted? No, Palmer, quoth I, it is an image of him. An image! quoth he; I tell thee plainly, Bullingham, John Calvin, (whose Institutions I have perused since your departure) telleth me plainly by God's word that it is an idol, and that the pope is Antichrist, and his clergy the filthy sink-hole of hell: and now I believe it; for I feel it sensibly. O that God had revealed these matters unto me in times past: I would have bequeathed this Romish religion, or rather irreligion, to the devil in hell, from whence it came. Believe them not, Bullingham. I will rather have these knees pared off, than I will kneel to yonder jacknapes (meaning the rood.) God help me, I am born to trouble and adversity in this world. Well, Palmer, said I, is the wind in that corner with you! I warrant you it will blow you to little-ease at the end. I will never have to do with you again.

"So I left Palmer walking in Paul's, who through the element of fire is exalted above the elements, where eternal rest is prepared for persecuted martyrs. Thus much is true, and let it be known that I, Bullingham, affirm it to be true. More I have not to say.—From Bridgewater, April 26, anno 1562.

"By me, JOH. BULLINGHAM."

When he was by the visitors restored to his college, although he began something to savour and taste of God's truth, by conference and company of certain godly and zealous men abroad, in time of his expulsion, especially at the house of sir Francis Knolles; yet was he not thoroughly persuaded, but in most points continued for a while either blind, or else doubtful. Neither could he choose but utter himself in private reasoning from time to time, both in what points he was fully resolved, and also of what points he doubted. For such was his nature alway, both in Papistry and in the gospel, utterly to detest all dissimulation, inasmuch, that by the means of his plainness, and for that he could not flatter, he suffered much wo, both in king Edward's and also in queen Mary's time. Whereas he might at the first have lived in great quietness, if he could have dissembled, and both done and spoken against his conscience, as many Papists then did; and likewise he might have escaped burning in queen Mary's time, if he would either have spoken or kept silence against his conscience, as many weak gospellers did. But Palmer could in no wise dissemble.

Now within short space, God so wrought in his heart, that he became very inquisitive to hear and understand how the martyrs were apprehended, what articles they died for, how they were used, and after what sort they took their death; insomuch, that he spared not at his own charges to send over one of his scholars, in the company of a bachelor

of that house, to Gloucester, to see and understand the whole order of bishop Hooper's death, and to bring him true report thereof. Which thing some think he the rather did, because he was wont in king Edward's time to say, that none of them all would stand to death for their religion. Thus he learned with what great, extreme, and horrible cruelty, the martyrs of God were tried, and how valiantly they overcame all kind of torments to the end. Whereof he himself also did see more experience afterwards, at the examination and death of those holy confessors and martyrs which were burned at Oxford before his eyes; insomuch, that the first hope which the godly conceived of him, was at his return from the burning of bishop Ridley and bishop Latimer. At which time, in the hearing of divers of his friends, he brake out into these words, and such like: O raging cruelty! O tyranny tragical! and more than barbarous.

From that day forward he studiously sought to understand the truth, and therefore with all speed he borrowed Peter Martyr's Commentaries upon the first to the Corinthians, of one of Magdalen's college, and other good books of other men. And so through hearty prayer, and diligent search and conference of the scriptures, at length he believed and embraced the truth with great joy; and so profited in the same, that daily more and more he declared it both in word and deed; in such sort, as he never hated the truth more stubbornly before, than afterwards willingly he embraced the same, when it pleased God to open his eyes, and to reveal unto him the light of his word. And now again, when he should come to church in those days of Popery, there to be occupied among the rest in singing of responds, reading of legends, and such like stuff allotted unto him, he had as much pleasure, he said, to be at them as a bear to be baited and worried with dogs. When he came, it was, as it appeared, more to avoid displeasure and danger, than for any good-will and ready affection.

At length, through God's grace, he grew up to such maturity and ripeness in the truth, that he spared not to declare certain sparks thereof in his outward behaviour and doings. For when he should keep his bowing measures at *Confiteor*, as the custom there was, in turning himself to and fro, sometimes eastward, sometimes westward, and afterwards knock his breast at the elevation time; against these idolatrous adorations his heart did so vehemently rise, that sometimes he would absent himself from them, and sometimes being there he would even at the sacring time, as they termed it, get him out of the church, to avoid those ungodly gestures and idolatrous adoration.

To be short,—perceiving after a while that he was greatly suspected and abhorred by the president then being, which was Mr. Cole, and by divers others which before were his friends, and therewithal feeling great conflict and torment of conscience daily to grow with his conversation with idolaters! seeing also that his new life and old living might not well nor quietly stand together, he addressed himself to depart the house. For he thought it not best to abide the danger of expulsion, as he did at the first, seeing the weather was now waxed warmer. And being demanded at that time by a special friend (who would gladly have persuaded him to stay there longer) whither he would go, or how he would live? he made this answer, The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof: let the Lord work, I will commit myself to God, and the wide world.

Here I think it expedient, before I write of the painful surges that he suffered after he came abroad into the perilous gulfs and deep sea of this wretched wide world, first to rehearse one or two examples of his outward behaviour

at such times as he returned to the college after his last departure.

Being at Oxford a certain time in Magdalen college, and having knowledge that the Spanish friar John (who succeeded Dr. Peter Martyr in the office of the divinity lecture,) would preach there that present Sunday, he would not at first grant to be present at it; at length a friend of his, a fellow of that house, argued so much with him, that he was content to accompany his said friend to the church. But suddenly, as the friar vehemently inveighed against God's truth, in defending certain Popish heresies; Palmer, having many eyes bent and directed towards him, departed from amongst the midst of the auditory, and was found in his friend's chamber weeping bitterly. Afterwards being demanded why he slept away upon such a sudden? O, said he, if I had not openly departed, I should have openly stopped mine ears: for the friar's blasphemous talk, in disproving, or rather depraving, the verity, made mine ears not only to glow, but my heart worse to smart than if mine ears had been cut from my head.

It chanced another time, that the same friend of his, called Mr. Shipper, being then bursar of the house, bade him to dinner in his chamber. Palmer, not knowing what guests were also thither invited and bidden, happened there contrary to his expectation to meet with the aforesaid friar, with whom were present Dr. Smith, Dr. Tresham, and divers other Papists, whose company Palmer could not well bear; and therefore whispering his friend in the ear, he said he would be gone, for that was no place for him: I will, said he, to the bursar's table in the great hall. The bursar understanding his mind, desired him of all friendship not so to depart, alleging that it were the next way to bewray himself, and as it were of purpose to cast himself into the briers; with many other persuasions, as the shortness of time would permit. In the end, he condescended to his request, and tarried. Now as he came to the fireside, the friar saluted him cheerfully in Latin, for he could not speak English; Palmer with an amiable countenance re-saluted him gently. But when the friar offered him his hand, he, casting his eye aside as though he had not seen it, found matter of talk to another standing by, and so avoided it. Which thing was well marked by some, not without great grudge.

After they were set, and had well eaten, the friar with a pleasant look offering him the cup, said *Propino tibi, juvenis erudite*, i. e. I drink to you, learned young man. Palmer, at that word blushing as red as scarlet, answered, *Non agnosco nomen, domine*, i. e. I acknowledge no such name, O sir. And therewith taking the cup at his hand, he set it down by him, as though he would have pledged him anon after; but in the end it was also well marked that he did it not. When dinner was done, being sharply rebuked by the said bursar, his friend, for his so unwise, uncivil, and unseemly behaviour, as he termed it, he made answer for himself, and said, The oil of these men doth not supple, but breaketh, my head.

Another time, which was also the last time of his being at Oxford, not long before his death, one Barwick, an old acquaintance of his, being some time clerk of Magdalen's, and then fellow of Trinity-college, a rank Papist, began to reason with him in his friend's chamber aforesaid, and perceiving him to be zealous and earnest in the defence of the verity, he said unto him in the hearing of Mr. T. Parry and others there present, Well, Palmer, well: now thou art stout and hardy in thine opinion, but if thou wert once brought to the stake, I believe thou wouldst tell me another tale; I advise thee beware of the fire, it is a shrewd matter to burn. Truly, said Palmer, I have been in danger of burning once

or twice, and hitherto (I thank God) I have escaped it. But I judge verily it will be my end at the last : welcome be it, by the grace of God. Indeed, it is a hard matter for them to burn, that have the mind and soul linked to the body, as a thief's foot is tied in a pair of fetters : but if a man be once able, through the help of God's Spirit, to separate and divide the soul from the body, for him it is no more mastery to burn, than for me to eat this piece of bread.

Thus much by the way concerning his plainness, without dissimulation, and how he feared not only to shew himself more grieved in heart to hear the word of God blasphemed, than to suffer any worldly pains. Now let us proceed in our story, and faithfully declare both the occasion and manner of his death.

Within short space after he had yielded up his fellowship in Oxford, he was, through God's providence, (who never faileth them that first seek his glory,) placed schoolmaster by patent in the grammar-school of Reading ; where he was well accepted of all those that feared God, and savoured his word, as well for his good learning and knowledge, as also for his earnest zeal and profession of the truth. But Satan, the enemy of all godly attempts, envying his good proceedings and prosperous success in the same, would not suffer him there long to be quiet. Wherefore he stirred up against him certain double-faced hypocrites, who by dissimulation and crafty insinuation had crept in, to understand his secrets, under pretence of a zeal to the gospel. Which men he, suspecting no deceit, right joyfully embraced, making them privy to all his doings : for as he himself was then fervently inflamed with the love of heavenly doctrine, so had he an incredible desire by all means possible to allure and encourage others to the profession of the same.

These faithful and trusty brethren, so soon as they had found good opportunity, spared not in his absence to rifle his study of certain godly books and writings ; amongst which was his replication to Morewine's Verses, touching Winchester's Epitaph, and other arguments both in Latin and English, written by him against the Popish proceedings, and especially against their unnatural and brutish tyranny, executed towards the martyrs of God. When they had thus done, they were not ashamed to threaten him that they would exhibit the same to the council, unless he would without delay depart out of their coasts, and give over the school to a friend of their's. The truth of this story appeareth in part by a letter written with his own hand out of prison, eight days before he was burned ; which, because it is of certain credit, and came to our hands, therefore we are the bolder to avouch it for a truth.

Thus then was this young man, for the safety of his life, forced to depart upon a sudden from Reading, leaving behind him in the hands of his enemies his stuff, and one quarter's stipend ; and so he took his journey towards Ensam, where his mother then dwelt, hoping to obtain at her hands certain legacies due to him by his father's last will, which he should have received certain years before ; and taking his journey by Oxford, he requested certain of his friends to accompany him thither. His mother understanding his state and errand by Mr. Shipper and his brother, whom he had sent before to entreat for him, as soon as she beheld him on his knees, asking her blessing, as he had been accustomed to do, Thou shalt, said she, have Christ's curse and mine wheresoever thou go.—He pausing a little, as one amazed at so heavy a greeting, at length said, O mother, your own curse you may give me, (which God knoweth I never deserved,) but God's you cannot give me, for he hath already blessed me.—Nay, said she, thou wentest from God's blessing into the warm

sun, when thou wast banished for an heretic out of that worshipful house in Oxford, and now for the like knavery art driven out of Reading too.—Alas, mother, said he, you have been misinformed ; I was not expelled nor driven away, but freely resigned of mine own accord. And heretic I am none, for I stand not stubbornly against any true doctrine, but defend it to my power. And you may be sure they use not to expel or banish, but to burn heretics, as they term them.—Well, quoth she, I am sure thou dost not believe as thy father and I, and all our forefathers have done ; but as we were taught by the new law in king Edward's days, which is damnable heresy.—Indeed, I confess, said he, that I believe that doctrine which was taught in king Edward's time ; which is not heresy, but truth ; neither is it new, but as old as Christ and his apostles.—If thou be at that point, said she, I require thee to depart from my house, and out of my sight, and never take me more for thy mother hereafter. As for money and goods, I have none of thine : thy father bequeathed nought for heretics. Faggots I have to burn thee : more thou gettest not at my hands.—Mother, saith he, whereas you have cursed me, I again pray God to bless you, and prosper you all your life long. And with like soft talk, sweet words, and abundance of tears, he departed from her ; wherewith he so mollified her hard heart, that she hurled an old angel after him, and said, Take that, to keep thee a true man.

Thus poor Palmer being destitute of worldly friendship, and cruelly repelled by her whom he took to have been his surest friend, wist not which way to turn his face. Soon after, when he had besought himself, it came to his mind to return secretly to Magdalen-college, upon the assured trust and affiance, that he had a privy friend or two in that house. At which time, by the suit of one Allen Cope, then fellow of the house, he obtained letters commendatory from Mr. Cole, president there, for his preferment to a school in Gloucestershire. So he getteth him away, committed by his friends to God's divine protection, of whom some accompanied him as far as Ensam ferry, and some to Burford.

Afterwards, as he went alone, musing and pondering of matters, it came in his head to leave his appointed journey, and to return closely to Reading, trusting there by the help of his friends to receive his quarter's stipend, and convey his stuff to the custody of some trusty body. To Reading he cometh, and taketh up his lodging at the Cardinal's Hat, desiring his hostess instantly to assign him a close chamber, where he might be alone from all resort of company. He came not so closely but that this viperous generation had knowledge thereof ; wherefore without delay they laid their heads together, and consulted what way they might most safely proceed against him, to bring their old cankered malice to pass. And soon it was concluded, that one Mr. Hampton, (who then bare two faces in one hood, and under the colour of a brother played the part of a dissembling hypocrite,) should resort to him under the pretence of friendship, to feel and fish out the cause of his repair to Reading.

Palmer, as he was a simple man, and without all wrinkles of cloked collusion, opened to him his whole intent. But Hampton earnestly persuaded him to the contrary, declaring what danger might ensue if this were attempted. Against this counsel Palmer replied very much : and as they waxed hot in talk, Hampton flung away in a fury, and said, As he had fished, so should he fowl for him. Palmer not yet suspecting such pretended and devised mischief, as by this crooked and pestiferous generation was now in brewing against him, called for his supper, and went quietly to bed. But quietly he could not rest long there ; for within short



space after, the officers and their retinue came rushing in with lanterns and bills, requiring him in the king and queen's name to make ready himself, and quietly to depart with them. So this young man, perceiving that he was thus Judasly betrayed, without opening his lips was led away as a lamb to the slaughter, and was committed to a ward; whom the keeper, as a ravening wolf greedy of his prey, brought down into a vile, stinking, and dark dungeon, prepared for thieves and murderers, and there he left him for a time, hanging by the hands and feet in a pair of stocks, so high that well near no part of his body touched the ground. In this cave or dungeon he remained about ten days under the tyranny of this unmerciful keeper.

After this he was brought before the mayor, and there by the procurement of certain false brethren, who had been conversant with Palmer, and robbed his study, divers grievous and enormous crimes were laid to his charge, as treason, sedition, surmised murder, and adultery. To which Palmer answered, That if such horrible and heinous crimes might be proved against him, he would patiently submit himself to all kind of torments that could be devised. But O, ye cruel blood-suckers, said he, ye follow the old practices of your progenitors, the viperous and wolfish generation of Pharisees and Papists. But be ye well assured that God already seeth your subtle devices and crafty packing, and will not suffer the outrageous fury of your venomous tongues and fiery hearts to escape unpunished.

All this while no mention was made of heresy or heretical writings.

Their greatest proofs against him were these: First, That Palmer said, the queen's sword was not put into her hand to execute tyranny, and kill and murder the true servants of God.

2. That her sword was too blunt towards the Papists, but towards the true Christians it was too sharp.

3. That certain servants of sir Francis Knolles and others, resorting to his lectures, had fallen out among themselves, and were like to have committed murder; and therefore he was a sower of sedition, and a procurer of unlawful assemblies.

4. That his hostess had written a letter unto him, which they had intercepted, wherein she required him to return to Reading; and sent him her commendations, by the token that the knife lay hid under the beam; whereby they gathered, that she had conspired with him to murder her husband.

5. That they found him alone with his hostess by the fire-side in the hall, the door being shut.

When the evidence was given up, the mayor dismissed them, and went to dinner, commanding Palmer to the cage, to make him an open spectacle of ignominy to the eyes of the world. And Thackham, the better to cover his own shame, caused it to be reported, that he was so punished for his evil life and wickedness, already proved against him.

In the afternoon Palmer came to his answer, and did so nightly and clearly deface their evidence, and defend his own innocency, proving also that the said letters were by themselves forged, that the mayor himself was much ashamed that he had given such credit unto them, and so much borne with them; so that he sought means how they might convey him out of the country privately.

But here among other things this is not with silence to be passed over, that one John Galant, a zealous professor of the gospel, a little after this came to the prison, and found him somewhat better treated than before. When he beheld him, O Palmer, said he, thou has deceived divers men's ex-

pectation: for we hear that you suffer not for righteousness' sake, but for your own demerits.

O brother Galant, replied he, these be the old practices of that satanical brood: but be you well assured, and God be praised for it, I have so purged myself, and detected their falsehood, that from henceforth I shall be no more molested therewith.

After this, when they saw the matter frame so ill-favourably, fearing that if he should escape secretly, their doing would tend no less to their shame and danger, than to the mayor's dishonesty; they devised a new policy, to bring to pass their long hidden and festered malice against him; which was by this extreme refuge: For, whereas before they were partly ashamed to accuse him of heresy, seeing they had been counted earnest brethren themselves; and partly afraid, because they had broken up his study, and committed theft: yet now, lest their iniquity should have been revealed to the world, they put both fear and shame aside, and began to rip up the old sore, the scar whereof had been but superficially cured, as you have heard; and so to colour their former practices with the pretence of his reformation in religion, they charged him with the writings that they had stolen out of his study.

Thus Palmer was once again called out of the prison to appear before the mayor, and Bird the official, and two other justices, to render an account of his faith before them; to answer to such articles and informations as were laid against him. And when they had gathered of his own mouth sufficient matter to entrap him, they devised a certificate or bill of instructions against him, to be directed to Dr. Jeffrey, who had determined to hold his visitation the next Tuesday at Newbery, which was the 16th of July.

And thus were the false witnesses and bloody accusers winked at, and the innocent delivered to the lion to be devoured. When it was therefore concluded that Palmer should be sent over to Newbery, the said letters testimonial were conveyed over together with him.

Mr. Rider, of Reading, a faithful witness of God's truth, hearing how cruelly Palmer had been dealt withal in the prison, and pined away for lack of necessities, and how evidently he had proved himself innocent before the officers of such crimes as were objected against him, he sent to him his servant secretly the night before his departure, with a bowed groat, in token of his good heart toward him, requiring him to let him understand if he lacked necessities, and he would provide for him. Palmer answered, The Lord reward your master for his benevolence towards me, a miserable object in this world, and tell him that (God be praised) I lack nothing.

In the morning before they took their journey, Thomas Askin, alias Roberts, being fellow prisoner with him in Christ's cause, sitting at breakfast, and beholding Palmer very sad, leaning to a window in the corner of the house, asked why he came not to breakfast? Because I lack money, said Palmer, to discharge the shot. Come on man, said he, God be praised for it, I have enough for us both. Which thing, when Mr. Rider heard of, it cannot be expressed how much it grieved him, that Palmer had deceived him with so modest an answer.

Thus to Newbery they came on Monday night, and forthwith they were committed to the comfortable hostery of the blind house, where they found John Gwin, their faithful brother in the Lord.

#### *His Examinations before Dr. Jeffrey, &c.*

On Tuesday, July 10, 1556, a place being prepared in the parish church of Newbery, to hold the consistory court, Dr.

Jeffrey, representative of the bishop of Sarum, sir Richard Abridge and John Winchcomb, esq. and the minister of Inglefield, repaired thither, as commissioners appointed for the purpose.

After the prisoners were produced, the commission read, and other things passed according to the usual form, Dr. Jeffrey, in the presence of several hundred spectators, called to Palmer, and asked if he was the writer of a twopenny pamphlet that had been lately published?

Having some altercation about this affair, in which Palmer answered in his own behalf with great force and propriety, the doctor rising from his seat, said to him, "Mr. Palmer, we have received certain writings and articles against you, from the right worshipful the mayor of Reading, and other justices, whereby we understand, that, being brought before them, you were convicted of certain heresies.

1. That you deny the supremacy of the pope's holiness in this realm of England.

2. That you affirm there are but two sacraments.

3. You say that the priest sheweth up an idol at mass, and therefore you went to no mass since your first coming to Reading.

4. You hold there is no purgatory.

5. You are charged with sowing sedition, and seeking to divide the unity of the queen's subjects.

Several books and pamphlets were then produced, and Palmer being asked if he was the author of them? replied in the affirmative, declaring at the same time, that they contained nothing but what was founded on the word of God.

Jeffrey then reviled him, declaring that such opinions were dictated by no good spirit, and that he was very wicked in slandering the dead, and railing at a catholic and learned man living.

Mr. Palmer replied, "If it be a slander, he slandered himself, for I do but report his own writings, and expose absurdities therein contained; and I esteem it not railing to inveigh against Annas and Caiaphas, being dead."

The doctor, incensed at this reply, assured him, that he would take such measures as should compel him to recant his damnable errors and heresies; but Palmer told him, that although of himself he could do nothing, yet if he, and all his enemies, both bodily and ghostly, should exert their efforts, they would not be able to effect what they desired, neither could they prevail against the mighty power of divine grace, by which he understood the truth, and was determined to speak it boldly.

After much farther discourse, the minister of Inglefield pointed to the pix over the altar, saying to Palmer, "What seest thou there?" To which he replied, "A canopy of silk embroidered with gold."

"But what is within?" demanded the priest. "A piece of bread in a cloth," replied our martyr.

The priest then upbraided him as a vile heretic, and asked him, if he did not believe that those who receive the holy sacrament of the altar, do truly eat Christ's natural body.

He answered, "If the sacrament of the Lord's supper be administered as Christ did ordain it, the faithful receivers do, indeed, spiritually and truly eat and drink it in Christ's body and blood."

On being asked, if he meant, with the holy mother church, really, carnally, and substantially? He declared, "he could not believe so absurd and monstrous a doctrine."

After this the court was adjourned, when one of the justices took Palmer aside, and, in the presence of several persons, exhorted him to revoke his opinions, and thereby pre-

serve his life; promising him at the same time, if he would conform to the church, to take him into his family as his chaplain, and give him a handsome salary; or, if he chose not to resume the clerical function to procure him an advantageous farm.

Mr. Palmer heartily thanked him for his kind offer, but assured him that he had already renounced his living in two places, for the sake of Christ and his gospel, and was ready to yield up his life in defence of the same, if God, in his providence, should think fit to call him to it.

When the justice found he could by no means bring him to a recantation, he said, "Well, Palmer, I perceive that one of us two must be damned, for we are of two faiths, and there is but one faith that leads to life and salvation."

Palmer observed on the occasion, that it was possible they might both be saved, for that as it had pleased a merciful God to call him at the third hour of the day, that is, in the prime of life, at the age of twenty-four years, so he trusted that in his infinite goodness he would graciously call him at the eleventh hour of his old age, and give him an eternal inheritance among the saints in light.

After much conversation had passed, and many efforts were tried in vain, Palmer was remanded back to prison; but the other men, John Gwyn and Thomas Askine, were brought into the consistory court, received their definitive sentence, and were delivered over to the secular power, to be burned as heretics.

Though the particular examinations and answers of these two martyrs are not recorded, there is no doubt but they were of the same faith, and equally steadfast in it, as their fellow-sufferer Palmer; but they were very illiterate, from whence it is supposed their examination was short, they not having a capability of making any defence.

The next morning the commissioners required Julius Palmer to subscribe to certain articles which they had gathered from his answers, (with the addition of those odious epithets and terms, "horrid, heretical, damnable, and execrable doctrines,") which, when he had read, he refused to subscribe; affirming, that the doctrine which he held and professed was not such, but agreeable to, and founded on, the word of God.

Jeffrey being now greatly incensed, Palmer consented to subscribe, provided they would strike out those odious epithets; upon which they gave him a pen, and bade him do as he pleased; when he made such alterations as he thought proper, and then subscribed.

Having thus set his hand to the articles which they had drawn up, they asked him if he would recant? but he peremptorily refusing, they pronounced sentence against him, and he was delivered over to the secular power.

While he was in prison, he gave great comfort to his two fellow-sufferers, and strongly exhorted them to hold fast to the faith they had professed. On the morning of their execution, about an hour before they were led to the stake, he addressed them in words to the following effect:

"Brethren, be of good cheer in the Lord, and faint not; remember the words of our Saviour Christ, who saith, Happy are ye when men shall revile and persecute you for my sake; rejoice and be exceeding glad, for great is your reward in heaven. Fear not them that kill the body, but are not able to hurt the soul; God is faithful, and will not suffer us to be tempted above what we are able to bear. We shall end our lives in the fire, but exchange them for a better: yea, for coals we shall receive pearls; for God's Spirit certifieth our spirit, that he hath prepared for us blissful mansions in heaven, for his sake who suffered for us."

These words not only strengthened and confirmed the resolution of his two weak brethren, but drew tears from many of the multitude.

When they were brought by the high sheriff and constables of the town to the sand-pits, (the place appointed for their execution,) they fell on the ground, and Palmer, with an audible voice, repeated the thirty-first Psalm; but the other two made their prayers secretly to Almighty God.

When Palmer arose from prayer, there came behind him two popish priests, exhorting him to recant, and save his soul.

Our martyr exclaimed, "Away, away, and tempt me no longer! Away! I say, from me, all ye that work iniquity, for the Lord hath heard the voice of my tears."

When they were chained to the stake, Palmer thus addressed the spectators: "Good people, pray for us, that we may persevere to the end; and for Christ's sake beware of Popish teachers, for they deceive you."

As he spoke this, a servant of one of the bailiffs threw a faggot at his face, and the blood gushed out in divers places; for which act the sheriff reviled him, calling him cruel tormentor, and with his walking-stick broke his head, that the blood ran likewise about his ears.

When the fire was kindled, and began to take hold upon their bodies, they lifted up their hands towards heaven, and quietly and cheerily, as though they had felt no smart, they cried, Lord Jesus, strengthen us! Lord Jesus, assist us! Lord Jesus, receive our souls! And so they continued without any struggling, holding up their hands, and knocking their hearts, and calling upon Jesus until they had ended their mortal lives.

Among other things, this also is to be noted, that after their three heads, by the force of the raging and devouring flames of the fire, were fallen together in a lump or cluster, which was marvellous to behold, and that they all were judged already to have given up the ghost, suddenly Palmer, as a man waked out of sleep, moved his tongue and jaws, and was heard to pronounce this word, "Jesus!" So, being resolved into ashes, he yielded to God as joyful a soul (confirmed with the sweet promises of Christ) as any one that ever was called beside to suffer for his blessed name. God grant us all to be moved with the like spirit, working in our hearts constantly to stand in defence and confession of Christ's holy gospel to the end. Amen.

#### An Hexastich on the Martyrdom of PALMER.

*Palmeras flammæ Christi pro dognate passus,  
Impositum pondus, ceu bona palma, tulit.  
Non retrocessit, sed contra audientior ivit,  
Illasam retinens, fortis in igne fidem.  
Propterea in cælum nunc Palmifer iste receptus  
Justitiæ Palmam non pereuntis habet.*

JUSTUS UT PALMA FLOREBIT.

#### A memorable Story of one AGNES WARDALL, in the Town of Ipswich, persecuted for the true Faith of Christ.

About the said month of July, in this present year 1556, there was one Richard Argentine, doctor of physic, otherwise called Richard Sexton, with certain others dwelling in the town of Ipswich, not many in number, but in heart and purpose mightily bent to impugn and impeach the growing of Christ's gospel, and favourers of the same. In the number of whom were Philip Ulmes, Edmund Leach, John Steward, and Matthew Butler, apothecary, a curious singing

man, a fine player of the organ, a perfect Papist, and a diligent promoter of good men. This Butler being then constable in the town of Ipswich, as he was in the watch by night on the cornhill, cometh to him Dr. Argentine in great haste, giving him intelligence of one Agnes Wardall, being then lately come home to her house in Ipswich. Whereupon immediately such a way was contrived between them, that the said Agnes Wardall forthwith should be apprehended. But God in whose providence the direction of all things consisteth, by whose disposition they have their operation, so graciously provided for his servant, and so prevented their malignant devices, that they came to no great effect in working, although on the contrary part there wanted no good will, as here you shall further understand.

This Agnes Wardall was a woman that lived in God's fear, and was at defiance with their Romish trash, desiring rather with hard fare and evil lodging to be abroad, than to be at home in her house, and among the tents of the ungodly; her husband also being a man living in the fear of God, and for the testimony of his conscience being also hunted, by force of the law was also constrained to avoid his house, and got into a crayer, with an honest man, acting as a sailor, a faculty not of him before frequented, nor he a man nimble for that trade, because God had given him an impediment by reason of a stumped foot, unfit to climb to top and yard; yet so it pleased God to enable him with his strength, that he was strong and lusty to do good service, as they can well witness that were of his company.

The said Agnes Wardall chanced on a day to come to see her poor house and children, which was under the guiding of a young maid, and being espied, news was borne to Dr. Argentine; who, having knowledge thereof, as is aforesaid, went speedily unto the apothecary, the constable aforesaid, and informed him what a notable cure was to be wrought on Wardall's wife, in the apprehending of her; which was more like to speed than to miss, had not the mighty providence of God wrought contrary to their expectation.

This being known to the constable, the watch was charged speedily, and each company sent to his place. And Argentine and Butler took unto them a good number, and forth they go unto the house of this poor woman, to lay hands upon her, and beset the house on the fore side and back side, lying open in the fields, and others were sent to the house of his mother, which was not far from his house. This done, one knocked at the street door, where Argentine and Butler were, with one of their weapons, and no answer was made; the second time somewhat harder, but had no answer; in the mean time, they fearing that some conveyance was made, knocked the third time more hard than before.

There was, not far from the door where they knocked, a certain day-window, where one might look out and speak; and so at the third knocking a woman, who at that time was tenant to R. Wardall's mother, and had but two nights before lain in the house, speaking out hard by their ears, asked who was there?

Ah, sirrah, quoth Argentine, are you so nigh, and will not speak? How fortun'd it that ye spake not at the first, being so nigh? How fortun'd it? quoth the woman; marry I shall tell you: I am but a stranger here, and I have heard say, that there be spirits walking hereabout, which if a man do answer at the first call or second, he stands in great danger; and I was never so afraid of my life.

At this her answer they laughed, and commanded her, in the queen's name, to open the door, for they were the queen's watch.

Agnes Wardall being at that time in bed in an inner chamber, having her maid with her and her two children, she being at that time very heavy asleep, heard not the knocking.—Her maid hearing at the second knock, called and jogged her dame, and with much ado awaked her, and said, The watch is at the door! What! it is not true! said she. Yes, truly, said the maid, and hath knocked twice. With that she arose with all speed, and put on her clothes very slightly, and took with her a buckram apron, which afterwards she put on her head, when she was fain to creep in a ditch with nettles, and so passed down into a parlour, wherein stood a cupboard with a fair press, into which the maid did lock her.

And the maid immediately went up to a chamber which was hard by the street, where she might see and speak to the watch, and said, Who is there? Then they bade her open the door. And she said, We have no candle: and they said, Open the door, or we will lay it in the floor. With that she came down and opened the door. Then asked they the maid, Who is within? And she said, None but a woman that dwelleth with us, and two children. Then said they, Where is thy dame? Truly, said she, I cannot tell: she is not within. She was here in the evening, said they. Yea, said the maid, but she went forth I knew not whither. Notwithstanding, they charged her that she knew where she was; which she denied. Then got they a candle lighted at one of the neighbours' houses, and came in, and in the entry met the woman which had answered them at the window, and said she was afraid of spirits. Argentine looking upon her, clapped her on the back, and said, Thou art not the woman whom we seek for.

So entered they the house, and searched a parlour next the street, where the woman lay, (which was her mother's tenant,) and a young child that sucked on her breast, and not only in the bed, turning it down past all honest humanity, but also under the bed, behind the painted cloths, and in the chimney, and up into the chimney; and finding the bed hot, said, Who lay here in the bed? The woman said, I and the child. And none else? quoth they. No, said the woman. When they could find nothing there for their purpose, from thence they went into an inner parlour, in which stood the cupboard wherein she was, and searched the parlour, which was but a little one; and one of the company, laying his hand on the cupboard, said, This is a fair cupboard, she may be here for any thing that is done. That is true, saith another of them. Notwithstanding, they looked no further, but went from that into the chamber aloft, wherein the said Agnes had lain with her maid and children, with all other rooms and chambers.

At length they came down into the yard, where they found a horse tied at a pale, eating of shorn grass. Then asked they the maid, Whose horse is this? She answered, It is her horse indeed, and she came in before night, and went abroad again; but I know not whither. Then were they in good hope to find their prey, and bestirred them with speed, and went into an out-chamber that was in the yard, in which was a boy in bed of 12 or 14 years old; and being in a deep sleep, they suddenly awaked him, and examined him for his dame. Who answered, he knew not where she was; and unto that stood firmly, although their threats were vehement, not only to the poor silly boy, but also to the good simple plain maid. Then caused they him to arise and dress him, and sent both maid and boy up to the cage, where they put the maid, but kept the boy among their trusty soldiers, so that one of them should not speak with another.

Now while some were on the corn-hill, and others search-

ing the neighbours' houses and back-sides, the wife of Wardall being in the press fast locked up, and almost smothered for want of breath, desired the woman (her mother's tenant) when she heard her in the parlour, to let her out. She asked her where the keys were? who answered, they were in a hamper; which she found, and assayed to unlock the press, and of a long time could not. Then desired she her to break it open: for said she, I had rather fall into their hands than to kill myself. Then went she to her mother's tenant, and sought for her husband's hammer and chisel, but could not find it, nor any thing else to break it open withal, and came again and told her she could find nothing to break it open with.

Then said she, Assay again to open it, for I trust God will give you power to open it. And being within much extremity, she heartily prayed unto God, who heard her prayer and helped her; for at the first assay and turn of the key it opened easily. When she came out she looked as pale and as black as one that were laid out dead by the wall, and all on a vehement sweat was she like drops of rain.

Then went she out into the back side, where was a pale toward the fields for the defence of the garden, wherein was one or two loose pales, by the which both she and her husband had divers times used to come and go in and out. So went she out into the fields; and passing one little field, and over a stile, shrodded herself in a low ditch with nettles, and covered her head with the buckram apron before mentioned, and so crept low, and lay in the ditch. After long search, when they could not find her in the town, certain of the watch returned again to the field's side; among whom was one George Manning, with John Bate, the crier of the same town, coming together. This Manning was a simple, honest, plain man, but Bate a very enemy, and one that in queen Mary's time would have been a priest, as it was reported, but that he was married.

Manning espying where she lay, gave a hem, and made a noise with his bill, he being before Bate; at the which she lay still, and at the last they departed to the street side to the constable. All this time the maid was in the cage, and the boy with the other of the watch, until perfect daylight. Then went they up and let out the maid, and sent her home, and the boy also; but they made the maid believe they had found her dame, who answered, If ye have her, keep her fast.

On the morrow Manning sent her word to beware that she should hide herself no more so near.

Thus by the might and power of God was this his faithful servant delivered from their cruelty.

#### *The Trouble of PETER MOON and his WIFE, and of other PROTESTANTS, at the Bishop's Visitation at Ipswich.*

In the year of our Lord God 1556, the scene or visitation being kept before Whitsuntide in the town of Ipswich in Suffolk, by Dr. Hopton, being then bishop of Norwich, and Miles Dunning, being then his chancellor, divers and sundry godly Protestants, through the accusation of evil men, were sore troubled and presented before him: among whom were accused one *Peter Moon*, a tailor, and *Anne* his wife, for their disobedience to the law, in not shewing their readiness to come to the church, and to be partakers of such Romish observances as at that time were used.

And first, the said Peter Moon was commanded to come before the bishop, where he was examined of three sundry articles, to wit: 1. Whether the pope were supreme head? 2. Whether king Philip and queen Mary were right inheritors to the crown? 3. And whether in the sacrament of the altar

was the very body of Christ substantially and really there present?

Unto the which the said Peter, being timorous and weak, fearing more the face of man than the heavy wrath of God, affirmed and in a manner granted unto their demands. Whereupon the bishop being in good hope, that although he had not come to the church, nor received the sacrament of the altar, nor been ready to do his duty as the law had commanded, yet there shewing his mind, said, that he liked well the man: for such as have been (said he) earnest in evil things, will also be earnest in that that is good and godly, if once they be won.

Thus as this spiritual father was commanding his carnal child, and rather preferring him to hell fire, than unto the sincere word and commandments of God, it chanced amongst many others in the chamber was one of the portmen of the same town, named Smart, an earnest member of their Romish law, doing of a very good conscience that he did, who after the death of queen Mary lived not many years, but rendered his life in godly repentance, protesting, that if God should suffer him to live, he would never be the man he had been before, what laws soever should come again: so that before the time of his sickness, he frequenting earnestly the sermons in the same town made by divers godly learned men, would weep as it had been a child, being notwithstanding of courage as stout a man as any was in Ipswich.

This portman aforesaid, perceiving the bishop thus, as it were, at an end with the said Moon, and so he like to be discharged, said unto the bishop, My lord, indeed I have good hope in the man, and that he will be conformable; but, my lord, he hath a perilous woman to his wife. For I will tell you, my lord, she never came to church yet since the queen's reign, except it were at even-song, or when she was churched; and not then until mass were done. Wherefore your good lordship might do a good deed to cause her to come before you, and to see if you could do any good. And therefore I beseech your good lordship to command him to pray her to come before your lordship.

At which words Moon was somewhat stirred, in that he said, Command him to pray her to come before your lordship. And he said unto him, Under my lord's correction I speak, I am as able to command her to come before my lord, as ye are to command the worst boy in your house. Yea, my lord, said the other, I cry your lordship mercy; I have informed your lordship with an untruth, if this be so: but if he be so able as he saith, he might have commanded her to have come to church in all this time, if it had pleased him. Well, said the bishop, look you come before me at afternoon, and bring your wife with you; I will talk with her.

As my lord's dinner at that time was serving up, Moon departed, and tarried not to take part thereof, having such a hard breakfast given him before to digest. In the afternoon Moon delayed, and wasted his time, bethinking when he might most conveniently come, especially when his accuser and his wife's should not have been there. And according to the commandment, came with his wife; which was not so secretly done, but his accuser had knowledge thereof, and came with all expedition in such post speed, that in a manner he was breathless on entering the bishop's chamber.

The bishop, hearing that Moon and his wife were come, called for them, and said to him, Is this your wife, Moon? Yea, my lord, said he. O good Lord, said the bishop, how a man may be deceived in a woman? I promise you a man would take her for as honest a woman, by all outward appearance, as can be. Why, my lord, said Moon's wife, I trust there is none that can charge me with any dis-

honesty, as concerning my body; I defy all the world in that respect.

Nay, quoth the bishop, I mean not as concerning the dishonesty of thy body: but thou hadst been better to have given the use of thy body unto twenty sundry men, than to do as thou hast done. For thou hast done as much as in thee lieth, to pluck the king and queen's majesties out of their royal seats through thy disobedience, in shewing thyself an open enemy unto God's laws and their proceedings.

Then began the bishop to examine the said Moon again with the aforesaid articles, and his wife also; and she hearing her husband relent, did also affirm the same; which turned unto either of them no small trouble of mind afterwards. But yet neither were they like thus to escape, but that in the mean time Dummings, the bishop's chancellor, came up in great haste, and brought news to the bishop, that there was such a number of heretics come, (of which some came from Boxford, some from Lanham, and about from the cloth country,) that it would make a man out of his wits to hear them: and there are among them both heretics and Anabaptists, said he. And thus Dr. Dummings with his blustering words interrupting Moon's examination, went down again as the devil had driven him, to keep his stir among them, and to take order what should be done with them.

The bishop beginning to bewail the state of the country, in that it was so infected with such a number of heretics, and rehearsing in part their opinions to those that were at that time in the chamber, Moon's wife had a young child, which she herself nursed, and the child being brought into the yard under the bishop's chamber, cried, so that she heard it, and she said, My lord, I trust ye have done with me: my child crieth beneath; I must go give my child suck; with such like words. And the bishop being out of wind to talk with them any more, said, Go your way, I will talk with you in the morning; look ye be here again in the morning. With this they both departed.

And beneath in the stone hall of the same house the chancellor Dummings, being very busy about his bloody business, espied Moon and his wife coming, and must needs pass by the place where he stood, and said, Nay, soft, I must talk with you both; for ye are as evil as any that are here to-day. To whom Moon's wife answered, My lord hath had us in examination, and therefore ye shall have nought to do with us. Nay, quoth he, ye shall not so escape; I must talk with you also. Unto whom Moon answered, In the presence of the more, the less hath no power; my lord hath taken order with us, and therefore we are as his lordship hath appointed, and must repair again before him to-morrow. At which he let them go, although he was earnestly procured by the party above specified to have shewed his quality, which was nothing else but mere tyranny.

So departed Moon and his wife, without hurt of body; but afterward when they, with Peter the apostle, beheld the face of Christ, they were sore wounded in their consciences, ashamed of their doings, and also at the door of desperation. Insomuch that when the said Moon came home to his house, and entering into a parlour alone by himself, considering his estate, and seeing where a sword of his did hang against a wall, he was earnestly allured by the enemy, Satan, to have taken it down, and therewith to have slain himself; but God, who casteth not away the penitent sinner repenting his fall, defended his unworthy servant from that temptation, and left him to the amendment of life by the assistance of his holy Spirit, and to make him an heir of salvation.

The morrow they both remained, and kept house with no



small grief of conscience, waiting and looking with fear when to be sent for to the bishop, rather than offering their diligence to keep to the bishop's appointment; but God so wrought, that when the time drew near that they feared calling forth, the bells rung for the bishop's departure out of the town. For which they were not only glad, but also many a good heart in Ipswich rejoiced and gave thanks to God. God for his mercy grant that our sin never deserve to provoke God's ire, that the like days come not again. And if it so do, God make them, with all other weaklings, strong and worthy soldiers to encounter with the ghostly enemies, the world, the flesh, and the devil; and boldly to stand to the confession of Christ, and of his gospel, saying with the apostles, Whether it be right in the sight of God, that we should obey you more than God, judge ye.

*A tragical, lamentable, and pitiful History of a most cruel and tyrannical Murder, done by the Catholics, upon three WOMEN and an INFANT; to wit, the Mother, her two Daughters, and the Child, in the Isle of Guernsey, for Christ's true Religion, July 18, 1556.*

Amongst all and singular histories touched in this book before, as there be many pitiful, divers lamentable, some horrible and tragical; so is there none almost either in cruelty to be compared, or so far off from all compassion and sense of humility, as this merciless act of the Papists, done in the isle of Guernsey, upon three women and an infant, whose names be these as follow:

Katharine Cawches, the mother;  
Guillemine Gilbert, the daughter;  
Perotine Massey, the other daughter;  
An Infant, the son of Perotine.

But before I come to the purpose of this story, it will be necessary, for the better explaining of the matter, to begin first with the circumstances, whereupon the first occasion did rise of this tragical cruelty; the case was this:—

The 17th day of May, anno 1556, in the isle of Guernsey, in a town there called St. Peter's Port, was a naughty woman named Vincent Gosset, who being evil-disposed, went the day aforesaid to the house of one Nicholas le Conrouney, dwelling in the town of the said St. Peter's Port, about ten of the clock at night, and there taking the key of the house, (lying under the door,) entered into a chamber toward the street, where she espying a cup of silver within a cupboard, took it away, and so conveyed herself out of the house again. Who immediately after this fact done (whether by counsel or what occasion else I have not to say) brought the said cup to one Perotine Massey, an honest woman, dwelling in the said town, desiring her to lend her sixpence upon the same.

Perotine seeing the cup, and suspecting (as truth was) the same to be stolen, answered, that she would not take it; yet nevertheless, having knowledge of the owner thereof, took it to restore it again to whom it did appertain, and to the end she should not carry it to another, gave her then presently sixpence. Where moreover is to be noted, that Thomas Effart saith and testifieth, that knowledge was given by the said Perotine to Conrouney, touching the stealing of this piece, who soon upon the misliking thereof attached the said Vincent Gosset of the trespass; who being apprehended and examined upon the same, immediately confessed the fact, desiring to have one sent with her (who was Collis de Lou-

tre) with sixpence, to fetch again the goblet, where it was; and so did.

The next day following, the king's officers being informed of the premises by one Nicholas Cary, of the said town, constable, assembled the justices there to require and examine further, as well upon the fact of Vincent Gosset, as upon other griefs and things there amiss. So that after declaration made by the officers and constable before the justice, for that the said constable did report to have found a certain vessel of pewter in the house of the aforesaid Perotine Massey, (who then dwelt with her mother Katharine Cawches, and her sister Guillemine Gilbert,) the which vessel did bear no mark, and especially for that there was a pewter dish, whereof the name was scraped out; their bodies upon the same were attached and put in prison, and their moveable goods taken by inventory. Within a few days after these things thus done and past, these three women abiding thus in durance in the castle, made their supplication to the justices to have justice ministered unto them, viz. If they had offended the law, then to let them have the law; if not, beseeching to grant them the benefit of subjects, &c. Which supplication put up, thereupon they were appointed to come to their answer the fifth day of June, in the year aforesaid. Upon which day, after close examining of the matter, and the honest answering of the cause by the said good women, at the last they submitted themselves to the report of their neighbours, that they were no thieves, nor evil-disposed persons, but lived truly and honestly, as became Christian women to do, the false and untrue report of their accusers notwithstanding.

So the cause being thus debated, after the inquiry made by the king's officers, they were found by the said neighbours not guilty of that they were charged with, but had lived always as honest women among them; saving only that to the commandments of holy church they had not been obedient, &c. Upon this trial and verdict of their neighbours, it was in fine adjudged, first, that the said Vincent Gosset, being attainted of felony, and condemned for the same, should be whipped, and after her ear being nailed to the pillory, should so be banished out of the isle without further punishment. And as touching the other three women, the mother with her two daughters, for their not coming to church, they were returned prisoners again into the castle the first of July. And thus far concerning the true discourse of this matter, with all the circumstances of the same, according to the faithful tenor and testimony of the Guernsey men, written with their own hands both in the French and English tongue, wherein you see what false surmised matter was pretended against these women, and nothing proved, and how by the attestation of their neighbours they were fully cleared of the fact, and should by the temporal court have been dismissed, had not the spiritual clergymen picked matter of religion against them, exercised such extremity in persecuting these miserable prisoners, that in no case they should escape their bloody hands, till at length they had brought them (as you shall hear) to their final end. For after the time of this declaration above mentioned made by the neighbours, whereby they were purged of all other things, and being then known of their not coming to the church, the bailiffs, lieutenant, and the justice, thinking the matter not to pertain to them, but to the clergy, forthwith wrote their letter or mandate under their signets to the dean, whose name was Jaques Arny, and curates of the said isle; and the tragical result of this council of wicked priests and magistrates, was too soon made manifest. The contents of the letters here followeth:

*A Letter sent from the Bailiffs, Lieutenants, and Jurates, of St. Peter's Port, to the Dean and Curates of the Isle of Guernsey.*

'Master dean and justices in your court and jurisdiction, after all amicable recommendations, pleaseth you to know, that we are informed by the deposition of certain honest men, past before us in a manner of an inquiry; in the which inquiry Katharine Cawches, and her two daughters, have submitted themselves in a certain matter criminal: wherein we be informed, that they have been disobedient to the commandments and ordinances of the church, in contemning and forsaking the mass, and the ordinances of the same, against the will and commandment of our sovereign lord the king and queen. Whereof we send you the said matter, forasmuch as the matter is spiritual, to the end you may proceed therein after your good discretions, and as briefly as you can possibly, and also that it pertaineth to your office; recommending you to God, the which give you grace to do that which pertaineth to right and justice. Written the first day of the month of July, in the year of our Lord 1556.'

After these letters and information thus addressed to Jaques Amy, dean, and to other of the clergy, the said women were again convened before the justice aforesaid, with his assistants. In the presence of whom they being examined of their faith, concerning the ordinances of the Romish church; made their answer, that they would obey and keep the ordinances of the king and queen, and the commandments of the church, notwithstanding that they had said and done the contrary in the time of king Edward VI. in shewing obedience to his ordinances and commandments before. After which answer taken, they were returned again to prison, until the other had an answer of their letter from the dean and his accomplices. During which time, the dean and curate gave their information touching the said women, and delivered the same to the bailiff and jurates, condemning and reputing them for heretics; the women neither hearing of any information, neither yet being ever examined at any time before of their faith and religion. Whereupon when the said bailiff and jurates understood that the said dean and curates had not examined the women of their faith, they would not sit in judgment on that day, but ordained the women to come first before the dean and curates to be examined of their faith. And so the officers, at the commandment of the justices, did fetch and present them before the said dean and curates. The which being done, they were examined apart severally one from another; after which examination they were returned to prison.

Then the 14th day of the said month of July, in the year aforesaid, after the examination above specified, before Elier Gosselin, bailiff, in the presence of Thomas Devicke, Pierres Martine, Nicholas Cary, John Blundel, Nicholas de Lisle, John Laverchaunt, John le Fever, Pierres Bonany, Nicholas Martine, John de la March, jurates; sir Jaques Amy, dean; and the curates; did deliver before the justice, under the seal of the dean, and under the signs of the curates, a certain act and sentence, the sum whereof was, That Katharine Cawches and her two daughters were found heretics, and such they reputed them, and have delivered them to justice, to do execution according to the sentence.

When this was done, commandment was given to the king's officers to go to the castle to fetch the said women, to hear the sentence against them in the presence aforesaid: and they appearing before them, said in the ears of all the auditory, that they would see their accusers, and know them

that have deposed against them, because they might make answers to their sayings and personages, and to have their libel accordingly; for they knew not that they had offended the majesties of the king and queen, nor of the church, but entirely would obey, serve, and keep the ordinances of the king and queen, and of the church, as all good and true subjects are bound to do. And for any breach of the king and queen's laws that they had done, they required justice. All which their reasons and allegations notwithstanding, the said poor women were condemned, and adjudged to be burnt, until they were consumed into ashes, according to a sentence given by Elier Gosselin, bailiff.

After which sentence pronounced, the said women did appeal unto the king and queen and honourable council, saying, That against reason and right they were condemned, and for that cause they made their appeal; notwithstanding, they could not be heard, but were delivered by the said bailiff to the king and queen's officers, to see the execution done on them according to the said sentence.

The time then being come, when these three good servants and holy saints of God, the innocent mother with her two daughters, should suffer in the place where they should consummate their martyrdom, were three stakes set up. At the middle post was the mother, the eldest daughter on the right hand, the youngest on the other. They were first strangled, but the rope brake before they were dead, and so the poor women fell into the fire. Perotine, who was then great with child, did fall on her side, where happened a rueful sight, not only to the eyes of all that there stood, but also to the ears of all true-hearted Christians that shall read this history: for as the belly of the woman burst asunder by the vehemency of the flame, the infant, being a fair man-child, fell into the fire, and eftsoons being taken out of the fire by one W. House, was laid upon the grass.

Then was the child had to the provost, and from him to the bailiff, who gave censure that it should be carried back again and cast into the fire. And so the infant, baptized in his own blood, to fill up the number of God's innocent saints, was both born and died a martyr, leaving behind to the world, which it never saw, a spectacle wherein the whole world may see the Herodian cruelty of this graceless generation of Catholic tormentors. *Ad perpetuam rei infamiam.*

Now forsomuch as this story perhaps, for the horrible strangeness of the fact, will be hardly believed of some, but rather thought to be forged, or else more amplified of me than truth will bear me out; therefore, to discharge my credit herein, I have not only foretold thee a little before how I received this story by the faithful relation both of the French and English, of them which were there present witnesses, and lookers upon; but also have hereto annexed the true supplication of the said inhabitants of Guernsey, and of the brother of the said two sisters, complaining to the queen and her commissioners concerning the horribleness of the act; which supplication, for the more evidence, hereunder followeth to be seen.

*"To the Right Hon. and the Queen's Highness' most gracious Commissioners for the hearing and determining Matters of Religion and Causes Ecclesiastical.*

"Most lamentably and woefully complaining, sheweth unto your gracious and honourable lordships, your poor and humble orator, Matthew Cawches, of the isle of Guernsey, that whereas Jaques Amy, clerk, dean of the isle aforesaid, assisted by the curates there, against all order, law, and reason, by colour of a sentence of heresy, pronounced against

Katharine Cawches, the sister of your honours' said supplicant, and Perotine and Guillemine, her two daughters, did cause the said Katharine, being a poor widow, and her said two daughters, most cruelly to be burned, although the said persons, nor any of them, did hold, maintain, or defend, any thing directly against the ecclesiastical laws then in place, under the reign of the late queen Mary, but in all things submitted themselves obediently to the laws then in force: and yet the cruelty of the said dean and his accomplices, in perpetrating such murder as aforesaid, raged so far, that whereas whilst the said persons did consume with violent fire, the womb of the said Perotine being burned, there did issue from her a goodly man-child, which by the officers was taken up and handled, and after in a most despitely manner thrown into the fire, and there also with the mother most cruelly burnt. In tender consideration whereof, and forsomuch as this bloody murder was not in due order of any law, or in any manner according to justice, but of mere malicious hatred, as the true copy of the whole proceedings, in this matter, by the said dean and his accomplices, here ready to be shewed to your honours, will make very plain and manifest. It may therefore please your good and gracious lordships, of the zeal that you bear to justice, and for our Lord Jesus Christ's sake, to have due consideration in justice of such horrible murder, so cruelly committed as aforesaid, according to the right demerit thereof. And that it may please your honourable lordships to order and decree also, that all the goods of all the said parties, by pretence aforesaid wrongfully taken as confiscate, may be delivered to your said poor beseecher, to whom of right they do belong. And your honours' said supplicant will daily pray to God for your long preservation, to his glory, and your everlasting health."

This supplication being presented in manner aforesaid to the queen's honourable commissioners in the year 1562, such order therein was taken, that the matter being returned again down to the said country further to be examined, the dean thereupon was committed to prison, and dispossessed of all his livings. So that in conclusion, both he, and all other partakers of that bloody murder, whether of conscience, or for fear of the law, were driven not long after to acknowledge their trespass, and to submit themselves to the queen's pardon. The tenor of whose several submissions, as they are left in the rolls, I thought here to publish to the world, for a memorial of the more truth of this story.

*The several Submissions of certain Guernsey Men, confessing their Trespass in the wrongful Condemnation of the above three Women.*

"Elier Gosseline, of the parish of St. Peter le Port, in Guernsey, merchant, Nicholas Cary, the elder, John Merchant, Peter Bonamy, of the parish of St. Martin, and Nicholas Martin, son of John, having humbly submitted themselves to the queen's most excellent majesty, acknowledging their erroneous judgments, as well against Katharine Cawches, and Guillemine and Perotine, her two daughters, and the infant of the said Perotine, executed by fire for supposed heresy, as also for the acquitting of Nicholas Norman, a wilful murderer, and other matters contained in their several submissions; pray the queen's majesty's pardon for the said crimes and others committed in their several submissions.

"John Blundel, the elder, of the parish of St. Saviour, within the isle of Guernsey, upon like submission and acknowledging of his offence, prayeth like grace and pardon, for his consent given to the execution of the said three women.

"Richard Devicke, of the parish of St. Peter le Port, merchant, prayeth like grace and pardon, for his consent and judgment given for the acquitting of the said Norman, according to his supplication and submission late presented by Peter Bonamy, the same Devicke, and Peter Pelley, of the parish of St. Peter le Port, merchants.

"The said Peter Pelley prayeth the benefit of the said pardon to be extended unto him, according to his submission in the said supplication.

"Jaques Amy, clerk, prayeth the benefit of the said pardon for his sentence with the clergies against the said women, according to his submission," &c. &c.

*The Burning of THOMAS MOOR, in the Town of Leicester, June 26, 1556.*

As the bloody rage of this persecution spared neither man, woman, nor child, wife nor maid, lame, blind, nor cripple, and so through all men and women, as there was no difference either of age or sex considered, so neither was there any condition or quality respected of any person: but whosoever he were that held not as they did on the pope and sacrament of the altar, were he learned or unlearned, wise or simply innocent, all went to the fire, as may appear by this simple poor creature and innocent soul, named Thomas Moor, retained as a servant to a man's house in the town of Leicester, about the age of 24, and after manner of an husbandman; who for speaking certain words, that his Maker was in heaven, and not in the pix, was thereupon apprehended in the country, being with his friends; who coming before his ordinary, first was asked whether he did not believe his Maker there to be? (pointing to the high altar.) Which he denied.

Then asked the bishop, How then dost thou believe? The young man answered again, As his Creed did teach him.

To whom the bishop said, And what is yonder that thou seest above the altar? He answering, said, Forsooth, I cannot tell what you would have me to see; I see there fine clothes, with golden tassels, and other gay gear, hanging about the pix: what is within I cannot see.

Why, dost thou not believe, said the bishop, Christ to be there, flesh, blood, and bone? No, that I do not, said he.

Whereupon the ordinary, making short with him, read the sentence, and so condemned this true and faithful servant of Christ to death, in St. Margaret's church in Leicester: who was burnt, and suffered a joyful and glorious martyrdom, for the testimony of righteousness, in the same town of Leicester, the year above mentioned, 1556, about the 26th of June.

To this Thomas Moor we have also annexed the answers and examination of one *John Jackson*, before Dr. Cook, one of the commissioners, for that it belongeth much unto the same time.

*The EXAMINATION of JOHN JACKSON, had before Dr Cook, the 11th of March.*

First, when I came before him, he railed on me, and called me heretic. I answered and said, I am no heretic.

Yes, quoth he; for Mr. Read told me, that thou wast the rankest heretic of all them in the King's Bench. I said, I knew him not. No! quoth he; yes, he examined thee at the King's Bench. I answered him, and said, He examined five others, but not me.

Then answer me, said he: What sayest thou to the blessed sacrament of the altar, tell me? I answered, It is a diffuse question to ask me at the first dash, you promising to deliver me.

What an heretic is this! quoth he. I said, It is easier to call a man heretic than to prove him one.

Then he said, What church art thou of?—What church! quoth I; I am of the same church that is builded on the foundation of the prophets and the apostles, Jesus Christ being the head corner-stone.

Thou art an heretic, quoth he. Yea! quoth I, how can that be, seeing that I am of that church? I am sure that you will not say that the prophets and apostles were heretics.

No, quoth he: but what sayest thou to the blessed sacrament of the altar again, tell me?

I answered him and said, I find it not written. No, quoth he: keeper, away with him.

Yet I tarried there long, and did talk with him; and I said, Sir, I can be content to be tractable and obedient to the word of God.

He answered and said to me, that I knew not what the word of God meant, nor yet whether it were true or not. I answered, and said to him, Yea, that I do. Whereby? quoth he. Hereby, said I: Our Saviour Christ saith, "Search the scriptures; for in them you think to have eternal life: for they be they that testify of me.

This is a wise proof! quoth he.

Is it so? quoth I: what say you then to these words that the prophet David said, Whatsoever he be that feareth the Lord, he will shew him the way that he hath chosen: his soul shall dwell at ease, and his seed shall possess the land. The secrets of the Lord are among them that fear him, and he sheweth them his covenant?

Well, quoth he, you shall be rid shortly one way or other.

Then I said to him, My life lieth not in man's hands; therefore no man shall do more unto me than God will suffer him.

No! quoth he. Thou art a stubborn and naughty fellow.

You cannot so judge of me, quoth I, except you did see some evil by me.

No! quoth he. Why may not I judge thee, as well as thou and thy fellows judge us, and call us Papists?

Why, quoth I, that is no judgment: but Christ saith, If you refuse me, and receive not my word, you have one that judgeth you: the word that I have spoken unto you now, shall judge you in the last day.

I pray thee tell me, who is the head of the congregation? said he.

I answered and said, Christ is the head.

But who is the head in earth? quoth he.

I said, Christ hath members here in earth.

Who are they? quoth he.

They, said I, that are ruled by the word of God.

You are a good fellow, quoth he.

I am that I am, quoth I.

Then he said to my keeper, Have him to prison again.

I am contented with that, quoth I.

And so we departed. I answered no further in this matter, because I thought he should not have my blood in a corner. But I hope in the living God, that when the time shall come, before the congregation I shall shake their building after another manner of fashion; for they build but upon the sand, and their walls be daubed with untempered mortar, and therefore they cannot stand long.

Therefore, good brothers and sisters, be of good cheer; for I trust in my God I and my other prison-fellows shall go

joyfully before you, praising God most heartily that we are counted worthy to be witnesses of his truth. I pray you accept my simple answer at this time, committing you unto God.

[Of this John Jackson, besides these his aforesaid answers and examination before Dr. Cook, one of the commissioners, no more came unto our hands.]

### *The Martyrdom of JOAN WASTE, a blind Woman, in the Town of Derby.*

This poor woman, during the time of king Edward VI. used to frequent the church to hear divine service in the vulgar tongue, together with homilies and sermons, by which means she became confirmed and established in the principles of the reformed religion.

Having purchased a New Testament in English, she applied to an old man, whom she paid for reading such passages as she directed him; by which means she became so well versed in the holy scriptures, that she could repeat entire chapters by heart, and by citing proper texts of scripture, would reprove the errors in religion, as well as the vicious customs and practices, that prevailed in those days.

Thus did this pious woman increase in the knowledge of God's word, leading a life of exemplary godliness, without molestation, or any kind of interruption, during the reign of good king Edward.

But on his demise, and the introduction of Popery, with the accession of queen Mary, because she continued steadfast in the profession of that faith she had embraced from the knowledge of the divine word, and refused to communicate with those who maintained contrary doctrines, she was brought before Dr. Ralph Baine, bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, and Dr. Draycott, the chancellor, as one suspected of heresies, and by them committed to Derby prison.

She was divers times privately examined by Peter Finch, the bishop's official, and afterwards brought to public examination before the bishop, his chancellor, and several more of the queen's commissioners; when the following articles were alleged against her:

1. That she held the sacrament of the altar to be only a memorial, or representation, of Christ's body, and material bread and wine; and that it ought not to be reserved from time to time, but immediately received.

2. That she held, that in the receiving the sacrament of the altar, she did not receive the same body that was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered on the cross for the redemption of mankind.

3. That she held, that Christ at his last supper did not only bless the bread which he had then in his hands, but was blessed himself; and that by virtue of the words of consecration, the substance of the bread and wine was not converted nor turned into the substance of the body and blood of Christ.

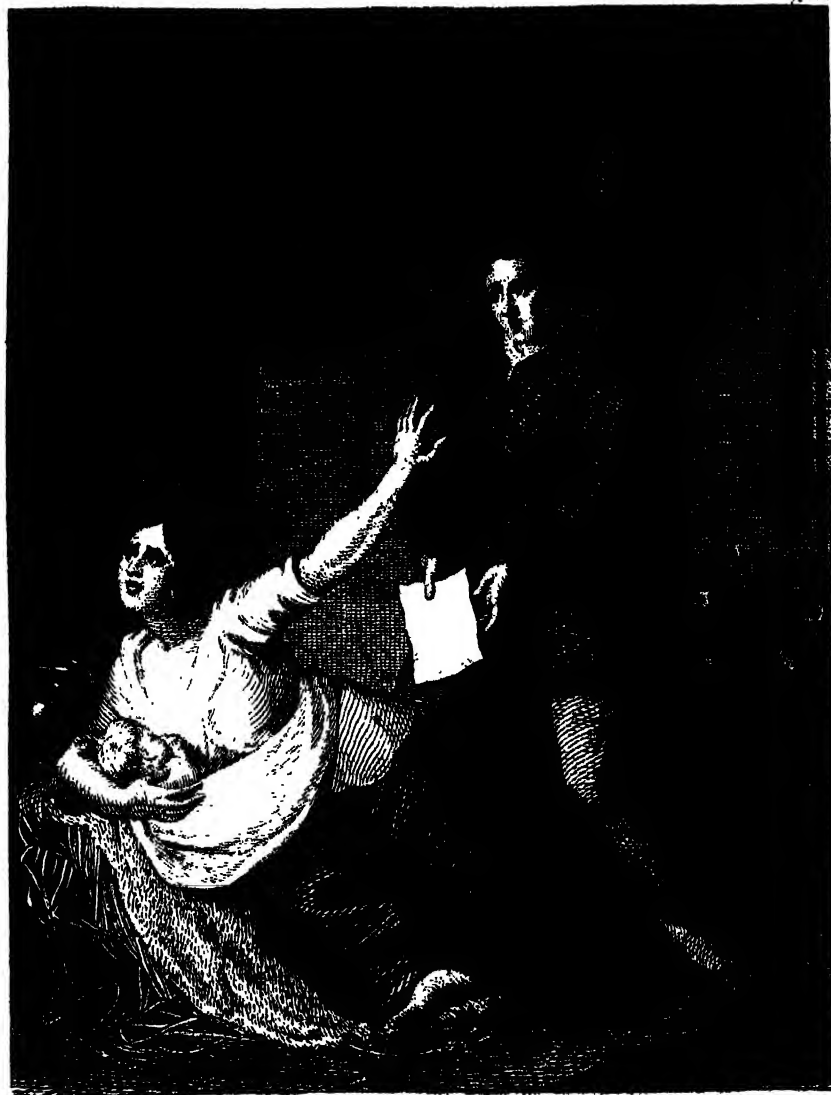
4. That she granted she was of the parish of Allhallows, in Derby, and that all and singular the premises were true.

To these respective articles she answered, that she believed just as much as the holy scriptures taught her, and according to what she had heard preached by many pious and learned men; some of whom suffered imprisonment, and others death, for the same doctrine.

Among others, she mentioned Dr. Taylor, and asked, if they would follow his example in testimony of their doctrine? which, unless they were willing to do, she desired, for God's sake, they would not trouble her, (being a poor, blind, and illiterate woman,) declaring at the same time, she was ready











to yield up her life in defence of that faith she had publicly professed.

The bishop and his chancellor urged many arguments in proof of the doctrine of the real presence in the sacrament of the altar, demanding why Christ was not as able to make the bread his body, as to turn water into wine, to raise Lazarus from the dead, and the like; threatening her at the same time with imprisonment, torments, and death.

The poor woman, terrified at these threatenings, told the bishop, if he would before that company take it upon his conscience, that the doctrine which he would have her to believe, concerning the sacrament, was true, and that he would, at the lawful tribunal of God, answer for her therein, (as Dr. Taylor in several sermons had offered,) she would then further answer them.

The bishop declaring that he would, the chancellor said to him, "My lord, you know not what you do; you may in no case answer for an heretic."

The bishop, struck by this interposition of the chancellor, demanded of the woman, whether she would recant or not, and told her she should answer for herself.

This honest Christian finding, at length, they designed but to prevaricate, told his lordship, that if he refused to take upon himself to answer for the truth of what they required her to believe, she would answer no farther; but desired them to do their pleasure.

In consequence of this, sentence of death was pronounced against her, and she was delivered to the sheriff, who immediately conducted her to the prison at Derby.

On the first of August, 1556, the day appointed for her execution, she was led to the stake. Immediately on her arrival at the fatal spot, she knelt down, and in the most fervent manner repeated several prayers she had been accustomed to use, and desired the spectators to pray also for her departing soul. Having finished her prayers, she arose, and was fastened to the stake; when, the faggots being lighted, she called on the Lord to have mercy on her, and continued so to do till the flame deprived her both of speech and life. And thus did this poor woman quit this mortal stage, to obtain a life of immortality, the sure and certain reward of all those who suffer for the sake of the true gospel of their blessed Redeemer.

On the 8th of September, one *Edward Sharp* was burnt at Bristol; and on the 25th of the same month, a young man, by trade a carpenter, suffered at the same place.

The day preceding the last martyrdom, *John Hart*, a shoemaker, and *Thomas Ravendale*, a currier, were burnt at Mayfield in Sussex. And on the 27th of the same month, one *John Horn*, and a woman, suffered at Wotton-under-Edge, in Gloucestershire.

All these martyrs submitted to their fate with the most Christian fortitude, giving glory to God for having numbered them among the followers and advocates of his most holy gospel.

The last we find recorded, who suffered for the truth of the gospel in the bloody year 1556, were five persons, (confined with many others in Canterbury castle,) who were cruelly starved to death. Their names were as follow:

*William Foster, Alice Potkins, John Archer*, condemned.

*John Clark, Dunstan Chittenden*, not condemned.

The cruel usage these unhappy persons suffered from their unfeeling persecutors, is displayed in a letter written by one of them, and thrown out of the window of the prison; of which the following is an exact copy.

"Be it known unto all men that shall read, or hear read, these our letters, that we the poor prisoners of the castle of Canterbury, for God's truth, are kept and lie in cold irons, and our keepers will not suffer any meat to be brought to us to comfort us. And if any man do bring us any thing, as bread, butter, cheese, or any other food, the said keeper will charge them that so bring us any thing, except money or raiment, to carry it back again; or else if he do receive any food of any for us, he doth keep it for himself, and he and his servants do spend it, so that we have nothing thereof; and thus the keeper keepeth away our victuals from us; insomuch, that there are four of us prisoners here for God's truth, famished already; and thus it is his mind to famish us all; and we think he is appointed thereunto by the bishops and priests, and also of the justices, so to famish us, and not only us of the said castle, but also all other prisoners, for the like cause to be also famished: notwithstanding, we write not these our letters to that intent we might not afford to be famished for the Lord Jesus' sake, but for this cause and intent, that they, having no law to famish us in prison, should not do it privily, but that the murderers' hearts should be openly known to all the world, that all men may know of what church they are, and who is their father.—Out of the castle of Canterbury."

*A pitiful Story concerning the unmerciful handling of WILLIAM DANGERFIELD, and JOAN his Wife, being in Child-bed, taken out of her house, with her sucking Infant of fourteen days old, and laid in the common gaol amongst thieves and murderers.*

When I had written and finished the story of the Guernsey women, with the young infant there with them burned, and also had passed the burning of the poor blind woman, Joan Waste, at Derby, I well hoped I should have found no more such stories of unmerciful cruelty shewed upon weak women, with their children and young infants: but now coming to the persecution of Gloucestershire, about Bristol, I find another story of such unmercifulness shewed against a woman in child-bed, as far from all charity and humanity as hath been any other story yet hitherto rehearsed, as by the sequel hereof may appear.

In the parish of Wotton Underedge, not far from Bristol, was dwelling one W. Dangerfield, a right honest and godly poor man, who by Joan Dangerfield, his wife, had nine children, and she now lying in child-bed of the tenth. This William, after he had been abroad from his house a certain space, for fear of persecution, hearing that his wife was brought to bed, repaired home to visit her, as natural duty required, and to see his children, she being now delivered four days before.

The return of this man was not so soon known to some of his unkind and uncharitable neighbours, but they, incensed with the spirit of Papistry, soon beset the house about, and there took the same William Dangerfield, and carried him to prison, and so at length he was brought to the bishop, being then Brooks, in whose cruel handling he remained a certain space, so long, till his legs almost were fretted off with irons.

After the apprehension of the husband, the wife likewise was taken, with her young born child, being but fourteen days old, out of child-bed, and carried into the common gaol, and there placed among thieves and murderers, where both she and her poor innocent found so small charity among the Catholic men, that she never could come to any fire, but was driven to warm the clothes that she should put about the child in her bosom.

In the mean season, while they lay thus enclōsed in different prisons, the husband and the wife, the bishop beginneth to practise, not with the woman first, as the serpent did with Eve, but with the man, craftily deceiving his simplicity with fair glozing words, falsely persuading him that his wife had recanted, and asking him wherefore he should more stand in his own conceit than she, being as well learned as he, and so subtly drew out a form of recantation, wherewith he deceived the simple soul. Whereunto after he had once granted that he would consent, although he had not yet recanted, they suffered him to go to his wife, where she lay in the common gaol.

Then they with melting hearts opened their minds one to another, when he saw his wife not released, and perceiving that he had not done well, he declared unto her the whole matter, how falsely he was circumvented by the subtle flattering of the bishop, telling him that certainly she had recanted; and thus deceiving me, said he, brought this unto me, (and so plucked out of his bosom the copy of the recantation, whereunto he had granted his promise;) at the sight wherof the wife hearing what her husband had done, her heart clave asunder, saying, Alack, thus long have we continued one, and hath Satan so prevailed to cause you to break your first vow made to Christ in baptism? And so departed the said William and Joan his wife, with what hearts the Lord knoweth. Then began he not a little to bewail his promise made to the bishop, and to make his prayer to Almighty God, desiring him that he might not live so long as to call evil good, and good evil, or light darkness, or darkness light; and so departed he home towards his house, where, by the way homeward (as it is affirmed) he took his death, and shortly after departed, according to his prayer, after he had endured in prison twelve weeks.

After this, Joan, his wife, continued still in prison with her tender infant, till at last she was brought before that bishop to be examined: wherunto, what her answers were, it is not certainly known; howbeit, most like it is, whatsoever they were, they pleased not the bishop, as appeared by his ire increased against the poor woman, and her long continuance in the prison, together with her tender babe, which also remained with her in the gaol, partaker of her martyrdom, so long as her milk would serve to give it suck, till at length, the child being starved for cold and famine, was sent away, when it was past all remedy, and so shortly after died; and not long after the mother also followed. Besides, the old woman, which was mother of the husband, of the age of eighty years and upward, being left in the house after their apprehension, for lack of comfort there perished also.

And thus have ye in one story the death of four together: first of the old woman, then of the husband, after that of the innocent child, and lastly of the mother. What became of the other nine children, I am not perfectly sure, but that I partly understand that they were all undone by the same.

This story is reported and testified as well by others, as namely by Mrs. Bridges, dwelling in the same town, and partaker theu of the like afflictions, and hardly escaped with her life.

#### *The Trouble and Vexation of good People in the Diocese of Litchfield.*

The months of September, November, and December, as they were troublesome to divers other places, and especially to the diocese of Canterbury, by reason of the archdeacon; so likewise they brought no little business in the country to Litchfield and Coventry, by a cruel bishop there named Ralph Baine, and a more cruel chancellor named Dr. Draycott,

through the fierce inquisition of whom great stir was there among the people, being called to examination of their faith, and many caused to bear faggots; who, although they were not put to the torment of death, yet because it may appear what a number there is in the countries of England abroad, which in their hearts have a misliking of the pope's Romish laws and religion, if for fear they durst utter their minds, I thought to make a rehearsal of their names, which in the aforesaid diocese of Coventry and Litchfield were taken on suspicion, and examined for their religion.

And first, amongst them that were detected, and enjoined to the Popish penance, that is, to bear a faggot, candle, and beads, about in procession, was Agnes Foreman detected, examined, and by witness convicted, and bare a faggot the 12th of September. Likewise Margery Kerry, Thomas Norris, Thomas Stille, William Kaime, Robert Katreues, Thomas Smith, John Borsley the younger. Item, John Waterhouse, against whom came in witness and accusers Richard Caterbanke, J. Edge, William Smith, and Robert Cooke, laying against him for seldom coming to the church, for giving no reverence at the elevation of the sacrament, but looking upon his book, for not kissing the pix, &c. Robert Bissel, Leonard West, and Richard Bailey, of the parish of Whitacre.

These were deprived: Nicholas Cartwright, doctor, Richard Jurdain, priest, Edm. Crockel, priest, Thomas Whitehead, priest, William Taylor, priest, Anselm Sele, priest, Richard Slavy, priest, married, Edward Hawkes, priest, married, Robert Aston, priest, deprived, Henry Teeka, priest, deprived, and Robert Mossey, priest, married and deprived.

#### *The conclusion of Fox's Eleventh Book, with a brief Story of Sir JOHN CHEEKE, &c.*

And thus have ye the whole persecution of this year declared, which was the year of our Lord 1556, and the fourth year of Mary's reign, with the names and causes of all them which suffered martyrdom within the compass of the said year: the number of all which, slain and martyred in divers places of England at sundry times this year, came to above eighty-four persons, whereof many were women, wives, widows, and maidens; besides them which otherwise by secret practice were made away, or driven out of goods and houses, or out of the realm, or else within the realm were put to penance, and by forcible violence obliged to recant; save only that I have omitted the story of Sir John Cheeke, knight, and schoolmaster sometime of king Edward. The worthiness of which man deserveth much to be said of him; but his fall should rather be covered in silence and oblivion. Only to note a word or two of a few things to the present story most principally appertaining, it shall suffice.

First, Mr. Cheeke being in Germany, out of all danger of persecution, with many more of his own countrymen and acquaintance, was not only in safety, but also with reputation accordingly esteemed among the Germans, and also well placed in the city of Strasbourg; where, if he had contented himself to have remained, rather giving place to time than to presume upon adventures, peradventure it had been better with him. But what fatal instigation wrought in his mind I know not. In the end so it fell, that he would needs take his journey with sir Peter Carew, from high Germany unto Brussels, and that (as I have credibly heard of them which knew somewhat) not without the forecasting of his adventured journey by the configuration of the stars, and disposition of the heavens above. For as he was a man famously expert and travelled in the knowledge of sundry arts and sciences; so he was a little too much addicted to



the curious practising of this star-divinity, which we call Astrology. But howsoever it was, or whatsoever it was, that the stars did promise him, truth was, that men here on earth kept little promise with him. For having (as it is said) king Philip's safe-conduct to pass and repass, and that by the means, as I find, of the lord Paget and sir John Mas, pledging for his safeguard king Philip's fidelity, he came to Brussels to see the queen's ambassadors: and having brought the lord Paget on his way toward England, in the return between Brussels and Antwerp he was taken with sir Peter Carew by the provost marshal, spoiled of their horses, and clapped into a cart, their legs, arms, and bodies tied with halters to the body of the cart, and so shipped, being blindfold, under the hatches, and so brought to the Tower of London.

Thus the good man being entrapped, and in the hands now of his enemies, had but one of these two ways to take, either to change his religion, or to change his life; other remedy with those holy Catholics there was none. Neither could his conscience excuse him, nor truth defend him, nor learning help him. And although Mr. Fecknam, whether by the queen suborned, or upon his own devotion or friendship toward his old acquaintance, took upon him the defence and commendation of Mr. Checke, speaking in his behalf: yet so mercy could be had with the queen, but he must needs recant; and so he did.

After this recantation, he was through the crafty handling of the Catholics allured first to dine and company with them, at length drawn unawares to sit in place where the poor martyrs were brought before Bonner and other bishops to be condemned; the remorse whereof so mightily wrought in his heart, that not long after he left this mortal life. Whose fall, although it was full of infirmity, yet his rising again by repentance was great, and his end comfortable, the Lord be praised.

The bloody Doings and Persecutions of the Adversaries against the faithful and true Servants of Christ, with the particular Processes and Names of such as were put to slaughter from the beginning of January, 1557, the fifth year of QUEEN MARY.

*The Order and Manner of the Cardinal's Visitation in Cambridge, with the condemning, taking up, and burning, the Bones and Books of BUCER and PAULUS PHAGIUS, Jan. the 9th, 1557.*

Cardinal Pole, three years after his return into England, having somewhat withdrawn his mind from other affairs of the realm, and having in all points established the Romish religion, began to have an eye to the university of Cambridge, which place among others specially seemed to have need of reformation. To perform this charge, were chosen Cuthbert Scot, not long before consecrated bishop of Chester; Nicholas Ormanet, an Italian, archpriest of the people of Bodolen, in the diocese of Vernon, professed in both the laws, and bearing the name of the pope's datary; Thomas Watson, elected bishop of Lincoln; John Christopherson, elected bishop of Chichester, and Henry Cole, provost of the college of Eaton. There was good cause why the matter was especially committed to these persons; for as touching Ormanet, it is well known that he was a man of much estimation with Julius the Third, at that time the bishop of Rome, and was appointed to come into England with Cardinal Pole, because without his knowledge (as in whom he put his chief trust and

confidence) the bishop would have nothing done that was of any importance or weight.

These persons thus appointed, in the mean while as the visitors were addressing themselves to their journey, sent their letters with the cardinal's citation before to Dr. Andrew Pern, vice-chancellor then of Cambridge, with the other commissioners associate, commanding him to warn all the graduates of the university, in their name, to be in readiness against the 11th day of January, betwixt eight and ten of the clock, in the church of St. Mary the Virgin; willing him especially to be there himself in presence and also to set forward all the residue, to whose charge it belonged, that they should search out all statutes, books, privileges, and monuments, appertaining to the university, or to any of the colleges, or finally to any of themselves, and there to present the same before them at the day appointed, and every man to appear there personally; for they would not fail, but be there at the same time, to lay before them such things as should seem necessary to this charge of reforming the university, and further to give charge of all such things as should seem most for the profit and behoof of the same, together with such things as were to be done, on their part, according as should seem most agreeable to the decrees of the canon law.

This citation of the cardinal being brought to Cambridge by Mr. Bullock, was first exhibited in the convocation-house of regents, and there openly read by the orator of the university the 11th of December.

After this, upon the 24th of December, which was Christmas eve, the vice-chancellor, with the heads of houses, meeting together in the schools, it was there concluded that the visitors' charges should be borne by the university and colleges, (which then cost the university an hundred pounds,) and also that no master of any college should suffer any of the fellows, scholars, or ministers, to go forth of the town, but to return before the visitation.

On Friday the 8th of January, the queen's commissioners, viz. Dr. Pern, vice-chancellor, Dr. Sedgewicke, Dr. Harvey, Mr. Franck Kust, and another who is here nameless, and also sir James Dyer, the recorder, Mr. Chapman Evered, sitting together in the hall, certain were there called by the appointment of L. Hawes, and charge given what should be done. And first the commission was read. Then were all the high-constables called to bring in their precepts, and sworn. Also two of every parish of ten or twelve hundreds, were sworn, to inquire of heresy, lollardy, conspiracy, seditious words, tales, and rumours, against the king and queen. Item, For heretical and seditious books, for negligences and misdemeanors in the church, for observation of ceremonies, for ornaments and stock of the church.

We said at the first, that the cardinal thought the university to have need of reformation. The reason why he should think so, was this: either because the same of long continuance, since any man could remember, had cast off the yoke of the bishop of Rome, and cleaved to the wholesome doctrine of the gospel; or else by reason that both for their late schism, not yet worn out of memory, and for the doctrine of Martin Bucer, who not long before openly in the said university interpreted holy scripture, they saw many so sore corrupted and spotted with this infection, that (even as when fire is spread in a town) unless a speedy remedy were adhibited out of hand, it were not possible to their thinking to quench it many years after. Who also feared, if it were not looked to in time, lest this mischief should take root, and by little and little infect all the members next unto it, which yet were whole and sound.

This was the year of our Lord 1556. To the intent therefore to make a salve for this sore, the inquisitors, of whom we spake before, came unto Cambridge the 9th day of January; and as they were yet in their journey, and far from the town, divers of the masters and presidents of the colleges met them, and brought them courteously, first into the town, and after to their lodgings.

This day, forsomuch as it was toward evening ere they came, and the sun was going down, was nothing done. The next day, being the 10th of January, they bestowed in recreating themselves after their journey, and in setting other things at a stay. Nevertheless, to the intent the same should not escape altogether without doing somewhat, they interdicted the two churches, namely, St. Mary's, where Mr. Bucer, and St. Michael's, where Paulus Phagius, lay buried.

These men were dead a good while before; Paulus Phagius had scarce yet shewed the proof of his wisdom and learning, when he departed to God, 1549. Bucer lived but a little after. During which time, somewhat by writing, but chiefly by reading and preaching openly, (wherein the old man, Bucer, being painful in the word of God, never spared himself, nor regarded his health,) he brought all men into such admiration of him, that neither his friends could sufficiently praise him, neither his enemies in any point find fault with his singular life and sincere doctrine. A most certain token whereof may be his sumptuous burial, solemnized with so great assistance and gladness of all the degrees of the university, that it was not possible to devise more to the setting out and amplifying of the same. The whole manner and order of the doing whereof being written by Mr. Nicholas Carre, a learned man, in a little treatise to sir John Cheeke, knight, with an epistle full of consolation, as concerning his departure added thereunto, was sent afterward unto Peter Martyr, then abiding at Oxford.

From the burial of Bucer and Phagius unto the coming of these visitors, were passed about three or four years, more or less. And from the time that the blessed king Edward VI. deceased, unto that day, the priests never ceased to celebrate their masses and other kind of ceremonies in those places, and that without scruple of conscience, as far as men could perceive. But after the time that these commissioners came thither, those things that before were accounted for sacred and holy, began to be denounced for profane and unholy. For they commanded that all those assemblies that should hereafter be made for the executing of holy ceremonies should be removed to the king's chapel, which is a place far more stately than all the other.

Now was come the 11th day, in which the vice-chancellor of the university, with the masters and presidents of colleges, and all the other graduates of every house, were commanded to appear before the said commissioners in their habits. It was commanded that the scholars also should come in their surplices; but that was not done. They assembled in great number to Trinity-college, having the university cross borne before them, and in the gate-house a form was set and covered with cushions, and carpets on the ground for the visitors. Where the vice-chancellor, having on a tissue cope, sprinkled holy water on them, and purposed to cense them; but they refused it there, which notwithstanding afterward in the Queen's college, and elsewhere, they refused not.

There Mr. John Stokes, common orator of the university, made an oration in the name of all the rest.

When he had made an end of speaking, the bishop of Chester answered thereunto, that they took in right good part that the mother, the university, had made so open a

declaration of her good will towards them: for the which he gave most hearty thanks, desiring her to perform in deed, and in her works, the things that she had so largely promised of herself in words and communication.

These things being finished, they were brought *processionally* to the King's-college, by all the graduates of the university, where was sung a mass of the Holy Ghost with great solemnity.

From thence they attended all upon the legates of St. Mary's church, which were declared before to have been interdicted; in which place, forsomuch as it was suspended, although no mass might be sung, yet there was a sermon made in open audience by Mr. Peacock, in the Latin tongue, preaching against heresies and heretics, as Bilney, Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, &c. Which being ended, they proceeded to the visitation; where first Dr. Harvey did in the cardinal's name exhibit the commission to the bishop of Chester, with a few words in Latin. Which being accepted, and by master clerk openly read to the end, then the vice chancellor with an oration did exhibit the certificate under his seal of office, with the cardinal's citation annexed, containing every man's name in the university and colleges, with the officers and all the masters of houses.

The next day following, being the 12th of January, they resorted to the King's-college to make inquisition; and being entered the gate, where they looked for the master and fellows of the house, seeing no man came to meet them, they proceeded forth to the church door, where they stayed. There perceiving how the master and the rest of the house were dressing themselves as fast as they could, in such order as was appointed before, they came in suddenly upon them, before they had set out any foot of their places.

Then the master excused himself that he was ready no sooner, acknowledging that it had been his duty to have been in readiness, &c.

After this they went to mass; which finished, with great solemnity first they went to the high altar of the church, and having there saluted their god, and searching whether all were about him or no, they walked through all the inner chapels of the church. The church goods, the crosses, the chalices, the mass books, the vestments, and whatsoever ornaments were besides, were commanded to be brought out unto them. When they had sufficiently viewed all things, and had called forth by name every fellow and scholar of the house, they went to the master's lodging, where first and foremost swearing them upon a book to answer to all such interrogatories as should be propounded to them, (as far as they knew,) they examined first the master himself, and afterward all the residue, every man in his turn. But there were some that refused to take this oath, because they had given their faith to the college before, and also because they thought it against all right and reason to swear against themselves: for it was contrary to all law, that a man should be compelled to bewray himself, and not be suffered to keep his conscience free, when there is no manifest proof to be laid to his charge; but much more unjust it is that a man should be constrained perforce to accuse himself. Nevertheless, these persons also, after such altercation, at length, (conditionally, that their faith given before to the college were not impeached thereby,) were contented to be sworn.

Three days long lasted the inquisition there. This was now the third day of their coming, and it was thought that the case of Bucer and Phagius was delayed longer than needed: for they looked to have had much altercation about the matter. Now, forasmuch as the present state of the case required good deliberation and advisement, the vice

chancellor and the masters of the colleges assembled at the common schools, where every man gave his verdict what he thought meet to be done in this matter of Bucer. After much debating, they agreed all together in this determination, That forasmuch as Martin Bucer whiles he lived had not only sowed pernicious and erroneous doctrine among them, but also had himself been a sectary and famous heretic, erring from the Catholic church, and giving others occasion to fall from the same likewise, a supplication should be made to the lords commissioners in the name of the whole university, that his dead carcase might be forthwith digged up, for so it was needful to be done, to the intent that inquisition might be made as touching his doctrine; the which being brought in examination, if it were not found to be good and wholesome, the law might proceed against him: for it was against the rule of the holy canons, that his body should be buried in Christian burial; yea, and besides that, it was to the open derogation of God's honour, and the violating of his holy laws, with the great peril of many men's souls, and the offence of the faithful, especially in so difficult and contagious a time as that was. And therefore the glory of God first and before all things ought to be defended, the infamy with all speed put away, no room at all left unto those persons to rest in, who even in the same places where they lay were injurious and noisome to the very elements, but the place ought to be purged, and all things so ordered as might be to the satisfying of the consciences of the weak. In executing whereof, so notable an example ought to be given to all men, that no man hereafter should be so bold to attempt the like.

They gave the same verdict by common assent upon Phagius also. Unto this writing they annexed another, by which they lawfully authorized Andrew Pern, the vice-chancellor, to be the common factor for the university. He was a man meetest for the purpose, both for the office that he bare, and also because that by the testimony of Christopherson he was deemed to be the most Catholic of all others. This supplication, confirmed by the consent of all the degrees of the university, and signed with their common seal, the next day (which was the 13th of January) the vice-chancellor put up to the commissioners.

Thus the vice-chancellor came unto the commissioners, according to the appointment made the day before, about seven of the clock in the morning. He had scarce declared the cause of his coming, but that he had not only obtained his suit, but also even at the very same time received the sentence of condemnation, for taking up Bucer and Phagius, fair copied out by Ormanet, datary, himself. This was to be confirmed by the consent of the degrees of the university. Whereupon a solemn convocation, called *Congregatio Regentium et non Regentium*, for the same purpose, was appointed to be at nine of the clock; where the graduates being assembled together, the demand was propounded concerning the condemnation of Bucer and Phagius, and the grace asked, which was this: "Pleaseth it you that Martin Bucer, for the heresies now recited, and many other by him written, preached, and taught, wherein he died without repentance, and was buried in Christian burial, may be exhumate and taken up again?" &c. After this grace, soon being granted, then was the sentence of condemnation, drawn by the datary, openly read, and immediately another grace asked, that the same might be signed with the common seal. The which request was very lightly and easily obtained.

And it was no marvel: for now after the death of king Edward, since the time that the government of the realm came to the hand of queen Mary, all such persons being

driven away as had rejected the Romish religion, (in whom well nigh alone rested whatsoever wit and learning was in the whole university besides,) such a number of rascals were put in their room, that all places now swarmed with unlearned and unnurtured chaplains; to whom nothing was greater pleasure than to cause all men to speak slander and reproach of Bucer.

The 18th day of the same month, the vice-chancellor, going to the inquisitors sitting at the King's-college, did put them in remembrance that the same was the day in the which, by their process sent forth the 16th day before they had commanded to appear in St. Mary's church, such as would take upon them to defend Bucer and Phagius by the law. He desired, therefore, that they would vouchsafe to sit there, if perchance any man would try the adventure of the law. After that they had taken their places, and that no man put forth himself to answer for the offenders, the judges called aside Dr. Young, Dr. Sedgewicke, Bullock, Taylor, Maptide, Hunter, Parker, Redman, above mentioned; also Brown, Gogman, Rud, Johnson, Mitch, Raven, and Carre, who had before written out the burial of Bucer, with a singular commendation of him, and sent it to sir John Cheeke, knight. These men, taking first their oaths upon a book, were commanded to bear witness against the heresies and doctrine of Bucer and Phagius. The 22d day of the same month was limited to this jury to bring in their verdict.

When the said day came, and that neither Bucer nor Phagius would appear at their call in the court, nor that any put forth himself to defend them; yet the courteous commissioners would not proceed to judgment, which nevertheless for their contumacy in absenting themselves they might have done, considering how that day was peremptory. But these men, being bent altogether to equity and mercy, had rather shew some favour, than to do the uttermost they might by the law! Whereupon Vincent published the second process, and set it up in the same places, as in manner before. The meaning thereof varied not much from the first, but that it put off the judgment-day unto the 26th of the same month. Upon which day the vice-chancellor was sent for to their lodging, with whom they agreed concerning the order of publishing the sentence. And because there should want no solemnity in the matter, they commanded him further to warn the mayor of the town to be there at the day appointed, with all his burgesses; which the vice-chancellor did speed with all readiness.

This day (as I said) was the 26th of January, which being now come, first all degrees of the mother university were assembled; and to fill up this pageant, thither came also the mayor and his townsmen, and all met together in St. Mary's church, to behold what there should be determined upon these men. After long attendance, at length the commissioners came forth, and went up to a scaffold that was somewhat higher than the residue prepared for the same purpose. When they had their places, Dr. Pern, the vice-chancellor, the player of this interlude, fashioning his countenance with great gravity, reached to them the process that was lately published to cite them, saying these words, "I bring forth again to you, right, rev. father, and commissioners of the most reverend my lord cardinal Pole, (pointing out the rest of his style,) this citation executed according to the purport and effect of the same;" omitting nothing for his part that might make to the commendation of this matter. When he had thus finished his tale, the bishop of Chester, after he had a little viewed the people, made an oration against Bucer and Phagius.

When he had spoken, he recited the sentence out of a scroll, and condemned Bucer and Phagius of heresy.

After the sentence was read, the bishop commanded their bodies to be digged out of their graves, and being degraded from holy orders, delivered them into the hands of the secular power. For it was not lawful for such *innocent* persons as they were, abhorring all bloodshed, and detesting all desire of murder, to put any man to death!

The vice-chancellor, therefore, taking with him Marshal, the common notary, went first to St. Michael's church, where Phagius was buried. There he called forth Andrew Smith, Henry Sawyer, and Henry Adams, men of the same parish, and bound them with an oath to dig up Phagius's bones, and bring them to the place of execution. Marshal took their oaths, receiving the like of Roger Smith and Wm. Hasell, the town sergeants, and of John Caper, warden of the same church, for doing the like with Bucer. Smith, the mayor of the town, who should be their executioner, (for it was not lawful for them to intermeddle in cases of blood!) commanded certain of his townsmen to wait upon him in harness, by whom the dead bodies were guarded: and being bound with ropes, and laid upon men's shoulders, (for they were enclosed in chests, Bucer in the same that he was buried, and Phagius in a new one,) they were borne into the midst of the market-place, with a great train of people following them. This place was prepared before, and a great post was set fast in the ground to bind the carcases to, and a great heap of wood was laid ready to burn them withal.

When they came thither, the chests were set up on end with the dead bodies in them, and fastened on both sides with stakes, and bound to the post with a long iron chain, as if they had been alive. Fire being forthwith put to, as soon as it began to flame round about, a great number of books, that were condemned with them, were cast into the same.

There was that day gathered into the town a great multitude of country folks, (for it was market-day,) who seeing men borne to execution, and learning by inquiry that they were dead before, partly detested and abhorred the extreme cruelty of the commissioners toward the rotten carcases, and partly laughed at their folly in making such preparative: For what needeth any weapon? said they, as though they were afraid that the dead bodies, which felt them not, would do them some harm; or to what purpose serveth that chain wherewith they are tied, since they might be burnt loose without peril? for it was not to be feared that they would run away.

Thus every body that stood by found fault with the cruelty of the deed, either sharply or else lightly, as every man's mind gave him; very few approved of their conduct.

*The despiteful handling and Madness of the Papists towards Peter Martyr's Wife at Oxford, taken up from her grave at the commandment of Cardinal Pole, and after buried in a dunghill.*

And because the *one university* should not mock the other, like cruelty was also declared upon the dead body of Peter Martyr's wife at Oxford, an honest, grave, and sober matron, while she lived, and always a great helper of poor people. In the year of our Lord 1552, she departed this life, with great sorrow of all those needy persons, whose necessities many times and often she had liberally eased and relieved. Now when Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, Nicholas Ormanet, datary, Robert Morwen, president of Corpus Christi college, Cole and Wright, doctors of the civil law, came thither as the cardinal's visitors, they among other things had in commission to take up this good woman again out of her grave, and to consume her carcase with fire, not doubting but that she was of the same religion that her husband had professed before, when he read the king's lecture there. And to make

a show that they would do nothing disorderly, they called all those before them that had any acquaintance with her or her husband. They ministered an oath unto them, that they should not conceal whatsoever was demanded. In fine, their answer was, that they knew not what religion she was of, by reason that they understood not her language.

To be short: after these visitors had sped the business they came for, they got them to the cardinal again, certifying him, that upon due inquisition made, they could learn nothing upon which by the law they might burn her. Notwithstanding, the cardinal did not leave the matter so, but wrote down his letters a good while after to Marshal, then dean of Frideswides, that he should dig her up, and lay her out of Christian burial, because she was interred nigh unto St. Frideswides' relics, sometime had in great reverence in that college. Dr. Marshal, calling his spades and mattocks together in the evening, caused her to be taken up, and buried in a dunghill.

Howbeit, when it pleased God under queen Elizabeth to give quietness to his church, long time persecuted with prison and death, then Dr. Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, Edm. Grindal, bishop of London, R. Goodrick, with divers others of her majesty's high commissioners in matters of religion, willed certain of that college to take her out of that unclean and dishonest place where she lay, and solemnly in the face of the whole town to bury her again in a more decent and honest monument.

Wherefore Mr. Calfield, then sub-dean of the college, diligently provided, that from Marshal's dunghill she was restored and translated to her proper place again; yea, and withal coupled her with Frideswides' bones, that in case any cardinal will be so mad hereafter to remove this woman's bones again, it shall be hard for them to discern the bones of her from the other. And to the intent the same might be notified to the minds of men the better, the next day after, which was Sunday, Mr. Rogerson preached unto the people, in which sermon by the way he declared the rough dealing of the adversaries, who were not content to practise their cruelty against the living, but that they must also rage against one that was dead, and had lain two years in her grave.

And thus much touching the noble acts of this worthy cardinal in both the universities; whereunto it shall not be impertinent here also to adjoin the blind and bloody articles set out by cardinal Pole, to be inquired upon, within the diocese of Canterbury: whereby it may the better appear what yokes and snares of fond and fruitless traditions were laid upon the poor flock of Christ, to entangle and oppress them with loss of life and liberty. By the which, wise men have to see what godly fruits proceeded from that Catholic church and see of Rome. In which, although thou seest, good reader, some *good articles* interspersed withal, let that nothing move thee; for else how could such poison be ministered; it must have some honey to relish the reader's taste.

*Here follow the Articles set forth by Cardinal Pole, to be inquired in his ordinary Visitation, within his Diocese of Canterbury.*

#### TOUCHING THE CLERGY.

1. First, Whether the divine service in the church, at times, days, hours, be observed and kept duly, or no.
2. Item, Whether the parsons, vicars, and curates, do comely and decently in their manners and doings behave themselves, or no.
3. Item, Whether they do reverently and duly minister the sacraments or sacramentals, or no.

4. Item, Whether any of their parishioners do die without ministration of the sacraments, through the negligence of their curates, or no.

5. Item, Whether the said parsons, vicars, or curates, do haunt taverns or alehouses, increasing thereby infamy and slander, or no.

6. Item, Whether they be diligent in teaching the midwives how to christen children in time of necessity, according to the canons of the church, or no.

7. Item, Whether they see that the font be comely kept, and have holy water always ready for children to be christened.

8. Item, If they do keep a book of all the names of them that be reconciled to the duty of the church.

9. Item, Whether there be any priests that late unlawfully had women under pretended marriage, and thereto are not reconciled, and to declare their names and dwelling-places.

10. Item, Whether they do diligently teach their parishioners the articles of the faith, and the ten commandments.

11. Whether they do decently observe those things that do concern the service of the church, and all those things that tend to a good and Christian life, according to the canons of the church.

12. Item, Whether they do devoutly in their prayers pray for the prosperous estate of the king and queen's majesties.

13. Item, Whether the said parsons and vicars do sufficiently repair their chancels, rectories, and vicarages, and do keep and maintain them sufficiently repaired and amended.

14. Item, Whether any of them do preach or teach any erroneous doctrine, contrary to the Catholic faith and unity of the church.

15. Item, Whether any of them do say the divine service, or do minister the sacraments, in the English tongue, contrary to the usual order of the church.

16. Item, Whether any of them do suspiciously keep any women in their houses, or do keep company with men suspected of heresy or of evil opinion.

17. Item, Whether any of them that were under pretence of lawful matrimony married, and now reconciled, do privily resort to their pretended wives, or that the said women do privily resort unto them.

18. Item, Whether they do go decently appareled, as it becometh sad, sober, and discreet ministers, and whether they have their crowns and beards shaven.

19. Item, Whether any of them do use any unlawful games, as dice, cards, and other like, whereby they grow to slander and evil report.

20. Item, Whether they do keep residence and hospitality upon their benefices, and do make charitable contributions, according to all the laws ecclesiastical.

21. Item, Whether they do keep the book of registers of christenings, buryings, and marriages, with the names of the godfathers and godmothers.

#### TOUCHING THE LAY PEOPLE.

First, Whether any manner of person, of what estate, degree, or condition, soever he be, do hold, maintain, or affirm, any heresies, errors, or erroneous opinions, contrary to the laws ecclesiastical, and the unity of the Catholic church.

2. Item, Whether any person do hold, affirm, or say, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar there is not contained the real and substantial presence of Christ, or that by any manner of means do contemn and despise the said blessed sacrament, or do refuse to do reverence or worship thereunto.

3. Item, Whether they do contemn or despise by any manner of means any other of the sacraments, rites, or ceremonies, of the church, or do refuse or deny auricular confession.

4. Item, Whether any do absent or refrain, without urgent and lawful impediment, to come to the church, and reverently to hear the divine service upon Sunday and holidays.

5. Item, Whether being in the church they do not apply themselves to hear the divine service, and to be contemplative in holy prayer, and not to walk, jangle, or talk, in the time of the divine service.

6. Item, Whether any be fornicators, adulterers, or do commit incest, or be bawds, and receivers of evil persons, or be vehemently suspected of either of them.

7. Item, Whether any do blaspheme and take the name of God in vain, or be common swearers.

8. Item, Whether any be perjured, or have committed simony, or usury, or do still remain in the same.

9. Item, Whether the churches and church-yards, be well and honestly repaired and enclosed.

10. Item, Whether the churches be sufficiently garnished and adorned with all ornaments and books necessary, and whether they have a rood in their church of a decent stature, with Mary and John, and an image of the patron of the same church.

11. Item, Whether any do withhold or withdraw from the church any manner of money or goods, or that do withhold their due and accustomed tithes from their parsons and vicars.

12. Item, Whether any be common drunkards, ribalds, or men of evil living, or do exercise any lewd pastimes, especially in the time of divine service.

13. Item, If there be any that do practise or exercise any arts of magic or necromancy, or do use or practise any incantations, sorceries, or witchcraft, or be vehemently suspected thereof.

14. Item, Whether any be married within the degrees of affinity or consanguinity, prohibited by the laws of holy church, or that do marry, the banns not asked, or do make any privy contracts.

15. Item, Whether in the time of Easter last, any were not, confessed, or did not receive the blessed sacrament of the altar, or did irreverently behave themselves in the receiving thereof.

16. Item, Whether any do keep any secret conventicles, preachings, lectures, or readings, in matters of religion, contrary to the laws.

17. Item, Whether any do now not duly keep the fasting and embering days.

18. Item, Whether the altars in the churches be consecrated, or no.

19. Item, Whether the sacrament be carried devoutly to them that fall sick, with light, and with a little sacring bell.

20. Item, Whether the common schools be well kept, and that the schoolmasters be diligent in teaching, and be also Catholics, and men of good and upright judgment, and that they be examined and approved by the ordinary.

21. Item, Whether they do take upon them to administer the goods of those that be dead, without authority from the ordinary.

22. Item, Whether the poor people in every parish be charitably provided for.

23. Item, Whether there do burn a lamp or a candle before the sacrament; and if there do not, that then it be provided for with expedition.

24. Item, Whether infants and children be brought to be confirmed in convenient time.



25. Item, Whether any do keep, or have in their custody, any erroneous or unlawful books.

26. Item, Whether any do withhold any money or goods bequeathed to the amending of the highways, or any other charitable deed.

27. Item, Whether any have put away their wives, or any wives do withdraw themselves from their husbands, being not lawfully divorced.

28. Item, Whether any do violate or break the Sundays and holidays, doing their daily labours and exercises upon the same.

29. Item, Whether the taverns or alehouses, upon the Sundays and holidays, in the time of mass, matins, and evensong, do keep open their doors, and receive people into their houses to drink and eat, and thereby neglect their duties in coming to the church.

30. Whether any have or do deprave or condemn the authority or jurisdiction of the pope's holiness, or the see of Rome.

31. Item, Whether any minstrels, or any other persons, do use to sing any songs against the holy sacraments, or any other rites and ceremonies of the church.

32. Item, Whether there be any hospitals within your parishes, and whether the foundations of them be duly and truly observed and kept; and whether the charitable contributions of the same be done accordingly.

33. Item, Whether any goods, plate, jewels, or possessions, be taken away, or withholden from the said hospitals, and by whom.

*The History of Ten Martyrs, condemned and burned within the Diocese of Canterbury, for the Testimony of Jesus Christ, and Truth of the Gospel; with other Matters.*

Mention was made a little before of the persecution in Kent. Fifteen were in the castle of Canterbury imprisoned and condemned for God's word; of which number five were furnished to death, and buried by the highway, about the beginning of November. The other ten, in the first month of the next year following, which was the year of our Lord 1557, were committed unto the fire, and there consumed to ashes, by Thornton, called bishop or suffragan of Dover, otherwise called Dick of Dover, and by Nicholas Harpsfield, the archdeacon of the said province.

The names of these ten godly and Christian martyrs be these: *John Philpot*, of Tenderden, *William Waterer*, of Beddingden, *Ste. Kempe*, of Norgate, *William Hay*, of Hith, *Thomas Hudson*, of Salenge, *Matt. Bradbridge*, of Tenderden, *Thomas Stephens*, of Beddingden, *N. Final*, of Tenderden, *William Dowick*, of Cranbrook, and *William Prowting*, of Thornham.

Of these ten godly martyrs of Christ, six were burned at Canterbury about the 15th of January, that is, Kempe, Waterer, Prowting, Lowick, Hudson, and Hay; other two, Stephens and Philpot, at Wye, about the same month; and the remaining two, Final and Bradbridge, were burned both together at Ashford, the 16th of the same month.

What the ordinary articles were, commonly objected to them of Canterbury diocese, is before rehearsed, save only that to some of these, as to them that follow after, as the time of their persecution did grow, so their articles withal did increase to the number of two-and-twenty, containing such like matter as seemed to the maintenance of the Romish see.

To these articles, what their answers were likewise, needeth here no great rehearsal, seeing they all agreed together,

though not in the same form of words, yet in much like effect of purposes: first, granting the church of Christ, and denying the church of Rome, denying the seven sacraments, refusing the mass and the hearing of Latin service, praying to saints, justification by works, &c. And though they did not all answer uniformly in some smaller things, as their learning served them, yet in the most principal and chiefest matters they did not greatly discord, &c.

The following month, which was February, came out another bloody commission from the king and queen, to kindle up the fire of persecution, as though it were not hot enough already; the contents of which commission I thought here not good to omit: not for lack of matter, whereof I have too much, but that the reader may understand how kings and princes of this world, like as in the first persecution of the primitive church under Valerianus, Decius, Maximilian, Dioclesian, Licinius, &c. so now also in these latter perilous days, have set out all their main force and power, with laws, policy, and authority, to the uttermost they could devise, against Christ and his blessed gospel. And yet, notwithstanding all these laws, constitutions, injunctions, and terrible proclamations, provided against Christ and his gospel, Christ yet still continueth, his gospel flourisheth, and truth prevaileth; kings and emperors in their own purposes overthrown, their devices dissolved, their counsels confounded; as examples both of this and of all times and ages do make manifest.

*A bloody Commission given forth by King Philip and Queen Mary, to persecute the poor Members of Christ.*

"Philip and Mary, by the grace of God king and queen of England, &c. To the right reverend father in God, our right trusty and well-beloved counsellor Thomas, bishop of Ely, and to our right trusty and well-beloved William Windsor, knight, lord Windsor, Edw. North, knight, lord North, and to our trusty and well-beloved counsellor, J. Bourne, knight, one of our chief secretaries, J. Mordaunt, knight, Francis Englefield, knight, master of our wards and liveries, Edw. Walgrave, knight, master of our wardrobe, Nicholas Hare, knight, master of the rolls and our high court of chancery, and to our trusty and well-beloved Thomas Pope, knight, Roger Cholmley, knight, Rich. Rede, knight, Rowland Hill, knight, Wm. Rastal, sergeant at law, Henry Cole, clerk, dean of Paul's, Wm. Roper and Ralph Cholmley, esquires, Wm. Cook, Thomas Martin, John Story, and John Vaughan, doctors of the law, greeting.

"Forasmuch as divers devilish and slanderous persons have not only invented, bruited, and set forth, divers false rumours, tales, and seditious slanders, against us, but also have sown divers heresies, and heretical opinions, and set forth divers seditious books within this our realm of England, meaning thereby to stir up division, strife, contention, and sedition, not only amongst our loving subjects, but also betwixt us and our said subjects, with divers other outrages, misdemeanors, enormities, contempts, and offences, daily committed and done, to the disquieting of us and our people; We, minding the due punishment of such offenders, and the repressing of such like offences, enormities, and misbehaviours, from henceforth, having special trust and confidence in your fidelities, wisdoms, and discretions, have authorized, appointed, and assigned you, to be our commissioners, and by these presents do give full power and authority to you, and three of you to inquire as well by the oaths of twelve good and lawful men, as by witnesss and all other mean and politic ways you can devise, of all and singular heretical opinions, lollardies, heretical and seditious books, concealments, contempts, conspi-

racies, and all false rumours, tales, seditious and slanderous words or sayings, raised, published, bruited, invented, or set forth, against us or either of us, or against the quiet governance and rule of our people and subjects, by books, lies, tales, or otherwise, in any county, key, bowing, or other place or places, within this our realm of England, or elsewhere in any place or places beyond the seas, and of the bringers in, utterers, buyers, sellers, readers, keepers, or conveyers, of any such letter, books, rumour, and tale, and of all and every their coadjutors, counsellors, comforters, procurers, abettors, and maintainers, giving unto you, and three of you, full power and authority by virtue hereof, to search out and take into your hands and possessions all manner of heretical and seditious books, letters, and writings, wheresoever they, or any of them, shall be found, as well in printers' houses and shops as elsewhere, willing you and every of you to search for the same in all places according to your discretions.

"And also to inquire, hear, and determine, all and singular enormities, disturbances, misbehaviours, and negligences, committed in any church, chapel, or other hallowed place, within this realm, and also for and concerning the taking away or withholding any lands, tenements, goods, ornaments, stocks of money, or other things, belonging to every of the same churches and chapels, and all accounts and reckonings concerning the same.

"And also to inquire and search out all such persons as obstinately do refuse to receive the blessed sacrament of the altar, to hear mass, or to come to their parish churches, or other convenient places appointed for divine service, and all such as refuse to go on procession, to take holy bread or holy water, or otherwise do misuse themselves in any church or other hallowed place, wheresoever any of the same offences have been, or shall be, committed within this our realm.

"Nevertheless, our will and pleasure is, that when and as often as any person or persons hereafter being called and convened before you, do obstinately persist or stand in any manner of heresy, or heretical opinion, that then ye, or three of you, do immediately take order that the same person or persons so standing or persisting be delivered and committed to his ordinary, there to be used according to the spiritual and ecclesiastical laws.

"And also we give unto you, or three of you, full power and authority to inquire and search out all vagabonds and masterless men, baretters, quarrellers, and suspect persons, abiding within our city of London, and ten miles compass of the same, and all assaults and affrays done and committed within the same city and compass.

"And further, to search out all wastes, decays, and ruins, of churches, chancels, chapels, parsonages, and vicarages, in the diocese of the same, being within this realm, giving you, and every of you, full power and authority by virtue hereof to hear and determine the same, and all other offences and matters above specified and rehearsed, according to your wisdoms, consciences, and discretions, willing and commanding you, or three of you, from time to time to use and devise all such politic ways and means, for the trial and searching out of the premises, as by you, or three of you, shall be thought most expedient and necessary: and upon inquiry and due proof had, known, perceived, and tried out, by the confession of the parties, or by sufficient witnesses before you, or three of you, concerning the premises, or any part thereof, or by any other ways or means requisite, to give and award such punishments to the offenders, by fine, imprisonment, or otherwise, and to take such order for redress and reformation of the premises, as to your wisdoms, or three of you, shall be thought meet and convenient.

"Further willing and commanding you, and every three of you, in case you shall find any person or persons obstinate or disobedient, either in their appearance before you, or three of you, at your calling or assignment, or else in not accomplishing or not obeying your decrees, orders, and commandments, in any thing or things touching the premises, or any part thereof, to commit the same person or persons so offending to ward, there to remain, till by you, or three of you, he be discharged or delivered, &c." And so forth, with other such like matter as followeth, see in our first edition, page 1563.

*The Apprehension of Twenty-two Prisoners, sent up together, for God's word, to London from Colchester.*

After this bloody proclamation or commission thus given out at London, which was Feb. 8th, the third and fourth years of the king and queen's reign, these new inquisitors, especially some of them, began to ruffle, and to take upon them not a little; so that all quarters were full of persecutions, and prisons almost full of prisoners, namely, in the diocese of Canterbury.

In the mean time, about the town of Colchester, the wind of persecution began fiercely to rise; insomuch, that three-and-twenty together, men and women, were apprehended at once: of which twenty-three, one escaped; the other twenty-two were driven up like a flock of Christian lambs to London, with two or three leaders with them at most, ready to give their skins to be plucked off for the gospel's sake. Notwithstanding, the bishops, afraid belike of the number, to put so many at once to death, sought means to deliver them; and so they did, drawing out a very easy submission for them, or rather suffering them to draw it out themselves. Notwithstanding, divers of them afterwards were taken again, and suffered.—Such as met them by the way coming up, saw them in the fields scattering in such sort, as that they might easily have escaped away; and when they entered into the towns, their keepers called them again into array, to go two and two together, having a band or line going between them, they holding the same in their hands, having another cord every one about his arm, as though they were tried. And so were these fourteen men and eight women carried up to London, the people by the way praying to God for them, to give them strength. At their entering into London they were pinioned, and so came into the city.

*The Submission or Confession of these aforesaid Prisoners.*

"Because our Saviour Christ, at his last supper, took bread, and when he had given thanks he brake it, and gave unto his disciples, and said, 'Take, eat, this is my body which is given for you; this do in remembrance of me;' therefore according to the words of our Saviour Jesus Christ, we do believe the sacraments to be Christ's body. And likewise he took the cup, gave thanks, and gave it to his disciples, and said, 'This is my blood of the new testament, which is shed for many.'

"Therefore, likewise, we do believe that it is the blood of Christ, according as Christ's church doth minister the same. Unto the which Catholic church of Christ we do in this, like as in all other matters, submit ourselves, promising therein to live as becometh good Christian men, and here in this realm to use ourselves as it becometh faithful subjects unto our most gracious king and queen, and to all other superiors, both spiritual and temporal, according to our bounden duties."

The names of them which subscribed to this submission

were these: John Atkins, Alyn Symson, Richard George, Thomas Firesanne, Wm. Munt, Richard Joly, Rich. Gratwick, Thomas Winsey, Richard Clerk, Step. Glover, Robt. Colman, Thomas Merse, Wm. Bongeor, Robt. Bercock, Rich. Rothe, Margaret Hide, Christian Pepper, Margaret Field, Alice Munt, Joan Winsley, Cicely Warren, Rose Alyn, Ann White-locke, Geo. Baker, John Saxby, Thos. Locker, Alice Locker, Ellen Euring.

*A Story of Five other godly Martyrs, burned at one fire in Smithfield, the 12th of April.*

To proceed further in this story of persecuted martyrs, next in order follow five other, burned at London in Smithfield, in the aforesaid year of the Lord 1557, April 12, whose names were these: *Thomas Loseby, Henry Ramsey, Thomas Thirtel, Margaret Hide, and Agnes Stanley.*

Who being, some by the lord Rich, some by other justices of peace, and constables, (their own neighbours,) at the first accused and apprehended for not coming to their parish churches, were in the end sent unto Bonner, bishop of London, and by his commandment the 27th day of January, were examined before Dr. Darbshire, then chancellor to the said bishop, upon the former general articles mentioned; to which they answered, determining to abide by the faith of the gospel, though at the hazard of their lives.

After this, the first day of April, they were convented before the bishop in his palace at London, where little appeareth to be done, except it were to know whether they would stand to their answers, and whether they would recant or no. But when they refused to recant and deny the received and infallible truth, the bishop caused them to be brought into the open consistory, the third day of the same month of April, in the forenoon: where first understanding by them their immutable constancy and steadfastness, he demanded particularly of every one, what they had to say why he should not pronounce the sentence of condemnation.

To whom Thomas Loseby first answered, God give me grace and strength to stand against you and your sentence, and also against your law, which is a devouring law, for it devoureth the flock of Christ. And I perceive there is no way with me but death, except I would consent to your devouring law, and believe in that idol the mass.

Next unto him answered Thomas Thirtel, saying, My lord, I say thus, if you make me an heretic, then you make Christ and all the twelve apostles heretics: for I am in the true faith and right belief, and I will stand in it, for I know full well I shall have eternal life.

The bishop then asked the like question of Henry Ramsey; who said again, My lord, will you have me to go from the truth that I am in? I say unto you, that my opinions be the very truth, which I will stand unto, and not go from them: and I say unto you further, that there are two churches upon the earth, and we (meaning himself and other martyrs and professors of Christ) be of the true church, and ye be not.

Unto this question next answered Margaret Hide, saying, My lord, you have no cause to give sentence against me, for I am in the true faith and opinion, and will never forsake it; and I do wish that I were more strong in it than I am.

Last of all answered Agnes Stanley, and said, I had rather every hair of my head were burned, if it were never so much worth, than I will forsake my faith and opinion, which is the true faith.

The time being now spent, they were commanded to appear again at afternoon in the same place; which commandment

being obeyed, the bishop first called for Loseby, and after his accustomed manner willed his articles and answers to be read: in reading whereof, when mention was made of the sacrament of the altar, the bishop with his colleagues put off their caps. Whereat Loseby said, My lord, seeing you put off your cap, I will put on my cap; and therewithal did put on his cap. And after, the bishop continuing in his accustomable persuasions, Loseby again said unto him, My lord, I trust I have the spirit of truth, which you detest and abhor, for the wisdom of God is foolishness unto you. Whereupon the bishop pronounced the sentence of condemnation against him. And delivering him unto the sheriff, called for Margaret Hide; with whom he used the like order of exhortations.

To whom, notwithstanding, she said, I will not depart from my sayings till I be burned; and, my lord, (quoth she,) I would see you instruct me with some part of God's word, and not to give me instructions of the holy bread and holy water, for it is no part of the scripture. But he, being neither himself, nor any of his, able rightly to accomplish her request, to make short work, used his final reason of conviction, which was the sentence of condemnation. And therefore leaving her off, called for another, viz. Agnes Stanley, who, upon the bishop's like persuasions, made this answer:

My lord, whereas you say I am an heretic, I am none; neither yet will I believe you, nor any man that is wise will believe as you do. And as for these that ye say be burnt for heresy, I believe are true martyrs before God; therefore I will not go from my opinion and faith as long as I live.

Her talk thus ended, she received the like reward that the other had. And the bishop then turning his tale and manner of enticement unto Thomas Thirtel, received of him likewise this final answer, My lord, I will not hold with you idolatrous ways, for I say the mass is idolatry; and will stick to my faith and belief so long as the breath is in my body. Upon which words he was also condemned as an heretic.

Last of all was Henry Ramsey demanded if he would, as the rest, stand unto his answers, or else recanting the same, come home again, and be a member of their church? Whereunto he answered, I will not go from my religion and belief as long as I live; and, my lord (quoth he,) your doctrine is naught, for it is not agreeable to God's word.

After these words, the bishop (to conclude) pronouncing the sentence of condemnation against him and the rest, charged the sheriffs of London with them; who being thereunto commanded, the twelfth day of the same month of April brought them into Smithfield, where all together in one fire most joyfully and constantly ended their temporal lives, receiving therefore the life eternal.

*Three burned in St. George's-fields in Southwark.*

After these, moreover, in the month of May followed three others that suffered in St. George's-fields in Southwark, *William Morant, Stephen Gratwick, with one King.*

Among other histories of the persecuted and condemned saints of God, I find the condemnation of none more strange nor unlawful than of this Stephen Gratwick, who first was condemned by the bishop of Winchester and the bishop of Rochester, which were not his ordinaries.

Secondly, when he did appeal from these incompetent judges to his right ordinary, his appeal could not be admitted.

Thirdly, when they had no other shift to colour their inor-

dinate proceedings withal, they suborned one of the priests to come in for a counterfeit and false ordinary, and sit upon him.

Fourthly, being openly convinced and overturned in his own arguments, yet the said bishop of Winchester, Dr. White, neither would yield to the force of truth, nor suffer any of the audience assistant once to say, God strengthen him.

Fifthly, as they brought in a false ordinary to sit upon him, so they pretended false articles against him, which were no part of his examinations, but of their devising, to have his blood.

Sixthly and lastly, having no other ground nor just matters against him, but only for saying these words, "That which I have said, I have said," they read the sentence of death upon him.

And this was the dealing of these men, who needs will be reputed for Catholic fathers of the spirituality, succeders of the apostles, disciples of Christ, pillars of the holy church, and leaders of the people.

*Seven godly Martyrs, five Women and two Men, burned at Maidstone, for the word of truth, and professing the sincere religion of Christ.*

After the universal proclamation was set forth by the king and queen in the month of February, the storm of persecution began in all places to rise; but yet in no place more than in the country and diocese of Canterbury, by reason of the aforesaid inquisitors being now armed with authority, but especially by reason of Richard Thornton, suffragan of Dover and the archdeacon of Canterbury, who of their own nature were so furious and fiery against the harmless flock of Christ, that there was no need of any proclamation to stir up the coals of their burning cruelty, by reason whereof many a godly saint lieth slain under the altar; as in divers places of this book appear.

And now to return to the said diocese of Canterbury again: in the next month following, being the month of June, 18th day of the same, were seven Christian and true faithful martyrs of Christ burned at Maidstone, whose names here follow: *Joan Bradbridge*, of Staplehurst; *Walter Appleby*, of Maidstone, and *Petronil*, his wife; *Edmund Allin*, of Frytenden, and *Katharine*, his wife; *John Manning's* wife, of Maidstone; and *Elizabeth*, a blind maiden.

Concerning the general articles commonly objected to them in the public consistory, and the order of their condemnation, it differeth not much from the usual manner expressed before, neither did their answers in effect much differ from the others that suffered under the same ordinary in the aforesaid diocese of Canterbury.

Now as touching their answers and manner of apprehension, and their private conflicts with the adversaries, I find little, save only of Edmund Allin.

This Allin was a miller of the parish of Frytenden, in Kent, and in a dear year, when as many poor people were like to starve, he fed them, and sold his corn one-half cheaper than others did; and fed them also with the food of life, reading to them the scriptures, and interpreting them. This being known to the Popish priests thereabout dwelling; by the procurement of them, (namely, of John Taylor, parson of Frytenden, and Thos. Henden, parson of Staplehurst,) he was soon complained of to the justices, and brought before sir John Baker, knight; who first sending for them, committed both him and his wife to ward; but not long after they were let out, I know not how, and so went over unto Calais. Where, after that he had continued a certain space, he began

to be troubled in conscience, and there meeting with one John Webbe, of the same parish of Frytenden, (who was likewise fled from the tyranny of sir John Baker, and parson Taylor,) said unto him, that he could not be in quiet there, whatsoever the cause was; for God (said he) had something to do for him in England: and thus shortly he returned home again to the parish of Frytenden, where was a cruel priest, their parson, called John Taylor.

This parson Taylor, being informed by his brother Sextan, that Edmund Allin, the miller, and his wife, were returned, and were not at mass-time in the church; as he was the same time in the midst of his mass upon a Sunday, a little before the elevation (as they term it) he turned him to the people in a great rage, and commanded them with all speed to go unto their house and apprehend them, and he would come to them with as much haste as might be possible. Which promise he well performed: for he had not so soon made an end of *Ita missa est*, and the vestment off his back, but by and by he was at the house, and there laying hand of the said Allin, caused him again to be brought to sir John Baker, with a grievous complaint of his exhorting and reading the scriptures to the people; and so was he and his wife sent to Maidstone prison.

They were not so soon in prison, but Mr. Baker immediately sent into their house certain of his men, John Dove, Thomas Best, Thomas Linley, Percival Barber, with the aforesaid John Taylor, parson of Frytenden, and Thomas Henden, parson of Staplehurst, to take an inventory of all the goods that were in the house. Where they found in the bed-straw a casket locked with a padlock, and so cutting the wist thereof, opened it, and found therein a sackcloth bag of money, containing the sum of thirteen or fourteen pounds, partly in gold, and partly in silver. Which money, after they had told, and put into the bag again, like good carvers for themselves, they carried it away with them.

Besides also they found there certain books, as psalters, bibles, and other writings. All which books, with the money, were delivered to the aforesaid priest, Thomas Henden, parson of Staplehurst; and after in the reign of this queen, anno 5 reg. *Elizab.* was by right of law recovered from him again, as in records remmineth to be seen.

Thus good Edmund Allin and his wife, being maliciously accused, wrongfully imprisoned, and cruelly spoiled and robbed of all their goods, were brought before sir John Baker, the justice, to be examined; who taunting and reviling him without mercy and pity, asked him if those were the fruits of this gospel, to have conventicles to gather people together, to make conspiracies to sow sedition and rebellion; and thus he began with him to reason:

*Baker.* Who gave thee authority to preach and interpret? Art thou a priest? Art thou admitted thereunto? Let me see thy license.

Sir John Baker's schoolmaster said, Surely he is an arrant heretic, and worthy to be burned.

*Allin.* And it may please your honour to give me leave to answer in the cause of my faith: I am persuaded that God hath given me this authority, as he hath given to all other Christians. Why are we called Christians, if we do not follow Christ, if we do not read his law, if we do not interpret it to others that have not so much understanding? Is not Christ our Father? shall not the son follow the father's steps? Is not Christ our master? and shall the scholar be inhibited to learn and preach his precepts? Is not Christ our redeemer? and shall not we praise his name, and serve him that hath redeemed us from sin and damnation? Did not Christ, being but twelve years of age, dispute with the doc-



tors, and interpret the prophet Isaiah? and yet notwithstanding he was neither of the tribe of Levi, which were priests, but of the royal tribe of Judah, neither had taken any outward priesthood; wherefore if we be Christians, we must do the same.

*Collins.* What a knave is this, that compareth himself with Christ?

*Baker.* Let him alone, he will pump out anon an infinite heap of heresies. Hast thou any more to say for thyself?

*Allin.* Yea, that I have: Adam was licensed of God, and Abraham was commanded to teach his children and posterity; and so David teacheth in divers Psalms; and Solomon also preached to the people, as the book of the *Preacher* proveth very well, where he teacheth there is no immortal felicity in this life, but in the next. And Noah taught them that were disobedient in his days, and therefore is called "The eighth preacher of righteousness," in the 2d epistle of Peter. Also in the eleventh of Numbers, where Moses had chosen seventy elders to help him to teach and rule the rest, Eldad and Medad preached in the tents; wherefore Joshua, being offended, complained to Moses that Eldad and Medad did preach without license. To whom Moses answered, and wished that all the people could do the like. What should I belong? most of the priests were not of the tribe of Levi and Aaron.

*Col.* These are authorities of the Old Testament, and therefore abrogated. But thou art a fool, and knowest no school points; is not the law divided into the law ceremonial, moral, and judicial?

*Allin.* I grant that the ceremonies ceased when Christ came, as St. Paul proveth to the Hebrews and to the Colossians, where he saith, "Let no man judge you in any part of the sabbath-day, new moon, or other ceremonies, which are figures of things to come: for Christ is the body."

*Col.* And are not the judicials abrogated by Christ?

*Allin.* They are confirmed both by Christ in the fifth of Matthew, and by Paul in the first epistle to Timothy: The law, says he, is not set forth for the virtuous and godly, but for manslayers, perjured, adulterers, and such like.

*Col.* Thou art an heretic: wilt thou call the judicials of Moses again; wilt thou have adultery punished with death? disobedient children to their parents to be stoned? wilt thou have *legem talionis*? But thou art an ass: why should I speak Latin to thee, thou erroneous rebel? Shall we now smite out eye for eye, tooth for tooth? Thou art worthy to have thy teeth and tongue plucked out.

*Allin.* If we had that law, we should neither have disobedient children, neither adulterers, neither false-witness bearers, neither ruffians.

*Baker.* Mr. Collins, let us return to our first matter. Why didst thou teach the people, whom thou saidst thou didst feed both bodily and spiritually, being no priest?

*Allin.* Because that we are all kings to rule our affections, priests to preach out the virtues and word of God, as Peter writeth, and lively stones to give light to others. For as out of flint stones cometh forth that that is able to set all the world on fire; so out of Christians should spring the beams of the gospel, which should inflame all the world. If we must give a reckoning of our faith to every man, and now to you demanding it, then must we study the scriptures, and practise them. What availeth it a man to have meat, and will eat none; and apparel, and will wear none; or to have an occupation, and to teach none; or to be a lawyer, and utter none? Shall every artificer be suffered, yea, and commanded, to practise his faculty and science, and the Christian forbidden to exercise his? Doth not every lawyer

practise his law? Is not every Christian a follower of Christ? Shall ignorance, which is condemned in all sciences, be practised of Christians? Doth not St. Paul forbid any man's spirit to be quenched? Doth he prohibit any man that hath any of these gifts which he repeateth, 1 Cor. xiv. to practise the same; only he forbiddeth women, but no man. The Jews never forbade any. Read the Acts of the Apostles. The restraint was made by Gregory, the ninth pope of that name, as I heard one, a learned man, preach in king Edward's days.

*Col.* This villain, an it like your honour, is mad: by my priesthood, I believe that he will say, that a priest hath no more authority than another man. Doth not a priest bind and loose?

*Allin.* No; my sin bindeth me, and my repentance looseth me. God forgiveth sin only, and no priest; for every Christian when he sinneth, bindeth himself, and when he repenteth, looseth himself. And if any other be loosed from his sin by my exhortation, I am said to loose him; and if he persevere in sin, notwithstanding my exhortation, I am said to bind him; although it is God that bindeth and looseth, and giveth the increase. Therefore saith Christ, Matt. xviii. "Whosoever two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them; and whosoever sins they forgive, they are forgiven, and they retain, they are retained." Neither hath the pope any keys, save the keys of error; for the key that openeth the lock to God's mysteries and to salvation, is the key of faith and repentance; and as I have heard learned men reason, St. Austin, and Origen, with others, are of this opinion.

Then they reviled him, and laid him in the stocks all the night. Wherewith certain that were better minded, being offended with such extremity, willed Allin to keep his conscience to himself, and to follow Baruch's counsel in the sixth chapter: "Wherefore when ye see the multitude of people worshipping them behind and before, say ye in your hearts, O Lord, it is thou that ought only to be worshipped."

Wherewith he was persuaded to go to hear mass the next day, and suddenly before the sacring, went out, and considered in the church-yard with himself, that such a little cake between the priest's fingers could not be Christ, nor a material body, neither to have soul, life, sinews, bones, flesh, legs, head, arms, nor breast, and lamented that he was seduced by the place of Baruch, which his conscience gave him to be no scripture, or else to have another meaning; and after this he was brought again before sir John Baker, who asked why he did refuse to worship the blessed sacrament of the altar?

It is an idol, said he.—*C.* It is God's body.—*A.* It is not.—*C.* By the mass it is.—*A.* It is bread.—*C.* How provest thou that?—*A.* When Christ sat at his supper, and gave them bread to eat.—*Col.* Bread, knave!

*Allin.* Yea, bread, which you call Christ's body. Sat he still at the table, or was he both in their mouths and at the table? If he were in their mouths and at the table, then had he two bodies, or else had a fantastical body; which is an absurdity to say.

*Baker.* Christ's body was glorified, and might be in more places than one.

*Allin.* Then he had more bodies than one, by your own placing of him.

*Col.* Thou ignorant ass, the schoolmen say, that a glorified body may be every where.

*Allin.* If his body was not glorified till it rose again, then was it not glorified at his last supper; and therefore was not at the table, and in their mouths, by your own reason.



**Col.** A glorified body occupieth no place.

**Allin.** That which occupieth no place, is neither God nor any thing else: but Christ's body, say you, occupieth no place; therefore it is neither God nor any thing else. If it be nothing, then is your religion nothing. If it be God, then have we four in one Trinity, which is the person of the Father, the person of the Son, the person of the Holy Ghost, and the human nature of Christ. If Christ be nothing, which you must needs confess, if he occupieth no place, then is our study in vain, our faith frustrate, and our hope without reward.

**Col.** This rebel will believe nothing but scripture. How knowest thou that it is the scripture, but by the church? and so saith St. Austin.

**Allin.** I cannot tell what St. Austin saith, but I am persuaded that it is scripture by divers arguments: First, that the law worketh in me my condemnation. The law telleth me that of myself I am damned: and this damnation, Mr. Collins, you must find in yourself, or else you shall never come to repentance. For as this grief and sorrow of conscience, without faith, is desperation; so is a glorious and Romish faith, without the lamentation of a man's sins, presumption.

The second is the gospel, which is the power and Spirit of God. "This Spirit (saith St. Paul) certifieth my spirit that I am the son of God," and that these are the scriptures.

The third are the wonderful works of God, which cause me to believe that there is a God, though we glorify him not as God, Rom. i. The sun, the moon, the stars, and other his works (as David discourseth in Psa. xix.) declare that there is a God, and that these are the scriptures, because that they teach nothing else but God and his power, majesty, and might; and because the scripture teacheth nothing dissonant from this prescription of nature. And fourthly, because that the word of God gave authority to the church in paradise, saying, That the seed of the woman should break the serpent's head. This seed is the gospel; this is all the scriptures, and by this we are assured of eternal life; and these words, "The seed of the woman shall break the serpent's head," gave authority to the church, and not the church to the word.

**Baker.** I heard say that you speak against priests and bishops.

**Allin.** I spake for them; for now they have so much living, and especially bishops, archdeacons, and deans, that they neither can nor will teach God's word. If they had a hundred pounds apiece, then would they apply to their study; now they cannot for their affairs.

**Col.** Who will then set his children to school?

**Allin.** Where there is now one set to school for that end, there would be forty, because that one bishop's living divided into thirty or forty parts, would find so many as well learned men as the bishops be now, who have all this living; neither had Peter or Paul any such revenue.

**Baker.** Let us despatch him; he will mar all.

**Col.** If every man had a hundred pounds, as he saith, it would make more learned men.

**Baker.** But our bishops would be angry if that they knew it.

**Allin.** It were for a commonwealth to have such bishoprics divided, for the further increase of learning.

**Baker.** What sayest thou to the sacrament?

**Allin.** As I said before.

**Baker.** Away with him.

And thus was he carried to prison, and afterwards burned. And thus Edmund Allin, and his wife, were with the five

other martyrs above-named, to wit, five women and two men, all together burned at Maidstone, the year and month afore-mentioned, and the 18th day of the same month.

*Another Story of like Cruelty, shewed upon other SEVEN MARTYRS, burnt at Canterbury, three Men and four Women.*

Among such infinite seas of troubles in these most dangerous days, who can withhold himself from bitter tears, to see the madding rage of these Catholics, who being never satisfied with blood to maintain their carnal kingdom, presume so highly to violate the precise law of God's commandments, in slaying the simple poor lambs of the glorious congregation of Jesus Christ, and that for the true testimony of a good conscience, in confessing the immaculate gospel of their salvation? What heart will not lament the murdering mischiefs of these men? who for want of work do so wreak their rage on poor women, whose imbecility, the more strength it lacketh by natural imperfection, the more it ought to be helped, or at least pitied, and not oppressed of men that be stronger, and especially of priests that should be charitable.

But blessed be the Lord omnipotent, who supernaturally hath endued from above such weak creatures with such manly fortitude, so constantly to withstand the uttermost extremity of these pitiless persecutors; as he did before strengthen the mother of the seven sons in the Maccabees, and as he hath done since with divers and sundry other godly women in these our latter days, partly before mentioned, and partly to be mentioned hereafter, as here presently may appear by the martyrdom of seven hereunder following, of the which were four women and three men, burnt together at Canterbury, the 30th of the said month of June, in the year aforesaid, whose names are these: *John Fishcock, Nicholas White, Nicholas Pardue, Barbara Final*, widow; *Bradbridge's* widow; *Wilson's* wife, and *Benden's* wife.

As it were too tedious exactly and particularly to prosecute the several story of every one of these godly martyrs; so I cannot pass over untouched the cruel and unchristian handling of Alice Benden, during her imprisonment, according as I have received by the faithful relation of them which best were acquainted with her:—

*The order of the Imprisonment and tragical Handling of Alice Benden, Wife of Edward Benden, in the parish of Staplehurst, in the county of Kent, for the Gospel's sake.*

First, Alice Benden was brought before one Mr. Roberts, of Crambroke, in the said county, the 14th day of October, in the year of our Lord 1550, of whom she was demanded, why she would not go to the church? And she answered, that she could not so do with a good and clear conscience, because there was much idolatry committed against the glory of God. For which, with many mocks and taunts, she was sent to prison, where she lay 14 days: for on the 20th day of October her husband required his neighbours, the wealthy men of Staplehurst, to write to the bishop of Dover, who had the chief government of the tyrannical sword in Kent; which they did, desiring him to send her home.

Wherefore the bishop called her before him, and asked her if she would go home, and go to the church? Whereunto she answered, If I would have so done, I need not to have come hither. Then wilt thou go home, and be shriven of thy parish priest? And she said, No, that would she not.

Well, said he, go thy ways home, and go to the church

when thou wilt. Whereunto she answered nothing; but a priest that stood by said, She saith she will, my lord. Wherefore he let her go, and she came forthwith home.

On the Saturday following, her husband willed her to go to the church; which she both then and elsewhere refused to do. Wherefore on the Sunday fourteen days after, he going to the church, came into the company of divers inhabitants of the same parish; among whom, through his fond talk and behaviour, he procured her to be sent to sir John Gifford, who commanded her to prison again; yea, and the more to utter his own shame, they said her husband took money of the constable to carry her to prison, the price of his wife's blood, meaning indeed to carry her to prison himself. But she having much more care of his honest and good report, than he had regard (as it is easy to see) of his own infamy, and no less ashamed of his so rude and unnatural doings, chose rather to commit herself willingly into the hands of her enemies, than that the world should witness against her husband of so wicked a fact. Wherefore she went to the constable, desiring him to go with her. But he answered, that he could not so do: but granted her his boy to go with her, with whom she went to prison, namely, the castle of Canterbury, according to the order which had been given.

Where this one thing is worthy to be noted, that while she was in this prison, she practised with a prison-fellow of her's, the wife of one Potkin, to live both of them with twopence halfpenny a day, to try thereby how well they could sustain penury and hunger, before they were put to it. For they had heard that when they should be removed from thence to the bishop's prison, their livings should be but three farthings apiece, a day; and did indeed both so live for fourteen days, ere she was from thence removed.

The 22d day of January following, her husband went again to the bishop, desiring him to deliver his wife out of prison. But he said she was an obstinate heretic, and would not be reformed: and therefore said that he could not set her at liberty.

Then said he, My lord, she hath a brother, whose name is Roger Hall, that resorteth unto her: if your lordship could keep him from her, she would turn; for he comforteth her, giveth her money, and persuadeth her not to relent.

This occasion was not so soon given, but it was as quickly taken, and as cruelly put in execution. For the bishop commanding her upon the same to a prison called Monday's Hole, there also he gave a strait charge, that if at any time her brother came, he should be taken and apprehended.

This prison was within a court where the prebend's chambers were, being a vault beneath the ground, and being before the window enclosed with a pale, of height, by estimation, four foot and a half, and distant from the same three foot, so that she looking from beneath might only see such as stood at the pale. After this, her brother sought often for her, with no less danger of life, than diligence. But for the unknown situation of the place, it being also but rarely used for a prison, and the matter as closely kept as it was secretly done, he could never come to understand of her being there, until, through God's merciful will and unsearchable providence, he, coming thither very early in the morning, (her keeper being then gone to the church to ring, for he was a bell-ringer,) chanced to hear her voice as she poured out unto God her sorrowful complaints, saying the psalms of David. And there could he no otherwise relieve her, but by putting money in a loaf of bread, and sticking the same on a pole, and so reached it unto her; for neither with meat nor drink he could sustain her. And this was five weeks

after her coming thither; all which time no creature was known to come at her, more than her keeper.

Her lying in that prison was only upon a little short straw, between a pair of stocks and a stone wall; being allowed three farthings a day, that is, a halfpenny bread, and a farthing drink, neither could she get any more for her money. Wherefore she desired to have her whole allowance in bread, and used water for her drink. Thus did she lie nine weeks, during all which time she never changed her apparel, whereby she became at the last a most piteous and loathsome creature to behold.

At her first coming into this place, she did grievously bewail with a great sorrow and lamentation, and reasoned with herself why her Lord God did with his so heavy justice suffer her to be sequestered from her loving fellows into so extreme misery.

In these dolorous mournings did she continue, till on a night as she was in her sorrowful applications rehearsing this verse of the Psalm, "Why art thou so heavy, O my soul?" and again, "The right hand of the Most High can change all:" she received comfort in the midst of her miseries, and after that continued very joyful until her delivery from the same.

About the 25th day of March, in the year of our Lord 1557, she was called before the bishop, who demanded of her, whether she would now go home, and to the church, or no? promising her great favour if she would be reformed, and do as they did.

To whom she answered, I am thoroughly persuaded, by the great extremity that you have already shewed me, that you are not of God, neither can your doings be godly; and I see, saith she, that you seek my utter destruction, (shewing how lame she then was of the cold taken, and for lack of food, while she lay in that painful prison, whereby she was not able to move herself without great pain.)

Then did the bishop deliver her from that filthy hole, and sent her to Westgate, where after she had been changed, and for a while been kept clean, her skin did wholly so peel and scale off, as if she had been with some mortal venom poisoned. Here she continued till the latter end of April; at which time they called her before them, and with others condemned her, committing her then to the prison called the Castle; where she continued till the slaughter-day, which was the 19th day of June, when by terrible fire they took away her life.

When she was at the stake, she cast her handkerchief unto one John Banks, requiring him to keep the same in memory of her, and from about her middle she took a white lace, which she gave to the keeper, desiring him to give the same to her brother Roger Hall, and to tell him, that it was the last band that she was bound with, except the chain. A shilling also of Philip and Mary, she took forth, which her father had bowed, and sent her when she was first sent to prison, desiring that her said brother should, with obedient salutations render the same to her father again, and shew him that it was the first piece of money that he sent her after her troubles began, which, as she protested, she had kept, and now sent it to him, to shew that she never lacked money while she was in prison.

With this Alice Benden were burned also the residue of the other blessed martyrs above named, being seven in number; who being brought to the place where they should suffer for the Lord's cause at Canterbury, undressed themselves joyfully to the fire; and being ready, they all kneeled down, and made their humble prayers unto the Lord, with such zeal and affection, as even the enemies of the cross of Christ

could not but like it. When they had made invocation together, they arose and went to the stake, where being compassed with horrible flames of fire, they yielded their souls and lives gloriously into the hand of the Lord.

Widow Bradbridge, when she was condemned of the bishop to be burned, had two children, named Patience and Charity. Who then said to the bishop, that if he would needs burn her, yet she trusted that he would take and keep Patience and Charity, meaning her two children; Nay, quoth the bishop, by the faith of my body, I will meddle with neither of them both!

### *The Troubles and Examination of MATTHEW PLAISE.*

Unto these holy martyrs of Kent above specified, whereof seven suffered at Maidstone, and seven at Canterbury, I thought not unmeet here also to be adjoined the examination of Matthew Plaise, a weaver, of the same county of Kent, and a faithful Christian. Who being apprehended and imprisoned likewise for the testimony of a good conscience, in the castle of Canterbury, was brought to examination before the bishop of Dover, and Harpsfield, the archdeacon.

#### *His Examination before Dr. Thornton, &c.*

First, When I came before the bishop, he asked me whether I were not of that diocese, and where I dwelt?

I answered, I was of the parish of Stone, in Kent, and subject unto the king and queen of England.

Then he said, I was indicted by twelve men at Ashford, at the sessions, for heresy.

I said, that was sooner said than proved.

Then he said, it was the truth that he had spoken to me, for he had whereby to prove it.

Then I desired him to let me hear it, and I would answer to it. But he said, I should answer to my articles, yea, or nay.

I said, he could not; for I was not at Ashford, and therefore he had nothing to lay to my charge. But now I perceive you go about to lay a net to have my blood.

After many words betwixt the bishop and me, the archdeacon said, Peace, peace! we do not desire thy blood, but we are glad to hear that thou art no heretic; with many flattering words, and said, yet I was suspected of heresy; and if I would be content to confess how I did believe as concerning those articles, they would gladly teach me.

But I said, I do not think so; for I talked with one of your doctors, and after long talk he would needs know how I did believe in the sacrament, and I recited unto him the text; and because I would not make unto him an exposition, he would teach me nothing. Yet I prayed him, for my learning, to write his mind, and if it were the truth, I would believe him: and this I did desire him for the love of God; but it would not be.

Then said he, it was not so, he durst swear upon a book. I said, it would be so proved. Then he stood up with a long process, and said he would tell me the truth, and was sure that the same doctor did believe as he did.

I asked him how he knew that, seeing St. Paul doth say that no man knoweth what is in man, but the spirit which dwelleth in him: but if you wist what Christ meant by these words, "I require mercy, and not sacrifice," Matt. xii. you would not kill innocents.

The bishop began with me again, and charged me in the king and queen's name, and the lord cardinal's, to answer yea or nay to the articles that followed.

Then I commanded him (in His name that should come in

flaming fire with his mighty angels, to render vengeance to the disobedient, and to all those that believed not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, which should be punished with everlasting damnation,) that he should speak nothing but the truth, grounded upon Christ and his apostles, and then I would answer him, or else not.

Then he was very angry, and said, If I would not answer he would condemn me indeed, unless I would answer every article.

Well, said I, if you do, you shall be guilty of my blood, and prove yourself a murderer.

Then the archdeacon took the articles in his hand, and read the second article, which was, That I was a Christian man, and did believe in their mother the Catholic church, and the determination thereof.

I said, I was a Christian man indeed, and therefore they had nothing against me.

Then said he, What sayest thou to the Catholic church, which hath so long continued, except it were nine or ten years that this heresy hath sprung up in this realm?

I said, no man can accuse me of any thing spoken against the Catholic church of Christ.

Then said the bishop, Dost thou not believe the Creed?

Yes, verily, I believe my creed, and all that is written in the Testament of Christ, with the rest of the scriptures.

Then, saith he, thou dost confess that there is a catholic church; I am glad of that. But tell me, is the king and queen of that church, or no?

Well, said I, now I perceive you go about to be both mine accuser and also my judge, contrary to all right. I confess Christ hath a church upon earth, which is built upon the apostles and prophets, Christ being the head thereof; and as touching the king and queen, I answer, I have nothing to do with any man's faith but mine own; neither came I hither to judge; for I judge not myself, but the Lord must judge me, and all mankind.

Then, said he, Is there no part of that church here in England?

Well, said I, I perceive you would fain have something to lay to my charge. I will tell you where; Christ saith, where two or three be gathered together in his name, there is he in the midst amongst them.

Then the archdeacon stood up with his mocks, to put me out of countenance, and said to the people, That I had no wit, but that I thought all they were deceived so long time, and that half a dozen of us should have the truth in a corner, and that all they should be deceived; with such like taunts and mocks; but would not suffer me to speak one word.

Then he read the article of the sacrament, and said, I denied the real presence to be in the sacrament after it was once consecrated; and that I said, Christ's body was in heaven, and no where else, and that the bread was nothing but a sign, token, or remembrance.

Then I said, You have to shew where and what my words were; and hereof we talked a great while.

At last the bishop was so angry, that he charged me in the king's, queen's, and cardinal's name, before the mayor and his brethren, taking them to witness, if I did not say yea or nay, he would condemn me.

Then I said, Seeing you have nothing to accuse me of, wherefore should I so answer?

Then the archdeacon said I was guilty; and said I was like a thief at the bar, which would not confess his fault, because his accusers were not present; with a great many words, and would not let me open my mouth against him.

Then I saw whereabouts they went, granting to answer them

by the word, or else I think they would have condemned me for holding of my peace; and this was my beginning: I believe that Christ took bread, and when he had given thanks he brake it, and gave it to his disciples, and said, "Take, eat, this is my body which is given for you; this do in remembrance of me."

Dost thou believe that Christ meant even as he said?

I said, Christ was so dissembler, but he spake the very truth.

Thou hast very well said, we will make the best of thy words. Then he praised me with many words, going about to prove it his body, real and substantial, and said, Christ called himself bread: and this to prove, when Christ said, "This is my body," the bread was his body, said he, indeed, real, and substantial, not so long and so big as it hung on the cross, as the Capernaïtes did think; but we eat it, as man's weak nature can eat Christ. Therefore when he had said, "This is my body," the bread was his body in very deed.

Then I asked him, What Christ meant by these words, "Which is given for you?"

He said, Christ spake that by the bread also; but it was not written in Matthew, but Luke had those words.

Then I asked him, if Christ's body were made of bread, whether that was given for our redemption, or whether the bread was crucified for us, or not?

Then he said, No, by St. Mary, I say not so.

You have said the truth indeed, and even as I believe, said I.

Then he stood up with a great many words, and said, that I did think it but bare bread still, as other bread is; but he was sure Christ called it his body, and then it was his body indeed; for he would believe Christ.

When he had spoken his pleasure by me, thinking to have condemned me by their law, I said, he had not judged right of me, for I had not so spoken, but did believe the words of Christ as well as he, and as much as he could prove by the word.

Then he would hear what I did say it was. I said, I did believe it was that he gave them.

Then he asked me, What was that he gave them? I said, that which he brake.

Then he asked me, What was that he brake? I said, that he took.

What was it that he did take? I said, the text saith he took bread.

Well then, thou sayest it was but bread that his disciples did eat by thy reason.

Thus much I say, Look, what he gave them, they did eat indeed.

Why then, was not that his body that they did eat?—It was that which he brake, said I.

Well, said he, I perceive thy meaning well enough; for thou dost think it but bread still, and that he was not able to make it his body.

That is your exposition upon my mind.

Then said he, What didst thou receive when thou didst receive last?

I said, I do believe that I did eat Christ's flesh, and drink his blood: for he saith, "My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed."

Then he said, I had well answered; thinking to have had some advantage at my hand, and prayed me to tell him, how I did eat his flesh and drink his blood.

Then I said, I must answer you by the word which Christ saith, "He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him."

Then he faced out the matter with sophistry and said, I did eat Christ, as that Church was in his eye; with many such mocks, but would not let me answer one word.

Then the commissary did ask me, if I did not remember St. Paul, which did rebuke the Corinthians for their evil behaviour, and because they made no difference of the Lord's body; and brought in to prove his matter, how he called himself bread in the sixth of John. So Paul saith, "So oft as ye eat of this bread (meaning Christ's body) unworthily, ye eat and drink your own damnation, because ye make no difference of the Lord's body." For thus saith Christ, "The bread that I will give you is my flesh." Now, it is no bread, but it is his flesh. And thus he alleged every scripture false, to make up the matter.

Then I said, I did believe the words of St. Paul very well, even as he had spoken them: for thus he saith: "He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, because he maketh no difference of the Lord's body."

What is the cause, said he, that he eateth his own damnation?—I said, St. Paul declareth it plainly with these words, "If ye had judged yourselves, ye should not have been judged of the Lord."

Then the archdeacon said, he marvelled why I would not say, That he called the bread his body; seeing Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, with many others, called it his body.

I said, You have condemned them as heretics, and you would have me say with them, because you would kill me.

Then he said, In that they said it was his body, they did say the truth.

I asked wherefore they were killed, seeing they said the truth?

Then said the bishop, that he had all their answers, and that they did not believe as they said: for they said Christ called it his body, but it was not his natural body. But thou shalt answer me by and by, whether it be his body or not, or else I will anger thee.

Then I said, I had answered him by the word already, and did believe it also; therefore if he did condemn me for that, my life was not dear unto me, and I was sure he should not escape unpunished: for God will be revenged upon such murderers.

Then the archdeacon intreated me to be ruled by him, and take mercy while it was offered; for if I were condemned, I must needs be burned. Yet he would not say but my soul might be saved,—with many more words; and desired me that I would believe him; for he would speak the truth; beginning how Christ fed five thousand people with four loaves, and how he turned the water into wine: even so Christ took bread and blessed it, and when he had done he brake it, and said, "This is my body," and then he commanded them to eat it: and therefore it must needs be his body.

Then I desired him to speak the text right, or else I would not believe him.

Then he stood up, and put off his cap, and thanked me for teaching of him, and said, I was a stubborn fellow, and took scorn to be taught.—I said, I ought to hold him accursed, if he taught doctrine contrary to Christ and his apostles.

Then he asked me, whether I did believe that Christ did give that he took, or not?

I said, I do believe as much as can be proved by the scripture, and more I will not believe.

Then he began with Moses' rod, how God commanded him to lay it down, and it was turned into a serpent; seeing



that this was by Moses, being but a man, how much more Christ, being both God and man, took one thing, and gave to his disciples another?

I said, his comparison was nothing like, for Moses' rod when it was laid down, he saw that it was turned into a very serpent indeed; but in this sacrament no man can see either quality or yet quantity to be changed.

Then said the bishop, that mine opinion and faith was like unto the Capernaïtes.

I said, theirs was more like their opinion than mine.

The archdeacon asked me whether Christ took not one thing, and gave another?

I said, Look, what he brake he gave unto them, and bade them eat; and other answer I will make none, contrary to the word.

Then he said, he marvelled why I would not believe them, seeing this learning had continued these fifteen hundred years; neither yet did say, as other had before, how Christ did call it his body.

Then I said, When Cranmer, which was here bishop, was in authority, he said, that he did hold the truth, and commanded us to believe him, and he hath given his life for his opinion; and would you have me to believe you, because you say that you hold the truth? and that which makes me believe chiefly is the scripture, which I am sure is the truth indeed.

The bishop said he had spoken the truth, and that I would not believe.

I said, if he did not now speak the truth, I was sure he had spoken the truth; for he had preached before, doctrine clean contrary unto this.

Then were the rest of my articles read; which I answered, and in every article he had up his brea-den god. And they sent for a candle-light, and I thought they would have condemned me, but God would not suffer their cruel hearts to have their pleasure at that time: blessed be his name for evermore! Amen.

Then the archdeacon was angry, and began to chide with me, because I would not desire a day of the bishop, and said, I was a naughty stubborn fellow; and said it had been my duty to have desired him to have been good to me, that I might have a day.

Then I said, I have spoken the truth; and therefore I would ask him no day, except he would give me a day of his own mind.

Then said the commissary, Dost thou not think that thou mayest be deceived, seeing he may be deceived that hath gone to study all the days of his life?

I said, Yea, I might be deceived, in that I was a man; but I was sure that God's word could not be deceived.

Then he prayed me to be content, and confessed that I might learn, and said, they would be glad to teach me.

And I said, I would be as glad to learn as any man. And thus they rose up and went away, saying nothing.

[What became of Matthew Plai-ce after, no person knows.]

*The History of TEN true godly Disciples and Martyrs of Christ, burnt together in one Fire at Lewes, anno 1557, June 22.*

In the town of Lewes were ten faithful servants of God put in one fire, the 22d day of June, whose names follow: *Richard Woodman, George Stephens, William Maynard, Alexander Hosman*, his servant; *Thomasin Wood*, Maynard's maid; *Margery Morris*, and *Jas. Morris*, her son; *Dennis Burgess*, *Ann Ashdon*, and *Mary Groves*.

Of which number Richard Woodman was the first: concerning whose apprehension, first by his enemies, and of his deliverance out of Bonner's hands, then of his second taking again by the procurement of his father, brother, kinsfolks, and friends, here followeth. Richard Woodman by his occupation was an iron maker, dwelling in the parish of Warbleton in the county of Sussex, and diocese of Chichester, of the age of thirty years, and somewhat more.

The occasion of his first apprehension was this: There was one Faïrebank, who some time had been a married priest, and served the cure of Warbleton, where he had often persuaded the people not to credit any other doctrine but that which he then preached, taught, and set forth, in king Edward's days; and afterwards in the beginning of queen Mary's reign, the said Faïrebank, turning head to tail, preached clean contrary to that which he had before taught. Rich. Woodman, hearing him in the church of Warbleton, so to preach contrary to himself, admonished him of his inconstancy, how before-time he had taught them one thing, and now another, and desired him to teach them the truth. For which words he was apprehended, and brought before Mr. John Ashbornham, Mr. Tonston, Mr. Culpepper, and Mr. Roberts, justices of peace in the county of Sussex, and by them committed to the King's Bench, where he continued from June almost a year and a half; and from thence was transferred by Dr. Story into Bonner's Coal-house, where he remained a month ere he was brought to examination.

At length, the same day when Mr. Philpot was burned, which was the 18th of December, he with four other prisoners was delivered and set at liberty by Bonner himself. Notwithstanding, shortly after he was sought for again, and at last found out and taken by means of his father, brother, and certain other his friends, and so was sent up again to London to bishop Bonner, where he remained in the Coal-house, eight weeks. He was there six times examined, and twenty-six times before, so that his examinations were in all thirty-two, from his first apprehension to his condemnation.

Touching the whole discourse whereof, forsomuch as the matter is something strange, and will peradventure scarce find credit upon my narration, with them which deny all things that they like not to believe, ye shall hear himself speak and testify both of the manner of his troubles, and also his own examinations by himself recorded, in order as followeth:

*A true Certificate, written by RICHARD WOODMAN, of his Taking, &c. &c.*

Gentle reader, here you shall perceive how the scriptures be partly fulfilled on me, being one of the least of his poor lambs. First, you shall understand, that since I was delivered out of the bishop of London's hands, which was in the year of our Lord 1555, and the same day that Mr. Philpot was burned, which was the 18th of December, I lay in his Coal-house eight weeks lacking but one day: and before that I was a year and a half almost, in the King's Bench after my first apprehension, for reproving a preacher in the pulpit, in the parish of Warbleton, where I dwelt. Wherefore I was at two sessions before I was sent to prison, and carried to two more sessions while I was in prison, twice before the bishop of Chichester, and five times before the commissioners; and then sent to the bishop of London's Coal-house, and many times called before him.

And it pleased God at that time to deliver me with four more out of the butcher's hands, requiring nothing else of us but that we should be honest men, and members of the true Catholic church, that was builded upon the prophets and



apostles, Christ being the head of the true church; the which all we affirmed, that we were members of the true church, and purposed by God's help therein to die. And hereupon we were delivered; but he willed us many times to speak good of him. And no doubt he was worthy to be praised, because he had been so faithful an aid in his master the devil's business: for he had burnt good Mr. Philpot the same morning, in whose blood his heart was so drunken, as I supposed, that he could not tell what he did, as it appeared to us both before and after. For but two days before, he promised us that we should be condemned that same day that we were delivered; yea, and the morrow after that he had delivered us, he sought for some of us again.

This have I written, chiefly to certify all people how we were delivered, because many carnal gospellers and Papists have said, That it was prescribed that we should be so delivered; because they think that God is subject to man, and not man to God: for if they did, they would not blaspheme him as they do, or if they thought they should give account for it. Have not many of them read how God delivered Israel out of Egypt? Daniel out of the lion's den? Shadrach, Meshech, and Abednego, out of the burning oven? with divers other such like examples; yea, God is the same God that he was then: he is no older, nor less in power, as some count him, in wondering at his works. Now to the matter.

After I was delivered, the Papists said that I had consented to them, whereof they made themselves glad. I went from parish to parish, and talked with them to the number of thirteen or fourteen, and that of the chiefest in all the country; and I angered them so, that they with the commissioners complained on me to my lord chamberlain that was then, to the queen, Sir John Gage, shewing him that I baptized children, and married folks, with many such lies, to bring me into their hands again. Then the commissioners sent out certain citations to bring me to the court. My lord chamberlain had directed out four or five warrants for me, that if I had come there, I should have been attached, and sent to prison straightway. Which was not God's will: for I had warning of their laying wait for me, and came not there, but sent my deputy, and he brought me word that the bailiffs waited for me there. But they missed of their prey for that time, whereupon they were displeased.

Then within three days after, my lord sent three of his men to take me, whose names were Deane, Jeffrey, and Frances. I being at plough with my folks, right in the way as they were coming to my house, least mistrusting them of all other, came to them, and spake to them, asking them how they did. And they said they arrested me in the king and queen's name, and that I must go with them to their master, the lord chamberlain. Which words made my flesh to tremble and quake for fear, exceedingly. But I answered them that I would go with them; yet I desired them that they would go to my house with me, that I might break my fast, and put on some other gear; and they said I should. Then I remembered myself, saying in my heart, Why am I thus afraid? they can lay no evil to my charge. If they kill me for well doing, I may think myself happy. I remembered how I was contented gladly before to die in that quarrel, and so had continued ever since; and should I now fear to die? God forbid that I should; for then were all my labour in vain.

So by and by I was persuaded, I praise God, considering it was but the frailty of my flesh, which was loath to forego my wife and children, and goods: for I saw nothing but present death before mine eyes. And as soon as I was persua-

ded in my mind to die, I had regard of nothing in this world, but was as merry and glad and joyful, I praise God, as ever I was. This battle lasted but a quarter of an hour; but it was sharper than death itself for the time, I dare say.

So when I had my breakfast, I desired them to shew me their warrant, thinking thereby I should have seen wherefore I was arrested, to the intent I might the better answer for myself when I came before their master. And one of them answered, they had not their warrant there. Which words made me astonished, and it was put in my mind by God, that I need not go with them unless they had their warrant. Then said I to them, That is marvel that you will come to take a man without a warrant; it seemeth to me that you come of your own mind, to get thank of your master: for indeed I heard say, said I, that there was four or five warrants out for me, but they were called in again, because I had certified my lord and the commissary, by a letter that I had sent to the commissary's court, that I was not faulty in that they laid to my charge, which was for baptizing of children and marrying of folks, the which I never did; for I was never minister appointed to do any such thing; wherefore set your hearts at rest, I will not go with you, said I, unless you will carry me by force; and if you will, do so at your own adventures. And so I arose from the board, and stepped into my chamber, meaning to go from them if I could possibly, seeing God had made the way so open for me. I meant to play Peter's part with them; but God would not it should be so, but sent a fear amongst them, that as soon as I was gone into my chamber, ere ever I could come out again, they were gone out of my house.

When I saw that, I knew it was God's doing, to set me at liberty once again; yet I was compelled to speak to them, and said, If you have a warrant, I desire you for God's sake to shew it me, and I will go with you with all my heart; if not, I desire you to depart, in God's peace and the king's: for surely I will not go with you, without the order of the law. For I have been too simple in such things already: for before I was sent to prison first, I went to the justices to two sessions without any warrant or commandment, but had word by one of their men, and I went justly to them, and they sent me to prison, and kept me there almost a year and three-quarters, without all right or equity, as it is openly known, not hearing my cause gently debated. And it seemeth strange to me, that I should be thus evil handled; and therefore I will go to none of them all henceforth without the extremity of the law.

Then one of them answered me, and said, We have not the warrant here, but it is at home at my house; the worst is, you can but make us fetch it. Then I said, Fetch it if you will; but if you come in my house before you have it, at your own adventure be it. So I shut my door, and went my way out at the other door. So they got help to watch my house, whilst one of them fetched the constable and many more, thinking to have had me in my house, and to have taken me in my house, and carried me away with a license. But I was gone before, as God would have it. Notwithstanding, they sought every corner of my house, but could not prevail. I mistrusted they would search it again that night, and kept me abroad; and indeed there came seven of his men and the constable, and searched my house. And when they saw that they could not meet with me, they were ready to rend their coats, that I had escaped them so, knowing they should have such a check of their master. When I heard that they had sought for me so again, I perceiving that they were greedy of their prey, came home, and my wife told me all things.

Then I supposed that they would lay all the country for me, and the sea-coast, because I should not go over, and then I thought that they would not mistrust that I would dare be nigh home. So I told my wife, that I would make my lodging in a wood not past a shot flight from my house; as I did indeed, even under a tree, and there I had my Bible, my pen, and mine ink, and other necessities, and there continued six or seven weeks, my wife bringing me meat daily as I had need; yea, I thought myself blessed of God, that I was counted worthy to lie in the woods for the name of Christ.

Then there came word into the country, that I was seen and spoken to in Flanders; whereupon they left laying in wait for me. For they had laid all the country for me, and the sea-coast from Portsmouth to Dover, even as God put in my mind they would. *αὐτοῦ ἀριζόμενον νόμον.*

So when all was lashed, I went abroad among our friends and brethren, and at length I went beyond the sea both into Flanders and in France: but I thought every day a seven year, or ever I were at home again. So I came home again as soon as it was possible. I was there but three weeks; but as soon as I was come home, and it was once known among Baal's priests, they could not abide it, but procured out warrants against me, causing my house to be searched sometimes twice in a week. This continued from St. James's-tide to the first Sunday in Lent. Otherwhile I went privily, otherwhile openly, otherwhile I went from home a fortnight or three weeks, otherwhile openly doing such work as I had to do: and otherwhiles I was at home a month or five weeks together, living there most commonly, and yet all mine enemies could lay no hands on me, till the hour was full come: and then by the voice of the country, and by manifest proofs, mine own brother (as concerning the flesh) delivered me into their hands, by that he knew that I was at home.

For my father and he had as much of my goods in their hands as I might have 50l. for by the year clear, and thereunto prayed. It was a lordship, and an honour, and half an honour, that I delivered into their hands to pay my debts, and the rest to remain to my wife and children. But they had reported that it would not pay my debts: which grieved me sore, for it was 200l. better than the debts came to. Which caused me to speak to some of my friends, that they would speak to them to come to some reckoning with me, and to take all such money again of me as they were charged with, and to deliver me such writings and writs as they had of mine again, or to whom I would appoint them.

So it was agreed betwixt my father and me that I should have it again, and the day was appointed that the reckoning should be made and sent to me that same day that I was taken. My brother supposing that I should have put him out of most of all his occupying that he was in; for it was all mine in a manner that he occupied. Whereon he told one Cordillar, my next neighbour, and he told some of Mr. Gage's men, or to Mr. Gage himself; and so he sent to his brother, and his brother sent twelve of his men (he being sheriff) in the night before I was taken, and lay in the bushes not far from my house, till about nine of the clock, even the hour that was appointed amongst themselves; for about the same time they thought to have had me within my house. They had taken a man of mine, and two of my children, that were abroad in the land, and kept them with them till their hour was appointed to come in; and then a little girl (one of my children) saw them come together, and came running in, and cried, Mother, mother, yonder come twenty men! I sitting in my bed, and making of shoe-thongs, heard the words, and suspected straightway that I was betrayed; I

stirr'd out of my bed, and whipt on my hose, thinking to have gone out of the doors or ever they had been come. My wife being amazed at the child's words, looked out at the door, and they were hard by. Then she clapped to the door, and barred it fast, even as I came out of my chamber into the hall, and so barred the other. So the house was beset round straightway, and they bade open the doors, or else they would break them in pieces. Then I had no shift, but either I must shew myself openly, or make some other remedy.

So there was a place in my house that was never found, which was at the least I dare say twenty times, and sometimes almost of twenty men, searched at once, both by night and by day; into which place I went. And as soon as I was in, my wife opened the door, whereby incontinent they came, and asked for me, and she said I was not at home. Then they asked her wherefore she shut the door, if I were not at home? She said, because she had been made afraid divers times with such as came to search us, and therefore she shut the door: for it is reported, that whosoever can take my husband, shall hang or burn him straightway; and therefore I doubt they will serve me or my children so: for I think they may do so unto us as well as to him, she said. Well, said they, we know he is in the house, and we must search it, for we be the sheriff's men; let us have a candle; it is told us there be many secret places in your house. So she lighted a candle, and they sought up and down in every corner that they could find, and had given over, and many of them were gone out of my house into the church-yard, and there talking with my father, and with some that he had brought with him.

Now when they could not find me, one of them went to him that gave the word that I was at home, and said, We cannot find him. Then he asked them whether they had sought over a window that was in the hall? (for that same place I had told him of myself; for many times when I came home, I would send for him to hear me company: yet, as it chanced, I had not told him the way into it.) Then they began to search anew. One looked up over the window, and espied a little loft, with three or four chests, and the way went in betwixt two of the chests, but there could no man perceive it. Then he asked my wife which was the way into it: here is a place that we have not sought yet. When she thought they would see it by one means or other, she said the way was into it out of a chamber they were in even now. So she sent them up, and cried, Away! away! Then I knew there was no remedy, but made the best shift for myself that I could. The place was boarded over, and fast nailed, and if I had come out that way that I went in, I must needs come amongst them all in the hall. Then I had no shift, but set my shoulders to the boards that were nailed to the rafters to keep out the rain, and brake them in pieces, which made a great noise; and they that were in the other chamber, seeking for the way into it, heard the noise, and looked out of a window, and spied me, and made an out-cry. But yet I got out, and leaped down, having no shoes on.

So I took down a lanc that was full of sharp cinders, and they came running after, with a great cry, with their swords drawn, crying, Strike him! strike him! Which words made me look back, and there was never one nigh me by an hundred feet, and that was but one, for all the rest were a great way behind. And I turned about hastily to go my way, and stepped upon a sharp cinder with one foot, and saving of it I stepped into a great miry hole, and fell down withal, and ere ever I could arise and get away, he was come in with me. His name is Parker the wild, as he is counted in all Sussex. But if I had on my shoes, they had been like to

have gone away errandless, if there had been five hundred more, if I had caught the plain ground once, to the which I had not a stone's cast. But it was not God's will: for if it had, I should have escaped from them all, if there had been ten thousand of them.

Then they took me and led me home again to put on my shoes, and such gear as I had need of. Then said John Fauconer, Now your Master hath deceived you: you said you were an angel; and if you had been an angel, why did you not flee away from us? Then said I, What be they that ever heard me say that I was an angel? it is not the first lie by a thousand that they have made of me. Angels were never begotten of men, nor born of women; but if they had said, they had heard me say that I do trust I am a saint, they had not said amiss.—What! do you think to be a saint!—Yea, that I do, and am already in God's sight, I trust in God: for he that is not a saint in God's sight already, is a devil; therefore he that thinketh scorn to be a saint, let him be a devil. And with that word they had brought me to mine own door; where met with me my father, and willed me to remember myself.

To whom I answered, I praise God I am well remembered whereabout I go; this way was appointed of God for me to be delivered into the hands of mine enemies: but wo unto him by whom I am betrayed, it had been good for that man that he had never been born, if he repent not with speed. The scriptures are now fulfilled on me: "For the father shall be against the son, and the brother shall deliver the brother to death," as it is this day come to pass. Then said one, He doth accuse his father: a good child indeed! I accuse him not, but say my mind; for there was no man knew me at home, but my father, my brother, and one more, the which I dare say would not hurt me for all the good in this town.

There was one George Beching, that married one of my sisters, and he thought that I had meant him, that he had betrayed me; and he said, Brother, I would you should not think that I was the cause of your taking. To whom I answered, that I meant him not, I meant one that was nearer of my blood than he was.

Then said one of Lause, that I had been a gosseller, and stood from them when I was brought to a sessions to Lause; and he said, I thought you would have been an honest man when you were at Lause, and I offered Hussey, the sheriff, to be bound for you, that you should go home to your wife, and come to him again. Then I remembered what he was; and said, Be you the pewterer? And he said, Yea. Then said I, It is happened to you according to the true proverb, as saith St. Peter, "The dog is turned to his vomit again, and the sow that was washed to wallow in the mire," and the end of all such will be worse than the beginning. Then his mouth was stopped, so that he had nothing to say.

All this while I stood at my door without; for they would not let me go in. So I put on my shoes and my clothes; then they put on an harness about my arms made of a dog's slip; which rejoiced my heart that I was counted worthy to be bound for the name of God. So I took my leave of my wife, and children, my father, and other of my friends, never thinking to see them more in this world. For it was so thought of all the country, that I should not live six days after my taking; for they had so reported.

#### *The first Examination of Richard Woodman.*

First, you shall understand that I was sent from the sheriffs to London the 12th day of April, in the year of our Lord 1567, and afterward upon the 14th day of the same

month I was brought before the bishop of Chichester, and Dr. Story, and Dr. Cook. So the sheriff's men delivered my warrant and me to the bishop. Then the bishop asked me what my name was. My name, quoth I, is Richard Woodman.

*Chic.* I am sorry for you, and so are all the worshipful men of your country: for it hath been reported to me, that you have been a man of good estimation of all the country, amongst the poor and rich, till now of late. Wherefore look well upon yourself, your wife, and children, your father, and other of your friends, and be ruled. Think not yourself wiser than all the realm: be informed, and you shall have their favours all, as much as ever you had.

*Woodm.* You have charged me with many things wherein I have never offended; as, if you will give me leave, I will shew you.

*Chic.* Yes, I pray say your mind.

*Woodm.* If it please you, you have charged me as though I made myself wiser than all the realm; God doth know, I stand to learn of every man that will or can teach me the truth. And whereas you say, I have been well esteemed both of the poor and rich; God doth know, I know not that I have given any just offence either to rich or poor. And as for my wife and children, God doth know how I love them in him, and my life also. My life, my wife, and my children, are all in God's hands, and I have them all as I had them not, I trust, according to St. Paul's words. But if I had ten thousand pounds of gold, I had rather forego it all than them, if I might be in choice, and not displease God.

*Chic.* The sheriff took pains to come to me, of love, he said, which he bare to you, as to himself; and said, you were desirous to speak with me.

*Woodm.* I thought it meet to appeal to mine ordinary, for they go about to shed my blood unrighteously: for they have laid many unjust things to my charge. Wherefore I thought it meet to appeal to you, that if you can find any fault in me meet to be reformed by God's word, I stand to be reformed; and likewise if my blood shall be shed unrighteously, that it might be required at your hands, because you have taken upon you to be the physician of our country.

*Story.* Is not this a perverse fellow, to lay to your charge that his blood shall be required at your hands? Thinkest thou that thou shalt be put to death unjustly, that thy blood should be required? no, if he should condemn an hundred such heretics as thou art. I helped to rid a good number of you: and I promise thee I will help to rid thee too, the best that I can.

Then I would have answered him, but the bishop desired us both to give him place.

*Chic.* Well, neighbour Woodman, I call you neighbour, because you be one of my diocese, and you are sent to me that I should give you spiritual counsel; for I am your spiritual pastor. Therefore hear what I shall say to you.

*Woodm.* First, I desire you to hear me a few words. You have said, you will give me spiritual counsel; be you sure that you have the Spirit of God?

*Chic.* No, I am not sure of that.

*Woodm.* No, be you not sure of that?

*Chic.* No, by St. Mary, I dare not be so bold to say so. I doubt of that.

*Woodm.* Then you be like the waves of the sea, as saith St. James, that be tossed about with the wind, and be unstable in all your ways, and can look for no good thing at the Lord's hand; yea, ye are neither hot nor cold, and therefore God will spue you out of his mouth, as saith St. John.

Then they were in a great fury, especially Dr. Story, saying, What a perverse fellow this is! He hath the devil within him, and is mad. He is worse than the devil. Now I perceive that it is true that is reported by thee, and it is the pride of all such heretics to boast themselves.

*Chic.* Yea, surely, he is sent to me to learn, and taketh upon him to teach me.

I seeing their blindness and blasphemy, it made my heart melt, and mine eyes gush out with tears, saying, The Jews said to Christ he had the devil, and was mad, as you have said here by me. But I know the servant is not above his master. And God forbid that I should learn of him that confesseth that he hath not the Spirit of God.

*Chic.* Why, do you think that you have the Spirit of God?

*Woodm.* I do believe verily that I have the Spirit of God.

*Chic.* You boast more than ever Paul did, or any of the apostles, which is great presumption.

*Woodm.* I boast not in myself, but in the gift of God, as Paul did; for he said, he believed verily that he had the Spirit of God, making thereof no doubt, in 1 Cor. vii.

*Chic.* It is not so; you belie the text.

*Woodm.* If it be not so, let me be burned to-morrow.

*Story.* Thou shalt not be burned to-morrow, but thou shalt be burned within these six days, I promise thee.

*Chic.* If it be so, it is wrong translated, as it is in a thousand places more.

Then one looked in a Latin Testament, and another in a Greek Testament, and they said it was in them both, that Paul supposed he had the Spirit of God, but he was not sure.

*Chic.* Even so I hope and suppose that I have the Spirit of God, but I am not sure.

*Woodm.* If that place be wrong translated, and so many places of the Bible, as you say, then I may say with Christ, "It cannot be avoided but offences must be given; but wo unto them by whom they come." I may say, Wo unto false translators; for cursed are they that add or take away. But take heed that you belie not the translators; I believe they had the fear of God more before their eyes than you report of them. And yet if that place be wrong translated, I can prove by places enough that Paul had the Spirit of God, as I myself and all God's elect have.

*Chic.* How prove you that?

*Woodm.* 1 Cor. vii. "No man can believe that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost:" I do believe that Jesus Christ is my redeemer, and that I shall be saved from all my sins by his death and blood-shedding, as Paul and all the apostles did, and as all faithful people ought to do; which no man can do without the Spirit of God. And as there is no damnation to them that are in Christ Jesus, so is there no salvation to them that are not in Christ Jesus: "For he that hath not the Spirit of Christ, is none of his," but is a cast-away, as he saith in the same text. And again, "We have not received the spirit of bondage, to fear any more, but we have received the Spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father. The same Spirit certifyeth our spirits, that we are the sons of God." Here are proofs enough that Paul was sure that he had the Spirit of God. Also St. John saith, "He that believeth not that Christ is come in the flesh, is an Antichrist, and denieth both the Father and the Son;" which is sin against the Holy Ghost, and which shall never be forgiven in this world, nor in the world to come. Beside all this, "He that believeth in God, dwelleth in God, and God in him." So it is impossible to believe in God, unless God dwell in us. O good God! what more injury can be done unto thee, than to mistrust that we have received thy holy Spirit by thy gift? Thus may all men see their blind-

ness, and whose servants they be, as they do declare themselves both by their words and deeds.

*Story.* O my lord, what an heretic is this same! Why hear you him? Send him to prison to his fellows in the Marshalsea, and they shall be despatched within these twelve days.

When I heard him say so, I rejoiced greatly in my heart, desiring God, if it were his will, to keep him in that mind: for I looked surely to have gone to the bishop of London's Coal-house, or Lollards' Tower, yea, I thought myself happy if I might have gone to Lollards' Tower; but it pleased God to put in the hearts of them to send me to the Marshalsea amongst our brethren and my old prison-fellows; so merciful hath God dealt with me in easing of my burden that I looked for. So when they perceived that I feared not imprisonment, but rather rejoiced, as they well perceived, then said the bishop, Methinks he is not afraid of the prison. No, said I, I praise the living God.

*Story.* This is an heretic indeed, he hath the right terms of all heretics: the living God! I pray you, be there dead gods, that you say the living God?

*Woodm.* Be you angry with me, because I speak the words which are written in the Bible?

*Story.* Bibble babble! bibble babble! What speakest thou of the Bible? there is no such word written in all the Bible.

*Woodm.* Then I am much to blame, if it be not so written, (see Baruch vi. 1—6.) Here I prove my sayings true, both that there is a living God, and that there be dead gods. Also David saith in the Psalms, "My soul hath a desire and longing to enter into the courts of the Lord; my heart and my flesh rejoice in the living God:" with divers other places that I could recite. Wherefore I marvel that you rebuke me for speaking the truth.

*Chic.* I do not deny but it is written, and is the truth, and I know it as well as you; but such is the speech of all heretics.

*Story.* My lord, I will tell you how you shall know an heretic by his words, because I have been more used to them than you have been; that is, they will say, The Lord, and, We praise God, and, The living God. By these words you shall know an heretic.

*Woodm.* All these words are written for our learning, and we are commanded of the prophets to use them daily, as this, "The Lord's name be praised, from the rising up of the sun unto the going down of the same." Also, "As many as fear the Lord, say always, The Lord be praised."

*Story.* My lord, send him to prison, you shall do no good with him. I will go to church, and leave you here. This is an old heretic. Wast thou never before me ere now?

*Woodm.* Yes, forsooth, that I have.

*Story.* Yea, I trow so; and I sent thee to the bishop of London, and he released thee, and thou promisedst him to be an honest man, and thou wouldst be of the true Catholic church; which thou hast not fulfilled.

*Woodm.* I promised him nothing but I have fulfilled it; no man shall prove the contrary.

*Story.* Well, it will be tried well enough.—My lord, I will take my leave; I fear me you shall do this man no good.

*Chic.* I would not have you to use such speeches as you do, as, The Lord be praised, and, The living God, with such like words. Can you not say as well, Our Lord, or Our God, as otherwise?

*Woodm.* I marvel why you should reprove me therefore, seeing they be the words of God. I do not refuse to say, Our God, or Our Lord, when I talk of the scripture where



*Priest.* So he thinketh, my lord; he is a stout fellow, indeed, as we have seen.

*Woodm.* Yea, I am stout, because I do that I am commanded. I dare not for my life hold my peace: for I should bear your sin, the which I will not do for any of you all, I tell you plainly.

*Chic.* Where find you that you are commanded to reprove me?

*Woodm.* If thou see thy brother sin, reprove him: if he repent, thou hast won thy brother. But you repent it not, methinketh, but rather go about to maintain the same.—Christ saith, “He that breaketh one of the least of my commandments, and teacheth men so, shall be called least in the kingdom of heaven:” and you go about to teach men so; so far as I see.

*Priest.* Why, my lord, this man is past cure; I see no hope in him.

*Chic.* No, so methinketh. I will never talk with him more. Go call Mr. Story: let him do with him what he will. He hath been with his fellows in the Marshalsea, and now he is worse than he was before: I had some hope in him the other day, but now I see none.

*Woodm.* No, I praise God, my faith hangeth upon no man, but upon God.

*Priest.* Nay, my lord, I think he is not the worse for them; but I fear me they be the worse for him. I know this man of old, before mine old lord.

*Woodm.* Well, my lord, look well to it: will you deliver me to other men to shed my blood, and so think to wash your hands of me, as Pilate did by Christ? Nay, you cannot be so discharged.

*Chic.* I have nothing to do with you; but of my gentleness I have sent for you, because you said you would declare your mind in any particular matter I would demand of you.

*Woodm.* Why, I do not deny but I will do so, if you do demand it of me. But you go about to deliver me to other to kill me: and I know that there is none that hath to do with me but you.

*Chic.* I am not consecrated yet: wherefore my lord cardinal may examine you, and condemn you; or my lord of London: for you are now in his diocese.

*Woodm.* Yea, my lord, is the matter even so? Then I perceive whereabout you go; nay, I will talk no more with you then, if you be at that point. Ask me what you will, but I will shew you nothing of my mind: I promise you I will not answer in particular matters, and so you to accuse me to other, and they to kill me.

*Chic.* I go not about to kill you, but would be glad to hear your mind in the sacraments, and if you understand them not aright, I would be glad with all my heart to shew you my mind how I understand them: for I would you should do as well as mine own self.

*Woodm.* If you would talk with me to do me good, I would be content to hear you, and shew you my mind; otherwise I would be loath.

*Chic.* Nay, I will promise you, if I can do you no good, I will do you no harm: for if I meant to do you harm, I would lay your hand-writing against you; but I will not. Wherefore be in no doubt of me. How say you to the sacrament of matrimony? is it a sacrament, or no? how think you by it?

*Woodm.* I think it is an holy institution ordained of God in paradise, and so to continue to the world's end.

*Chic.* Lo, now you shall see how you be deceived in that, as you be in all the rest. Come hither; you can read Latin, I am sure.

*Woodm.* Yea, I can read Latin, but I understand very little.

*Chic.* Come to me, you shall see that Paul calleth it a holy sacrament: for these be the words, “For this cause shall a man leave father and mother, and shall be joined to his wife; and two shall be made one flesh:” this is a great sacrament.

*Woodm.* I remember such a saying: but St. Paul calleth it not a sacrament, but he saith, “It is a great mystery.”

*Chic.* Where saith he so?

*Woodm.* I am not sure in what text it is, but I am sure these be St. Paul's words, and that he calleth it not a sacrament in all his writings.

*Chic.* What, the last day ye were full of scriptures. Here it is written, and there it is written! What, we can rehearse the scriptures as well as you. Wherefore, if we be sure it is written, it is no great matter for the place. Come hither, I will shew you the place, I think, that you mean.

*Woodm.* I looked, and it was written *sacramentum*. I know it is written a “great mystery” in the English translation.

*Chic.* I permit it to be a mystery: what is a mystery?

*Woodm.* A mystery is, I take it, unseen: for he saith, he speaketh betwixt Christ and the congregation. So the great mystery that he speaketh of, I take to be the faith of them that be married, which is hid in Christ, the which we see not, but Christ. But the deed which is in the congregation, which is the outward marriage, we see; but the inward marriage of the heart we see not: wherefore St. Paul calleth it a mystery. And therefore if it be a sacrament, it is invisible to us; it is not seen, as other sacraments be.

*Chic.* Nay, I tell you it is a visible sacrament, seen as the other be: for, is not the marriage seen? is not the man and woman seen?

*Woodm.* My lord, I pray you what is a sacrament?

*Chic.* It is the sign of a holy thing.

Methinks (said I) you have certified me very well: there need not be a sign of a holy thing, where the holy thing is itself.

Then his chaplains would have interrupted me; but I desired my lord I might say out my mind in the matter. So with much ado he bade me say what I could.—There need not to be a sign of a thing, where the thing is itself. Matrimony is an holy thing itself, and is ended outwardly, and need no more signs but themselves: wherefore it cannot be a sacrament as other be.

*Chic.* Lo, how much you speak against yourself. And for an example, I come by an hosier, and there hangeth a pair of hose, the which be hose, and be a sign of hose that be to sell within.

*Priest.* How say you to this? Now my lord hath hit you home indeed.

*Woodm.* He hath hit me perilously, I tell you, with sophistry to blind my eyes withal. I marvel you be not all ashamed of it: I can answer that to all your shames, if I might be justly heard, I tell you plainly.

*Priest.* What, you be angry, methinks.

*Woodm.* I am not angry, but I am earnest, I tell you, to see your blindness and folly. I talked of the scriptures that be written, and it is God's word, to prove my matter true by; and you will prove your matter true by a pair of hose. And as well can you prove it by that, as by God's word.

*Priest.* Why, is there nothing true but that is written in the Bible?

*Woodm.* St. Paul said to the Galatians, the first chapter, “If an angel come from heaven, and preach any other doctrine than may be proved by God's word, hold him accursed:” and so do I, I tell you plainly.



*Priest.* Here is a Testament in my hand: if I hurl him in the fire and burn him, have I burned God's word or not? I will buy a new one for sixteen-pence.

*Woodm.* I say you have burned God's word, and I believe he that he will burn a Testament willingly, would burn God himself if he were here, if he could: for he and his word are all one. Then they made a great laughing at it.

Laugh on, (quoth I:) your laughing will be turned to weeping, and all such joy will be turned to mourning, if you repent it not with speed.

Then the bishop began to cloak the priest's folly, saying, Why, if my counting-house were full of books, and if my house should be on fire by chance, and so burned, were God's word burned?

*Woodm.* No, my lord, because they were burned against your will: but yet if you should burn them willingly, or think it well, and not be sorry for it, you burn God's word as well as he. For he that is not sorry for a shrewd turn doth allow it to be good.

*Chic.* Follow your vocation; you have a little learning. "We have an altar whereof you may not eat:" what meaneth St. Paul thereby?

*Woodm.* There is no man so foolish to eat stones, I trow.

*Chic.* What mockers and sorners be you, to say no man will be so foolish to eat stones! it is a plain mock.

*Woodm.* Why, my lord, you said I had no learning, nor knowledge, nor understanding: wherefore it becometh you to make things more plain to me, and not to ask me such dark questions, and yet blame me too; methinks it is too much.

*Chic.* I dare say you know what it meaneth well enough. The most fool in my house will understand my meaning better than you do.—(There stood some of his men not far off, talking together beside a window; he called one of them by his name.) Come hither, I say to thee, thou shalt not eat of this table: what do I mean thereby?

*The man.* Forsooth, my lord, you would not have me eat of this table; laying his hand thereupon.

With this answer he made all them in the house to fall on laughing, and I could not hold it in, but burst out with laughter, and said, He hath expounded the matter almost as well as I.

*Chic.* He meaneth well enough, if you would understand him. Answer me again, to make it more plain. I say to thee, thou shalt not eat of this table: what mean I thereby?

*The man.* Forsooth, you would not have me eat this table.

These words made them all laugh; wherewith the bishop was almost angry, because the answer proved no better, and said, He meaneth that I would not have him eat any of the meat that is set upon this table. How sayest thou, dost thou not mean so?

*The man.* Yes forsooth, my lord, that was my meaning indeed.

*Woodm.* Yea, my lord, now you have told him what you mean, he can say so too; and so could I have done, as little wit as I have, if you had said, Paul meant that no man might eat of that which was offered upon the altar, but the priests.

*Chic.* Yea, I perceive you understand the meaning of Paul well enough, but that you list to cavil with me.

*Woodm.* Why, my lord, do you think I understand such dark places of the scripture, without learning? You said even now I had no knowledge nor learning, wherefore I answered you as you judged of me.

*Chic.* Well, let this matter pass, and let us turn to the principal again. How say you by the sacrament of the altar?

*Woodm.* You mean the sacrament of the body and blood of Jesus Christ.

*Chic.* I mean the sacrament of the altar, and so I say.

*Woodm.* You mean Christ to be the altar, do you not?

*Chic.* I mean the sacrament of the altar in the church? what, is it so strange to you?

*Woodm.* It is strange to me, indeed, if you mean the altar of stone.

*Chic.* It is that altar that I mean.

*Woodm.* I understand not the altar so.

*Chic.* No, I think so indeed: and that is the cause that you be deceived. I pray you, how do you understand the altar then?

*Woodm.* If you will give me leave till I have done, I will shew you how I understand the altar, and where it is.

*Chic.* Yes, you shall have leave to say your mind as much as you will.

*Woodm.* It is written, Matt. xviii. "That wheresoever two or three be gathered together in Christ's name, there is he in the midst among them: and whatsoever they ask the Father upon earth, it shall be granted them in heaven." Agreeing to the fifth of Matthew, saying, "When thou comest to offer thy gift at the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee, leave there thy offering, and go first and be reconciled to thy brother, and then offer thy gift."

The priests would have interrupted me, but the bishop bade them let me alone: saying, You shall hear a pretty conclusion anon.

I pray you (said I) let me make an end, and then find fault with me if you can. Now to the matter: In these two places of scripture, I prove that Christ is the true altar, whereon every Christian man and woman ought to come and offer their gifts. First, wheresoever the people are gathered together in Christ's name, there is he in the midst; and where he is, there is the altar; so that we may be bold to come and offer our gift, if we be in love and charity: if we be not, we must leave there our offering, and go first and be reconciled to our brother, and agree with him quickly, and so forth, and then come and offer the gift. Some will say, How shall I agree with my adversary, when he is not nigh by an hundred miles? may I not pray till I have spoken with him? To all such I answer, If thou presume to pray among the faithful, wishing any evil to any man, woman, or child, thou askest vengeance upon thyself; for no such asketh any thing else of the Lord in his prayer. Wherefore agree with thy adversary, that is, make thy life agreeable to God's word. Say in thy heart without dissimulation, that thou askest God and all the world forgiveness, from the bottom of thy heart, intending never to offend them any more: then all such may be bold to come and offer their gift, their prayer, on the altar, where the people of God be gathered together. Thus have I shewed you my mind, both of the altar and of the offering, as I understand it.

*Chic.* Do you understand the offering and the altar so? I never heard any man understand it so, no, not Luther the great heretic, that was condemned by a general council, and his picture burned.

*Woodm.* If he were an heretic, I think he understood it not so indeed; but I am sure all Christians ought to understand it so.

*Priest.* My lord, this man is an interpreter after his own mind.

*Chic.* I see it is but folly to talk with you; it is but lost labour. How say you, do you not believe that after the words be said, there remaineth neither bread nor wine, but the very body of Christ really? Make me a plain answer, for I will talk no more with you.

*Woodm.* I will make you a direct answer, how I believe of the true sacrament: I do believe, that if I come to receive

the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ truly ministered, believing that Christ was born for me, and that he suffered death for me, and that I shall be saved from my sins by his blood-shedding, and so receive the sacrament in that remembrance, then I believe I do receive wholly Christ, God, man, mystically by faith; that and is my belief.

*Chic.* Why, then it is no body without faith; God's word is of no force, as you count it!

*Woodm.* My lord, I have told you my mind without dissimulation, and more you get not of me, without you will talk with me by the scriptures; and if you will do so, I will begin anew with you, and prove it more plainly three or four manner of ways, that you shall not say nay to that I have said yourself.

Then they made a great laughing, and said, This is an heretic indeed; it is time he were burned. Which words moved my spirit, and I said to them, Judge not, lest you be judged; for as you judge me, you shall be judged yourselves: for that you call heresy, I shall serve God truly with, as you all shall well know when you shall be in hell, and have blood to drink.

Afterwards came in Dr. Story, pointing at me with his finger, speaking to the bishop in Latin, saying at the length, I can say nothing to him, but he is an heretic: I have heard you talk this hour and a half, and can hear no reasonableness in him.

*Woodm.* Judge not, lest you be judged; for as you judge, you shall be judged yourself.

*Story.* What, be you a preaching! You shall preach at a stake shortly with your fellows. My lord, trouble yourself no more with him.

With these words, one brought word that the abbot of Westminster was come to dine with the bishop, and many other gentlemen and women. Then there was rushing away with speed to meet him.

Then said Dr. Story to my keeper, Carry him to the Marshalsea again, and let him be kept close, and let no body come to speak with him.

So we departed, and I came again to the Marshalsea with my keeper.—

After this he was examined three several times before the bishop of Winchester and others, and treated with their usual insolence and barbarity. Here follows his sixth and last examination; after which he was condemned and burnt.

*The sixth and last Examination of R. Woodman, written and copied with his own hand.*

Be it known unto all men by this present writing, that I, Richard Woodman, some time of the parish of Warbleton, in the county of Sussex, was condemned for God's everlasting truth, anno 1557, July 16, by the bishop of Winchester, in the church of St. Mary Overies, in Southwark; there sitting with him the same time the bishop of Chichester, the archdeacon of Canterbury, Dr. Langdale, Mr. Roper, with a fat-headed priest, I cannot tell his name. All these consented to the shedding of my blood upon this occasion, as hereafter followeth.

I affirmed, that Judas received the sacrament with a sop, and the devil withal; and because I would not be sworn upon a book, to answer directly to such articles as he would declare to me; and because I would not believe that there remained neither bread nor wine after the words of consecration, and that the body of Christ could not be received of any but of the faithful: for these articles I was condemned.

First, the bishop said, when I came before him, You were before us on Monday last past; and there you affirmed

certain heresies. How say you now, do you hold them still, or will you revoke them?

*Woodm.* I held no heresies then, neither do I now, as the Lord knoweth.

*Winchester.* No? did you not affirm that Judas received bread? which is an heresy, unless you tell what more than bread.

*Woodm.* Is it heresy to say Judas received no more than bread? I said he received more than bare bread, for he received the same sacrament that was prepared to shew forth the Lord's death; and because he presumed to eat without faith, he ate the devil withal, as the words of Christ declare; after he ate the sop, the devil entered into him, as you cannot deny.

*Win.* Hold him a book. I will have you answer directly whether Judas did eat the body of Christ or no.

*Woodm.* I will answer no more, for I am not of your diocese: wherefore I will have nothing to do with you.

*Win.* No? you be in my diocese, and you be of my diocese, because you have offended in my diocese.

*Woodm.* I am not of your diocese, although I am in your diocese, and I was brought into your diocese against my will; and I have not offended in your diocese; if I have, tell me wherein.

*Win.* Here in your own hand-writing, the which is heresy. These be the words, "*I cannot find*," say you, "*that it is the body of Christ to any before it is received in faith*." How say you, is not this your own hand-writing?

*Woodm.* Yea, I do not deny but it is my own hand-writing; but when or where was it written, or where were the words spoken?

*Win.* Before the commissioners; and here is one of them. Mr. Roper, the words were spoken before you, were they not?

*Roper.* Yes, indeed that they were. Woodman. I am sure you will not deny them; for you have written the words even as you spake them.

*Woodm.* No, sir, indeed I will not deny but that I spake them, and am glad that you have seen it; for you may see by that whether I lie or not.

*Roper.* Indeed the words be written word by word as ye spake them.

*Win.* Well, here you affirm that it is your own deed. How say you now, will you be sorry for it, and become an honest man?

*Woodm.* My lord, I trust no man can say but that I am an honest man; and as for that, I marvel that you will lay it to my charge, knowing that my lord of London discharged me of all matters that were laid against me, when I was released of him.

*Win.* You were released, and it might fortune it was not laid to your charge then; therefore we lay it to your charge now, because you be suspected to be an heretic; and we may call you before us, and examine you upon your faith upon suspicion.

*Woodm.* Indeed, St. Peter willeth me to render account of my hope that I have in God, and I am contented so to do, if it please my bishop to hear me.

*Chichester.* Yes, I pray you, let us hear it.

*Woodm.* I do believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible, and in one Lord Jesus Christ my Saviour, very God and very man. I believe in God the Holy Ghost, the comforter of all God's elect people, and that he is equal with the Father and the Son. I believe the true Catholic church, and all the sacraments that belong thereto. Thus have I rendered account of my hope that I have of my salvation.

*Win.* And how believe you in the blessed sacrament of the altar? And with that word they put off their caps to that abominable idol.

*Woodm.* I pray you be contented, for I will not answer to any more questions; for I perceive you go about to shed my blood.

*Win.* No! hold him a book: if he refuse to swear, he is an Anabaptist, and shall be excommunicated.

*Woodm.* I will not swear for you: excommunicate me if you will. For you be not meet to offer an oath: for you laid heresies to my charge in yonder pulpit, the which you are not able to prove: wherefore you be not meet to offer an oath to any man. And as for me, I am not of your diocese, nor will have any thing to do with you.

*Win.* I will have to do with thee, and I say thou art a strong heretic.

*Woodm.* Yea, all truth is heresy with you; but I am content to shew you my mind, how I believe on the sacrament of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, without flattering. For that you look for, I am sure. But I will meddle no further, but what I hold myself of it. I will not meddle of any other man's belief on it.

*Harpsfield.* Why, I am sure all men's faith ought to be alike.

*Woodm.* Yea, I grant you so, that all true Christian's faith ought to be alike. But I will answer for myself.

*Harps.* Well, let us hear what you say to it.

*Woodm.* I do believe, that when I come to receive the sacrament of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, if it be truly ministered according to Christ's institution, I coming in faith (as I trust in God I will whensoever I come to receive it,) I believing that Christ was born for me, and that he suffered death for the remission of my sins, and that I shall be saved by his death and blood-shedding, and to receive the sacrament of bread and wine in that remembrance, that then I do receive whole Christ, God and man, mystically by faith: this is my belief on the sacrament.

Then they spoke all at once, saying, Mystically by faith! Said the fat priest, What a fool art thou: mystically by faith! thou canst not tell what mystical is.

*Woodm.* If I be a fool, so take me: but God hath chosen such fools of this world to confound such wise things as you are.

*Fat Priest.* I pray thee what is mystically?

*Woodm.* I take mystically to be the faith that is in us, that the world seeth not, but God only.

*Win.* He cannot tell what he saith. Answer to the sacrament of the altar, whether it be not the body of Christ before it be received, and whether it be not the body of Christ to whomsoever receiveth it? Tell me, or else I will excommunicate thee.

*Woodm.* I have said as much as I will say; excommunicate me if you will. I am none of your diocese. The bishop of Chichester is mine ordinary; let him do it, if you will needs have my blood, that it may be required at his hands.

*Chic.* I am not consecrated yet, I told you when you were with me.

*Woodm.* No, indeed; your kine bring forth nothing but cow-calves, as it chanceth: meaning thereby he had not his bulls from Rome.

Then they were all in a great rage with me, and called me all to nought, and said I was out of my wits, because I spake fervently to every man's question. But I said, So Festus said to Paul, when he spake the words of soberness and truth, out of the Spirit of God, as I do. But as you have judged me, you be yourselves. You will go to hell, all the

sort of you, if you condemn me, if you repent it not with speed.

Then my keeper, and the sheriffs' deputy, Fuller, rebuked me, because I spake so sharply to them. And I said, I pray you let me alone: I must answer for my life.

Then there was much ado that I should keep silence; and so I held my peace. Then spake the bishop of Winchester, and the archdeacon of Canterbury, saying, We go not about to condemn thee, but go about to save thy soul, if thou wilt be ruled, and do as we would have thee.

To save my soul! said I. Nay, you cannot save my soul; my soul is saved already, I praise God therefore. There can no man save my soul, but Jesus Christ: and he it is that hath already saved my soul.

*Win.* Make an end; answer to me. Here is your ordinary, the archdeacon of Canterbury; he is made your ordinary by my lord cardinal, and he hath authority to examine you of your faith upon a book, to answer to such articles as he will lay to you; and I pray you refuse it not: for the danger is great if you do. Wherefore we desire you to shew yourself a subject in this matter.

Then they spake all, and said, Lo, my lord desireth you gently to answer to him, and so we do all; for if you refuse to take an oath, he may excommunicate you. For my lord cardinal may put whom he will in the bishop's office until he is consecrated.

*Woodm.* I know not so much; if you will give me time to learn the truth of it, if I can prove it to be as you say, I will tell you my mind in any thing that he shall demand of me, without any flattering.

*Priest.* My lord and all we tell thee it is true; and therefore answer to him.

*Woodm.* I will believe none of you all, for you be turn-coats and changelings, and be wavering minded, as saith St. James; you be neither hot nor cold, as saith St. John: therefore God will spue you out of his mouth.—Wherefore I can believe none of you all, I tell you truth; &c. &c.

*Win.* Give ear, for I will read sentence against you.

*Woodm.* Will you so? Wherefore will you? you have no just cause to excommunicate me. And therefore if you do condemn me, you will be condemned in hell, if you repent not; and, I praise God, I am not afraid to die for God's sake, if I had a hundred lives.

*Win.* For God's sake! nay, for the devil's sake. Thou sayest thou art not afraid to die: no more was Judas that hanged himself, as thou wilt kill thyself wilfully, because thou wilt not be ruled.

*Woodm.* Nay, I defy the devil, Judas, and all their members. And Judas' flesh was not afraid, but his spirit and conscience were afraid, and therefore despaired and hung himself. But I praise God, I feel no loathsomeness in my flesh to die, but a joyful conscience and a willing mind thereto. Wherefore my flesh is subdued to it, I praise God, and therefore I am not afraid of death.

*Chic.* Woodman, for God's sake be ruled. You know what you said to me at my house. I could say more if I would.

*Woodm.* Say what you can: the most fault that you found in me was, because I praised the living God, and because I said, I praise God, and the Lord; which you ought to be ashamed of, if you have any grace: for I told you were the words were written.

*Win.* Well, how say you, will you confess that Judas received the body of Christ unworthily? tell me plainly.

*Woodm.* My lord, if you, or any of you all, can prove before all this audience, in all the Bible, that any man ever

ate the body of Christ unworthily, then I will be with you in all things that you will demand of me; of the which matter I desire all this people to be witness.

*Priest.* Will you so! then we shall agree well enough: St. Paul saith so.

*Woodm.* I pray you where saith he so? rehearse the words.

*Priest.* In the eleventh of the first of the Corinthians he saith, "Whoso eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup, unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, because he maketh no difference of the Lord's body."

*Woodm.* Do these words prove that Judas ate the body of Christ unworthily? I pray you let me see them. They were contented. Then said I, These be the words even that you said, (good people, hearken well to them,) "Whoso eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup, unworthily; " he saith not, Whoso eateth of this body unworthily, or drinketh of this blood unworthily; but he saith, "Whoso eateth of this bread, and drinketh of this cup, unworthily, " (which is the sacrament,) "eateth and drinketh his own damnation; " because he maketh no difference between the sacrament, which representeth the Lord's body, and other bread and drink. Here, good people, you may all see they are not able to prove their sayings true: wherefore I cannot believe them in any thing that they do.

*Win.* Thou art a rank heretic indeed. Art thou an expounder? Now I will read sentence against thee.

*Woodm.* I am no heretic, I take heaven and earth to witness, I defy all heretics; and if you condemn me, you will be damned, if you repent not. But God give you grace to repent all, if it be his will.

And so he read forth the sentence in Latin; but what he said, God knoweth, and not I: God be judge between them and me. When he had done, I would have talked my mind to them: but they cried, Away! away with him! So I was carried to the Marshalsea again.

And thus have you the examination of this blessed Woodman (or rather Goodman) wherein may appear as well the great grace and wisdom of God in that man, as also the gross ignorance and barbarous cruelty of his adversaries, especially of Dr. White, bishop of Winchester.

After the sentence of condemnation, he was deprived of his life; with whom also was burned nine others, to wit, five men and four women, who were taken not past two or three days before their judgment.

These persons suffered at Lewis, the 22d of June.

#### *Two Martyrs in the City of Norwich.*

1. *Simon Miller* was an eminent merchant, in the town of Lynn-Regis; he was a godly man, zealous for the truth of the gospel, and averse to the Popish religion.

Having occasion to go to Norwich on business—while there, he inquired of some people, coming out of church from the Popish service, where he might go and receive the communion? which being reported to chancellor Dunning, he ordered him to appear before him. This summons he readily obeyed; when the chancellor asked him several questions, to which answering agreeably to the dictates of his conscience, he was committed prisoner to the bishop's palace.

After being some time in confinement, he obtained permission to go home, in order to settle his worldly concerns. On his return he was again examined by the chancellor, who required him to recant his opinions, and return to the holy mother church; but he remaining inflexible in his faith and profession, he was condemned as an heretic, and delivered over to the secular power.

2. *Elizabeth Cooper*, his fellow-martyr, was the wife of a tradesman in Norwich; she had formerly been prevailed on to recant the Protestant, and embrace the Romish religion: but being troubled in her conscience for so doing, she went one day to St. Andrew's church, where in the presence of a numerous audience she stood up, and publicly revoked her recantation. For this she was immediately apprehended, and committed to prison. The next day she was brought before the bishop; when, persisting in her faith, he condemned her as a relapsed person, and delivered her to the sheriff for execution.

On the 30th of July, 1557, they were both led to the stake in a hollow without the city, near Bishopgate. As soon as the faggots were lighted, Elizabeth Cooper expressed some fear; but being encouraged by the advice and example of her fellow-martyr, she remained fixed, and they both cheerfully resigned their souls into the hands of him who gave them.

#### *Ten Martyrs burnt at Colchester.*

On the 7th of March, 1557, about two o'clock in the morning, Edmund Tyrrel, (who was a descendant of that family who murdered king Edward V. in the Tower of London,) assisted by the bailiff of the hundred, two constables, and a great number of other attendants, went to the house of *William Munt*, farmer, at Much-Bentley, in Essex; and, after alarming the family, told Munt that he and his wife must both go with him to Colchester castle.

This sudden surprise greatly affected Mrs. Munt, who, after she had a little recovered herself, desired of Tyrrel that her daughter might be permitted to fetch her something to drink before she went with him. This being granted, Tyrrel took the opportunity of advising the daughter, as she passed by him, to give her father and mother better counsel, and admonish them to behave more like good Christians, and members of the Catholic church.

The daughter replied, they had the Holy Ghost for their instructor, and therefore needed no other. This her answer greatly irritated Tyrrel, who, after using many harsh words, assured her he was now convinced of the absolute necessity of calling such heretics to immediate account.

Tyrrel, from the most abusive language, proceeded to the most cruel behaviour; and, in order to try if she could bear burning, took the girl by the wrist, and held the lighted candle under her hand, burning it across the back till the sinews cracked; frequently exclaiming during the barbarous operation, Why, thou whore, wilt thou not cry! This she endured with the utmost patience, telling the villain, if he thought proper, he might then begin at her feet and proceed to the head; for he that prompted him to the work would one day pay him his wages.

Tyrrel then seized William Munt, Alice his wife, and Rose Allen their daughter, and immediately conducted them to Colchester castle, together with John Johnson, whom they took in their way, in consequence of an information that had been laid against him for heresy. They also the same morning apprehend the six others who suffered with them, namely, *Wm. Bongeor*, *Thomas Benhote*, *Wm. Purchase*, *Agnes Silverside*, *Helen Ewing*, and *Elizabeth Folk*; but not choosing to place those with the rest, they sent them prisoners to Mote-Hill.

After they had been confined a few days, they were all brought together before several justices of the peace, priests, and officers, (amongst whom were Kingston, the commissary, and Boswell, the bishop of London's secretary,) with many others, in order to be examined relative to their faith.



They continuing steadfast, and refusing to conform to the Romish church, sentence was read against them, and they were all delivered over to the secular power.

They continued under confinement with much joy and comfort, frequently reading the word of God, and exercising themselves in fervent prayer, impatiently waiting their happy dissolution.

Bishop Gardiner having an account transmitted to him of the condemnation of these ten innocent persons for the alleged crime of heresy, sent down a warrant for their being burned, and fixed the time on the 2d of August.

As the prisoners were confined in different places, it was resolved by the officer that part of them should be executed in the former, and the rest in the latter part of that day. Accordingly William Bongeor, William Purchase, Thomas Benhote, Agnes Silverside, Helen Ewring, and Elizabeth Folk, were brought early in the morning to the place appointed for them to suffer, where every thing was prepared for the bloody catastrophe.

When they arrived at the spot, they knelt down, and humbly addressed themselves to Almighty God, though they were interrupted by their Popish enemies. After they had done praying, they arose, were fastened to the stakes, and all burnt in one fire. They died with amazing fortitude and resignation, triumphing in the midst of the flames.

In like manner, in the afternoon of the same day, William and Alice Munt, Rose Allen, and John Johnson, were brought to the same place where their fellow-martyrs had suffered in the morning. As soon as they arrived at the fatal spot, they all knelt down, and for some time prayed with the greatest fervency. After prayers they arose, and cheerfully submitted to be fastened to the stakes; and then earnestly prayed to God to enable them to endure the fiery trial, exhorted the people to beware of idolatry, and with their latest breath confessed the faith of Christ crucified, whom to know is eternal life, and for whom to die is the glory of all his chosen people.

About this time suffered at Norwich a godly man, and constant martyr of Christ, called Richard Crashfield: at the burning of which Christian martyr, one Thomas Carman at the same time was apprehended, by what occasion it is not yet to us fully certain, whether it was for words, or for praying with him, or for pledging at his burning.

About the same time also, one named Fryer, with a woman accompanying him, (who was sister to one George Eagles, who suffered a little before,) in the like cause of Christ suffered martyrdom by the unrighteous Papists, at Rochester.

#### *The Martyrdom of Mrs. JOYCE LEWIS, at Litchfield, in Staffordshire.*

In the beginning of the reign of queen Mary, Mrs. Lewis went to church, heard mass, was confessed, and attended to all the ceremonies of the Romish church, till at length it pleased God, by the preaching of a Protestant minister, to convince her of her errors, and convert her to the faith of the gospel of Christ.

What greatly contributed to her conversion was the burning of a faithful servant of God at Coventry. She inquired into the cause of that cruel affair, and being told it was because he would not receive the mass, she began to entertain doubts concerning the truth of the religion she professed, and accordingly applied for satisfaction to one Mr. Glover, who had suffered much himself for his steadfast attachment to the truth of Christ's gospel.

This good man pointed out to her the errors of the Romish church, proving them to be antisciptural and antichristian, and advising her to make the word of God her constant study, and regulate her faith and practice by that alone.

Mrs. Lewis immediately took his advice, and gave herself up to prayer and acts of benevolence, determined by the grace of God both to do and believe what she was enjoined by the word of God.

Being one day urged by her husband to go to church, when the holy water was spread about, she turned her back on it, and highly expressed her displeasure. This being observed by several of the congregation, an accusation was the next day laid against her before the bishop of Litchfield, for despising the sacrament of the church.

The bishop sent an officer to summon her to appear before him, but when it was delivered to her husband, he threatened the officer unless he immediately withdrew. This treatment being reported to the bishop, he ordered both Lewis and his wife to appear before him: when after a short examination he dismissed the husband, on his begging pardon for his conduct, and offered forgiveness to her for the offence she had committed at the church, on the same terms. But she courageously told his lordship, that by refusing holy water she had not offended God, or any of his laws.

Though the bishop was greatly offended at this reply, yet, as she was a person of considerable repute, he did not proceed immediately against her, but gave her a month to consider of it, binding her husband in an hundred pound bond, to bring her again to him at the expiration of the time.

When the period fixed was nearly arrived, many of their friends advised her husband by all means not to deliver her up, but to convey her to some convenient retirement, saying, he had better sustain the loss of an hundred pounds than be instrumental to his wife's destruction. To these remonstrances the unnatural husband replied, he would not forfeit his bond for her sake; and accordingly, when the time was expired, he delivered her to the bishop, who still finding her resolute, committed her to a loathsome prison.

She was several times examined by the bishop, who reasoned with her on her not coming to mass, receiving the sacrament, and other rites of the holy church. To this she replied, that she found not those things in God's word which he so much urged and magnified, as necessary to salvation, adding, that if those things were founded on God's word, she would receive them with all her heart. His lordship told her, if she would believe no more than was in scripture, she was a damnable heretic; and after much farther discourse with her, pronounced sentence against her as an irreclaimable heretic.

After her condemnation, she remained a whole year in confinement; when, at length, the writ for her execution arriving, she sent for her friends to advise her how to behave herself, that her death might redound to the glory of God, and the establishment of his people; declaring at the same time that she feared not death when she thought on her Saviour Christ.

The night before she suffered, two priests visited her, and desired to hear her confession; but she rejected their request with disdain.

In the morning of the 10th of Sept. 1557, she was conducted to the place of execution by the two sheriffs and a strong guard. As soon as she arrived at the stake, she knelt down, and prayed most earnestly to God, beseeching him to abolish the idolatrous mass, and deliver the kingdom from Popery; to which one of the sheriffs, and many of the spectators, cried *Amen*.



When she was chained to the stake, she appeared not in the least afraid of the horrid punishment that awaited her; but, on the contrary, wore a calm and pleasing countenance. And when the faggots were lighted, she lifted up her hands and eyes to heaven; in which posture she quietly resigned her soul into the hands of her blessed Redeemer.

#### *Four Martyrs burnt at Islington.*

First, Mr. *Ralph Allerton*, being informed against by several bigoted Papists in the neighbourhood where he lived, was apprehended on suspicion of heresy; and after undergoing a short examination before a magistrate, was committed to prison.

A few days after, he was brought before lord Darcy, who accused him of not only absenting himself from the church, but also that by preaching he had persuaded others to follow his example.

To this, Mr. Allerton made the following confession: That coming to his parish church, and finding the people sitting there, some gazing about, and others talking on unprofitable subjects, he exhorted them to pray, meditate on God's word, and not sit idle; to which they willingly consented; and after prayer he read a chapter to them in the New Testament. This he continued to do for some time, till he was informed his proceedings were contrary to law, as he was neither priest nor minister; upon which he desisted.

He likewise confessed, That he was taken up for reading in the parish of Welby; but when those that apprehended him understood he had read but once, and that it was an exhortation to obedience, they let him go. After which being afraid, he kept in woods, barns, and solitary places, till he was apprehended.

After this examination, the lord Darcy sent him to London to the queen's commissioners, by whom he was referred to bishop Bonner; who persuaded him publicly to recant his profession at St. Paul's church, and then dismissed him; whereupon he returned into the country.

He was greatly troubled in his conscience for what he had done, earnestly repented of the same, and openly professed the faith he had shamefully revoked; till Thomas Tye, priest of the parish, (who had been a professor of the truth, but now was a prosecutor,) caused him to be apprehended, and again brought up to the bishop of London.

When he came before his lordship, he asked him the cause of his being brought, telling him he believed he was wrongfully accused, unless he had dissembled. Allerton told Bonner, that he was not guilty of what was laid to his charge, and desired to know his accusers, and the particulars of his accusation, in order that he might be able to defend himself. In answer to this request, the bishop told him, that if he had not dissembled, he needed not to be afraid or ashamed; and urged him to tell him if he dissembled in his former recantation. Allerton replied, if my accusers are not produced before your lordship, my conscience will constrain me to accuse myself; for I confess I have most grievously offended God by my dissimulation, when I was last before your lordship, for which I am now heartily concerned.

When Bonner inquired the cause of his dissembling, he replied, My lord, if your lordship remembers, I set my hand to a certain writing, the contents of which were, that I did believe in all things as the Catholic church teacheth, &c. in which I did not disclose my mind, but most shamefully dissembled, as I made no distinction between the true church and the false one. Being called upon to declare what he thought to be the true church, he would not allow the church

of Rome to be so; but said, that on the contrary those Christians who were persecuted by the Romish church, were members of the true Catholic church of Christ. Upon which the bishop called him heretic, and sent him to the Little-Ease prison at Guildhall.

After being confined there a whole day, the bishop again sent for him, and, in the presence of the dean of St. Paul's and the chancellor of the diocese, produced some writings, which Allerton acknowledged to be his. The bishop then asked if he had been at mass since he was last before him? To which he answered in the negative, declaring that he had neither been at mass, or matins, nor any other strange worshipping of God.

The chief person that appeared against him in the court was Thomas Tye, the priest of the parish, who affirmed he was a seditious person, and had stirred up a great strife in the neighbourhood where he lived.

This, with other complaints, being alleged against him, he was sent to prison again.

On the 15th of May he was brought before bishop Bonner, at his place in London, where a number of articles were exhibited against him. To which he in general answered in the affirmative, objecting only to a clause in the 12th, that "a man is not bound to fast and pray, but at his own will and pleasure;" and confessed that he had neither fasted nor prayed so frequently as he ought to have done.

Many arguments were used by Dr. Darbyshire, the bishop's chancellor, and others, to bring Mr. Allerton to a recantation; but all proving ineffectual, he was sent back again to prison.

A few days after, he with his fellow-martyrs were ordered to appear before bishop Bonner, at his palace at Fulham, where in his private chapel, he judicially propounded to them divers articles, the particulars of which were addressed to Ralph Allerton, in the following form:

"Thou, Ralph Allerton, canst not deny but that the information given against thee, and remaining now in the acts of this court of thine ordinary, Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, was, and is, a true information."

The substance of the information was this; That one Lawrence Edwards had a child unchristened, and Tye, the curate, asked him why his child was not baptized? Edwards replied, it should be baptized when he could find one of his own religion. Tye told him, he had imbibed those notions from some busy people, who go about to spread heresy. Edwards acknowledged he had, telling him at the same time, if his doctrine was better he would receive it. He then produced Allerton, to whom the curate said, if he had instructed Edwards, it was against God's commandments to enter into the church. On this, Allerton thus addressed the people who were present: O good people, now is fulfilled the saying of the prophet Esdras, viz. "The fire of a multitude is kindled against a few; they have taken away their houses, and spoiled their goods. Which of you have not seen it this day? Who is here among you that seeth not all these things done upon us this day? the church unto which they called us, is the church of Antichrist, a persecuting church, and the church militant!"

This was the cause of his being apprehended, and sent up to the bishop of London.

Allerton was then dismissed, and the business deferred till the afternoon, when several other articles were objected to him; but these being mostly false, he refused to answer. He granted, indeed, that he disapproved of the mass and other ceremonies, that were contrary to the express word of God.

When Bonner asked him what he had to allege why sentence of condemnation should not be passed upon him? he briefly answered, Ye ought not to condemn me as an heretic, for I am a good Christian. But now go to, do as you have already determined: for I see right well that right and truth be suppressed, and cannot appear upon earth.

In consequence of this obstinate and incorrigible answer, he was condemned as an heretic, and immediately given over to the secular power.

2. *James Astoo*, and 3. *Margery*, his wife, were next examined; when the bishop, among other things, asked the former if he had been confessed in Lent, and whether he had received the sacrament at Easter? Astoo replied, he had been confessed by the curate of Allhallows, Barking, near the Tower of London; but that he had not received the sacrament of the altar, because he detested it as an abominable idol.

The bishop then asked Margery, his wife, if she approved of the religion then used in the church of England? She replied in the negative, affirming it to be corrupt and anti-scriptural; and that those who conformed to it were influenced rather by fear, than a conviction that it was founded on the word of God.

Being required by the bishop to go to the church, hear mass, and pray for the prosperity of the queen; she declared her abhorrence of the mass, and that she would not come into any church where there were idols.

The bishop, not being able to make them recant, pronounced the sentence of condemnation, and they were delivered into the hands of the sheriff, in order to undergo the penalty of their bloody law.

4. *Richard Roth*, the last examined, was strongly urged by the bishop to acknowledge the seven sacraments, as also the corporal presence in the eucharist. But he briefly told him, that if those doctrines were taught in the holy scriptures, he would believe them; if otherwise, he must reject them.

After other questions, he was accused of being an encourager of heretics, and that he had written divers letters to certain persons who were burnt at Colchester; the latter of which he frankly acknowledged.

Lastly, he was asked if he approved of the order and rites of the church at that time used in England? To which he declared, that he utterly abhorred them.

In consequence of this he received sentence of death, and was immediately delivered to the sheriff in order for his execution.

On the 17th of Sept. 1557, these four steadfast believers in Christ were conducted by the sheriff and his attendants to Islington, the place appointed for their execution, where they were fastened to two stakes, and consumed in one fire. They all behaved in a manner truly consistent with their situation, and as became the real followers of Jesus Christ, cheerfully resigning up their souls in testimony of the truth of his most holy word.

On the 17th of Sept. *Agnes Bongeor* and *Margaret Thurs-ton* were burnt at Colchester.

About the same time suffered *John Kurde* at Northampton, and *John Noyes* at Laxfield.

On the 18th of November, *John Hallingdale*, *William Sparrow*, and *Richard Gibson*, were brought to Smithfield, to suffer for the truth of the gospel, where they were all fastened to one stake: after they had for some time fervently prayed to God to enable them to endure the fiery trial, the faggots were lighted, and they all cheerfully resigned their souls into the hands of Him that gave them.

### *The Martyrdom of JOHN ROUGH, minister, and MARGARET MARING.*

Mr. John Rough was a native of Scotland, and born of reputable and pious parents; being deprived of his right of inheritance to certain lands by some of his kindred, he was so irritated, that, though very young, he entered himself a member of the order of black friars, at Stirling, in Scotland.

Here he continued upwards of sixteen years, when the earl of Arran, then regent of Scotland, and afterwards duke of Hamilton, taking a liking to him, applied to the archbishop of St. Andrew's to dispense with his professed order, that he might serve him as his chaplain.

The archbishop readily granting the earl's request, Mr. Rough was disengaged from his monastic order, and continued chaplain to his patron about a year; when it pleased God to open his eyes, and give him some knowledge of the truth of the gospel.

At this time the earl sent him to preach in the county of Ayr, where he continued about four years, during which time he discharged the duties of his office with the strictest diligence.

On the death of the cardinal of Scotland, he was sent for to officiate at St. Andrew's, for which he had a pension allowed him from king Henry VIII.

After being some time in this situation, he began to abhor the idolatry and superstition of his own country; and when he found that on the accession of Edward VI. there was free profession of the gospel in England, he left his situation, and went first to Carlisle, where he was appointed preacher, as also to Berwick and Newcastle-upon-Tyne, by the duke of Somerset, protector to the young king.

A short time after this he married, and the archbishop of York gave him a benefice near the town of Kingston-upon-Hull, which he enjoyed till the death of the king.

On the accession of queen Mary, when the religion was altered, and persecution took place in all parts of the kingdom, Mr. Rough fled with his wife into the Low Countries, and took up his residence at a place called Norden.—Here he maintained himself by knitting and selling caps and hose, till the month of October, 1557, when wanting yarn and other necessities for the carrying on of his trade, he embarked for England, and arrived in London on the 10th of November following.

Soon after his arrival, he was informed there was a private congregation of religious people in a certain part of the city; which having found out, he joined them, and was elected their minister.

In this office he continued for some time, till, at the instigation of Roger Serjeant, a hypocrite and false brother, on the 13th of December, he, together with one Cuthbert Simpson, deacon of the aforesaid congregation, were apprehended by the vice-chamberlain of the queen's household, at the Saracen's-head, in Islington, where the congregation had assembled for the purpose of performing their usual worship; and to avoid suspicion, it had been given out, that their meeting was to hear a play.

Mr. Rough and Mr. Simpson were both conducted by the vice-chamberlain to the council, who charged them with assembling to celebrate the communion or Lord's supper. After a long examination, Simpson was for the present dismissed, but Rough was sent prisoner to Newgate.

On the 18th of December, bishop Bonner ordered Rough to be brought before him at his palace at London, to examine him concerning his religious faith; when several articles were exhibited against him.

In answer to these, he confessed, That he had spoken against the number of sacraments, being fully persuaded there are but two sacraments, to wit, baptism and the supper of the Lord; and as for the other five, he denied them to have the nature of the sacraments, and therefore had spoken against them.

With respect to the sacrament of the altar, (which he called the supper of the Lord,) he confessed that he had spoken and taught, that in the said sacrament there is not really and substantially the very body and blood of Christ, but that the substance of bread and wine both remain in that sacrament, without any change being made in it by consecration.

Concerning the confession of sins, he said he thought it necessary, provided the offence was done to the priest: but if it was done to any other, then it was not necessary to make any confession to the priest, but to endeavour to obtain a proper reconciliation with the party offended.

That he did and had before disliked the order of the Latin service then used, and also did allow the service used in the latter time of king Edward's reign; for that the holy scripture had taught the same.

That he did well like the communion used in king Edward's days; but said, that he had not ministered nor received the same in England since the queen's reign, nor yet knew many that had the books thereof: but on the other side the sea he knew many that had these books, and that there also he had received the communion in sundry places.

That he had been familiar with many English men and women in Friesland, and agreed with them in opinion; as Mr. Story, Thomas Young, George Roo, and others, to the number of one hundred persons, who fled there on account of their religion, using the same as was set forth in the reign of king Edward VI.

That since his last coming into England, he had in sundry places in the suburbs of London, prayed and read such prayers and service as are appointed in the book of communion, and had desired others to do the like, both men and women, whom he knew by sight but not by name. However, he did not cause any to withdraw themselves from the Latin service, but only said, that it was better to pray in a tongue that they understood, than in one that they did not.

After Mr. Rough had made the above confession, he was dismissed for the present; but reconducted to his place of confinement.

On the 20th of December, he was brought to the consistory court at St. Paul's, before Dr. Bonner, bishop of London, the bishop of St. David's, Dr. Fecknam, abbot of Westminster, and others, in order to undergo a final examination. After various methods used by the court, to persuade him to recant, without effect, Bonner read the articles, with his answers before noticed. He then charged him with marrying, after having received priestly orders; and that he had refused to consent to the Latin service then used in the church.

Mr. Rough, in answer, said, their orders were of none effect, and that the children he had by his wife were legitimate. With respect to the Latin service then used, he said he utterly detested it, and that if he was to live as long as Methuselah, he would never go to church to hear the abominable mass.

In consequence of this declaration, the bishop proceeded to the ceremony of degradation, exempting him from all the privileges and benefits of their church; after which he read the sentence of condemnation. And Mr. Rough being delivered to the sheriff, was by him reconducted to Newgate, there to remain till the time appointed for his burning.

2. *Margaret Maring* belonged to a private congregation in London, where Mr. Rough used to officiate. She was suspected by him, and some others, of not being sincere in the religion she professed: but the event shewed their suspicions were ill founded.

An information being laid against her before the bishop of London, he sent an officer to her house, near Mark-lane, to apprehend her; which being done, she was immediately brought before his lordship, who, after a short examination, sent her prisoner to Newgate.

On the 12th of December, she was brought before the bishop, at his palace in London, in order to undergo a thorough examination relative to her religious principles.

On the 20th of December, she was again brought before Bonner, at his consistory court, where her articles and answers were again read to her; after which they asked her if she would stand to the same as they were registered? She answered, that she would stand to them to her death: For the very angels in heaven, says she, laugh you to scorn, to see the abomination that you use in the church.

The bishop then used various arguments to prevail on her to recant; but finding them all ineffectual, he read the sentence of condemnation, and she was delivered to the sheriff for execution, who reconducted her to Newgate.

Two days after this, viz. on the 22d of Dec. 1557, she, with her fellow-martyr, J. Rough, were conducted by the proper officers to Smithfield, where they were both fastened to one stake, and burnt in the same fire.

The deaths of these two martyrs closed the horrid and bloody transactions of the year 1557. We shall now proceed to a brief relation of those that occurred in the succeeding year, which happily, by the queen's death, put an end to human sacrifices in this kingdom.

#### *Three Martyrs burnt at Smithfield.*

These three persons, (viz. *Cuthbert Simpson*, *Hugh Fox*, and *John Davenish*.) were apprehended together at Islington, at the same time with Mr. Rough, and being brought before the queen's council, were committed to different prisons.

Cuthbert Simpson, who was deacon of the same congregation of which Mr. Rough was pastor, was committed prisoner to the Tower, where he was examined by the recorder of London and one Mr. Cholmley, who commanded him to declare what persons he had called upon or summoned to come to the English service: but he peremptorily told them he would not comply with their request.

They then ordered him to be put to the rack; on which he laid in great agonies upwards of three hours. While he was in the most excruciating torment, they asked him the same question as they had done before, and he made them the said answer. He was then reconducted to his room.

On the Sunday following he was again brought to the room in which he had been racked, when the recorder of London, and the lieutenant of the Tower, once more desired him to confess: but he still refused, saying, he was determined not to satisfy them.

They then tied his two fore-fingers together, with a small arrow between them: this done, they drew the arrow backward and forward so quick, that the blood followed, and the arrow broke; after which they racked him twice, and then conducted him to his dungeon.

About ten days after this, the lieutenant asked him again if he would confess what had been repeatedly asked by himself and the recorder? to which Mr. Simpson answered, that he would say no more than he had said.

On the 19th of March he was taken before the bishop of London, when the articles were exhibited against him; which he in general acknowledged to be true.

Hugh Fox and John Davenish were next examined: and the usual articles being administered to them, they answered as became steadfast Christians.

Their respective answers being all written down, they were afterwards read to them; and they still persisting in their faith, the bishop pronounced the definitive sentence, and they were all delivered over to the secular power.

While Cuth. Simpson was in the consistory court, Bonner took particular notice of him to the people. "Ye see (said he) this man, what a personable man he is; and I tell you that if he was not an heretic, he is a man of the greatest patience that ever came before me. He hath been twice racked in one day in the Tower, and also in my house he hath felt much sorrow: and yet I never saw his patience broken."—A great acknowledgment from a bloody monster.

On the 28th of March, 1558, these three steadfast believers in Christ were conducted by the sheriffs, &c. to Smithfield, where they were all fastened to one stake, and burnt in the same fire. They behaved with true christian fortitude to the last, praising and glorifying God, that he had enabled them to go through the horrid punishment allotted them, for no other reason but their strict adherence to the truth of his most holy gospel.

About this time, one *William Nicoll*, of Haverford-West, in Pembrokeshire, was apprehended for speaking disrespectfully of the church of Rome; and being condemned as an heretic, was burnt in the same town, on the 9th of April, 1558.

### THREE MARTYRS burned at Norwich.

1. *William Seaman*, was a husbandman, of a religious turn of mind, and a strict professor of the truth of the gospel. He was betrayed into the hands of the popish emissaries by the perfidy of a neighbour; and being taken before sir John Tyrrel for examination, he asked him why he would not go to mass, receive the sacrament, and conform himself to other ceremonies of the church? In answer to this, Seaman said, that the sacrament then used was an idol, and that the mass was abominable, and that the ceremonies of the Romish church were superstitious and full of absurdities, and that for these reasons he would not conform to the same.

These answers highly offending sir J. Tyrrel, he committed Seaman to prison, and the next day he was sent to Dr. Hopton, bishop of the diocese, who after a short examination passed sentence of condemnation upon him, and he was delivered over to the secular power.

2. *Thomas Carman*, who had been apprehended a short time before, was brought before the bishop for examination, on the same day; when asserting the cause of Christ with no less warmth than the former, he was consigned to the same inhuman and merciless punishment.

3. *Thomas Hudson*, was by trade a glover, and lived at the town of Ailesham, in Norfolk. Though destitute of any education in his younger days, yet by his diligence and love of the gospel, as preached in the days of king Edward, he had learned to read, became well versed in the sacred book of God, and grounded in the faith once delivered to the saints.

Disapproving the doctrines and practices set forth under the reign of queen Mary, he absented himself from his native place, went into Suffolk, and there continued travelling from one part to another, as occasion served.

At length, desirous of seeing his wife and children, he returned home; but finding his continuance there would be dangerous, he devised a scheme with his wife, to make him a hiding-place among his fagots, whither he resorted for a long space of time, praying continually; his wife, at the same time, carefully ministering to him such necessities as he wanted. During his retirement, the vicar of the town, who was one of the bishop's commissaries, inquired of his wife concerning her husband; and on her denying that she knew any thing of him, threatened to burn her, because she would not discover the retreat of a heretic.

When Hudson was informed of their great desire to apprehend him, his zeal for the glory of God, and the honour of his Redeemer, increased daily, and he continued reading and singing psalms, while many people resorted to him to hear his exhortations, and join with him in prayer. And at length he came out of his retreat, walked about the town, exclaiming against the mass, and all its superstitions and follies; and when he arrived at his own house, he daily and repeatedly read and sung psalms, in which he was joined by many others.

Information of this being given to a magistrate by one of his neighbours, two constables were sent to apprehend him. As soon as they entered his house, he said, Now mine hour is come: welcome, friends, welcome! you be they that shall lead me to life in Christ. I thank God for it, and beg that the Lord will prepare me for the glorious work, for his mercy's sake.

The constables then took him to Berry, the commissary, who was vicar of the town. He asked him various questions concerning his religious tenets: but finding all he could say would not stagger his faith in a single point, he sent him bound like a thief to the bishop, who was then at Norwich, and before whom he appeared without the least sign of timidity.

The bishop asked him a great number of questions, to all of which he answered as became a true follower of Christ; and though very illiterate, his arguments were exceedingly just and forcible. At length the bishop passed sentence of condemnation on him, and he was immediately conducted to prison, where during his confinement he spent his time in reading and calling on the name of the Lord.

On the 19th of May, 1558, these three steadfast believers in Christ were conducted to the place appointed for their execution, called Lollard's-Pit, without Bishopgate, at Norwich. As soon as they arrived at the fatal spot, they all knelt down, and severally offered up their prayers to God, to enable them to undergo with christian fortitude the fiery trial that awaited them.

After prayers they arose and went to the stake, to which they were all fastened by a chain. When they had prayed for some time, and the necessary preparations were made for their deaths, Thomas Hudson slipped from under the chain, and came forward. This circumstance greatly alarmed the spectators, many of whom were apprehensive that he intended to recant, while others attributed it to his desire of taking leave of his parents, who were present, and receiving their blessing before his final departure.

His two companions at the stake were no less alarmed at his conduct than the spectators. They used their utmost efforts to comfort and encourage him, and exhorted him in the most strenuous manner to be of good cheer, and cheerfully resign himself to the will of the Redeemer.

But, alas! he felt more in his heart than they could conceive: for he was encompassed with a distinguished grief of mind, not from the fear of death, but for want of inward



experience of the love to his Saviour. Being, therefore, very anxious to obtain this conquest, he fell on his knees, and fervently prayed to God, who, according to his tender mercies, soon sent him comfort. He then arose in an ecstasy of joy, as a man changed from death to life, saying, Now, I thank God, I am strong, and care not what man can do unto me.

Immediately after this, he returned to his companions at the stake, with the most cheerful countenance; in a short time after which the faggots were lighted, and they all cheerfully resigned their souls into the hands of that God who had protected and supported them under sufferings for his name's sake.

About the same time these three were burnt at Norwich, three others suffered at Colchester, namely, *William Harris, Richard Day, and Christian George*. They all willingly submitted to their fate, and cheerfully resigned up their lives in testimony of the truth.

On the 14th of July, 1558, the six following men were burnt at Brentford, in Middlesex, viz. *Robert Mills, Stephen Cotton, Robert Dines, Stephen Wight, John Slade, and William Pikes*.—They were apprehended, with several others, in a close near Islington, where they had assembled to pay their devotions to their Maker.

A few days after the burning of the before mentioned martyrs at Brentford, seven others (apprehended with them at the same time and place) were burnt at Smithfield; their names were as follow: *Henry Pond, Rainhold Eastland, Robert Southam, Matthew Ricarbg, John Floyd, John Holiday, and Roger Holland*.

These, as well as the former, bore their sufferings with true christian fortitude; and as the cause for which they suffered was glorious, so they doubted not of being glorified in heaven. Before the faggots were lighted, Roger Holland embraced the stake and the faggots, and in the most fervent manner thus expressed himself: "Lord, I most humbly thank thy majesty, that thou hast called me from the state of death into the light of thy heavenly word, and now unto the fellowship of thy saints, that I may sing and say, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts! And, Lord, into thy hands I commit my spirit. Lord, bless thou thy people, and save them from idolatry."

In the beginning of August, four men were burnt at Bury St. Edmund's, in Suffolk. Their names were, *John Cook, Robert Miles, Alexander Lane, and James Ashdey*. They were examined before the bishop of Norwich and sir Edward Waldgrave, and the chief article exhibited against them was, not going to church. Their answers all tended to the same effect, namely, because they would not worship idols. On this, sentence of condemnation was immediately pronounced; and on the day appointed for burning, they were conducted to the stake. When there, they were promised their lives on condition that they would recant: but this they peremptorily refused, rather choosing the horrid death allotted them, than to revoke their opinions. They all died as became men and Christians, cheerfully resigning their souls into the hands of Him who gave them.

*The Martyrdom of CICKELY ORMES, who was burnt at Norwich.*

This woman was one of the spectators at the burning of Simon Miller and Eliz. Cooper, before mentioned, and was apprehended for saying she would pledge them of the cup of which they drank, viz. Success to the true cause of Christ, and destruction to the usurpation of Papists.

When she was taken before a justice of the peace, he asked her several questions relative to the corporal presence in the eucharist. To which she replied, that she denied the same, as it had no authority in the book of God, which she received as her infallible guide in all matters relative to her eternal salvation.

After lying in prison a considerable time, she was brought before chancellor Dunning; who told her he had shewn more favour to her than he had done to any, and that he was unwilling to condemn her, as she was a poor illiterate woman. But she frankly told him, he could not be so desirous of taking away her life, as she was to lose it in so good a cause. This answer so enraged the chancellor, that he arose from his seat, immediately read the bloody sentence of condemnation, and delivered her to the sheriffs for execution.

This poor woman had been before apprehended, and after being some time confined, by the advice of her friends, and fearing the horrors of death, she recanted, and thereby obtained her liberty. But she could not enjoy a moment of peace after: she therefore abjured the abominable errors she had confessed, and determined to adhere inviolably to the true gospel of Christ.

On the 23d of September 1558, she was conducted to the usual place of execution for martyrs, without Bishopgate. As soon as she arrived at the stake, she knelt down, and after making her prayers to God, thus addressed the spectators:

"Good people, I believe in God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, three Persons and one God. This I do, nor will recant: but I recant utterly from the bottom of my heart the doings of the pope of Rome, and all his popish priests and shavelings; I utterly refuse and will never have to do with them, by God's grace. And, good people, I would not have you think of me that I believe to be saved in that I offer myself here unto the death for the Lord's cause, but I believe to be saved by the death and passion of Christ; and this my death is and shall be a witness of my faith unto you all here present. Good people, as many of you as believe as I believe, pray for me."

Then she came to the stake, and laid her hand on it, and said, Welcome the cross of Christ! Then after she had touched it, she came and kissed it, and said, Welcome the sweet cross of Christ! and gave herself to be bound thereto. After the fire was kindled, she said, My soul doth magnify the Lord, and my spirit rejoiceth in God my Saviour. And in so saying she set her hands together right against her breast, casting her eyes and head upward, and so stood, heaving up her hands by little and little, till the very sinews of her arms broke asunder, and then they fell: but she yielded her life unto the Lord as quietly as if she had been in a slumber, or as one feeling no pain; so wonderfully did the Lord support her: his name therefore be praised. Amen.

On the 4th of November, *Alexander Gauch and Alice Driver* were burned together at Ipswich; and about the same time, three men were burned at Bury St. Edmund's, viz. *Philip Humphrey, John David, and Henry David*, his brother.

*The Remarkable Deliverance of BERNARD GILPIN.*

BESIDES those who actually suffered at the stake during the ascendancy of popish power, there were numbers of confessors, who were only saved from the flames by the interposition of Divine Providence, and the shortening of the



sanguinary reign of queen Mary. Among these the case of the Apostle of the North, as he was appropriately called, Bernard Gilpin, was one of the most remarkable. This venerable man was the nephew of Cuthbert Tonstal, bishop of Durham, who lay under some suspicion himself of holding principles not strictly in unison with the decisions of the church of Rome. At all events, it is certain that the prelate was a man of mild character, and extremely averse to the fiery practices of his brethren. He supported his nephew against those who accused him of heresy, and gave him the rectory of Houghton le Spring, in the county of Durham, the duty of which was very laborious, extending over no less than fourteen villages. The parish, however, had been so neglected, that scarcely any trace of Christianity was to be found in it. Nay, what little religion remained, was even popery corrupted, and all its idle ceremonies were here carried much higher than could elsewhere be found. Such was the condition of the parish of Houghton, when it was committed to the care of Mr. Gilpin; a waste so miserably uncultivated, that the greatest industry seemed but sufficient to bring it to any kind of order, and the greatest resolution even to make the attempt. But the good of souls was the prevailing motive that actuated this pious pastor, and his industry was equal to his zeal. He was grieved to see ignorance and vice so lamentably prevalent; but he did not despair. He implored the divine assistance, and his sincere endeavours were rewarded. The people crowded about him, and heard him with serious attention, for they perceived that he was a teacher of a very different kind from those to whom they had hitherto been accustomed. This drew upon him the envy and hatred of the neighbouring clergy. They observed with indignation the strong contrast between his life and their own. His care and diligence, indeed, were a standing satire upon their negligence and slothfulness, and it was the language of their hearts, "By this conduct thou reproachest us." In a word, therefore, they were determined, if possible, to extinguish a light, which exhibited them in such a disadvantageous point of view. But they had not the easiest part to manage. The country favoured him; the bishop was his friend; and no good man could be his enemy. Besides, the mask of religion must needs be kept on, and they found Mr. Gilpin's zeal was so tempered with prudence, that they found it difficult to entrap him into any unguarded language in those dangerous times. However, what malice could do, was not wanting: every engine was set to work, and some emissaries were employed to seek out matter on which to frame articles of accusation for the purpose of bringing him to the stake. Of all this, Mr. Gilpin was aware, and he behaved as cautiously as he thought was consistent with his duty. But had his prudence been even greater than it was, against such vigilant and relentless enemies, it would probably have been ineffectual. The eyes of great numbers were constantly upon him, and scarcely an action of his life escaped observation. Of this malicious industry, the following is an instance. A woman in the pangs of childbed, imploring God's assistance, was rebuked by those around her for not rather praying to the Virgin Mary. Alarmed by her danger, and greatly desirous of knowing whether God or the blessed Virgin was most likely and capable of helping her, she entreated that the great preacher lately come among them, might be sent for. "She was sure he would come," she said, "and could tell her what she should do." Mr. Gilpin came, and told her that he durst not persuade her to call upon the Virgin Mary; but that in praying to God she might be sure she

did right—that there were many express commands in scripture for it—and that God would certainly hear those who prayed earnestly to him." Mr. Gilpin spoke the more freely on this occasion, as he thought the case required it, and that what he said was not likely to be carried abroad. But in this he was mistaken, for the occurrence did not escape the vigilant activity of his enemies, nor did they fail to make their advantage of it. By their unwearied exertions, such a number of articles were in a short time got together, as, it was easy to imagine, could not but effectually ruin him. He was soon, therefore formally accused, and brought before the bishop of Durham. That prelate, however, again stood his friend; but though he shielded him from prosecution, he began now, out of fear for himself, to treat his relative with distant reserve. The adversaries of Mr. Gilpin in the mean time were not silenced; but though defeated a second time, they were only the more spirited up by that additional rancour which generally attends the baffled designs of malicious minds. Being convinced how impossible it was to work up the zeal of the bishop of Durham against his relative, and suspecting that even he was not so orthodox as he ought to be, they set their wits to work to find out some other instrument to accomplish the destruction of a man whose life and manners shamed their own. It would have been more satisfactory, and attended with less trouble, to get him burnt at Durham; but as that could not be well effected, they were determined to try whether it could not be done elsewhere. Accordingly, thirty-two articles were drawn up against him in the strongest manner, and transmitted to Bonner bishop of London. Here they went the right way to work. Bonner's thirst for blood, instead of being satiated, became keener every day, and the articles from Durham were extremely gratifying to this inhuman and eager inquisitor. The fierce zealot took fire instantly; in return, he extolled the laudable concern of the northern bigots for the Catholic religion; and assured them, that the heretic should be at a stake within a fortnight. Mr. Gilpin's friends in London trembled for his safety, and sent off instantly to inform him of his danger, that he might provide for his escape. The messenger did not surprise him. He had been long preparing himself to suffer for the truth, and he now determined not to decline the trial. It would be in some sort, he thought, denying the faith, to be backward in bearing testimony to it. If it was proper he should be rescued, he persuaded himself that God would take his own method of deliverance. He was indeed in a great measure weaned from the world, daily more convinced of its vanity, and more confirmed in his resolutions of considering it merely as a state preparatory to eternity; and, therefore, as it was the principal business of his life to promote the cause of religion, if he could better effect this by his death, he was ready to become an offering for that purpose. He, therefore, received the account with great composure, and calling up William Airay, his favourite servant, said to him, "At length they have prevailed against me. I am accused to the bishop of London, from whom there will be no escaping. God forgive their malice, and grant me strength to endure the trial." He then ordered him to provide a long garment for him, in which he might go decently to the stake, and desired that it might be got ready with all expedition, "as I know not," says he, "how soon I may have occasion for it."

His friends in the mean time failed not to interpose; earnestly beseeching him, while he yet had an opportunity, to provide for his safety. But he begged them not to press

him upon that subject, for should he even attempt to escape, he said, it would hardly be in his power, as he questioned not but that all his motions were very narrowly observed. Besides, he asked, how could they imagine that he would prefer the miserable life of an exile, to the joyful death of a martyr? "Be assured," said he, "I never have thrown myself voluntarily into the hands of my enemies, but I am fully determined to persevere in doing my duty, and shall take no measures to avoid them."

In a few days afterwards the pursuivant arrived, and put an end to these solicitations. But on the way to London, the roads were very bad, and the horse which Mr. Gilpin rode fell, by which accident the leg of the rider was broken. In consequence of this, he was carried to a house, and confined some time, till he should be enabled to continue his journey. The persons in whose custody he was, took occasion thence maliciously to retort upon him an observation which he was often accustomed to make, "that nothing happens to us but what is intended for our good;" and asked him "whether he thought his broken leg was so intended?" Mr. Gilpin answered them very meekly, "that he made no question but it was." And, indeed, so it proved in the strictest sense; for before he was able to travel, queen Mary died, and instead of going to Smithfield, the good man returned to Houghton, through crowds of people, expressing the utmost joy, and blessing God for his deliverance.

#### *Extraordinary Escape of DR. EDWIN SANDYS.*

THE history of Dr. Edwin Sandys, afterwards archbishop of York, was still more extraordinary than that of his friend Mr. Gilpin. He was master of Catharine hall, and vice-chancellor of Cambridge, when Edward VI. died, on which occasion he yielded to the command of Dudley, duke of Northumberland, to preach a sermon in support of the pretensions of lady Jane Grey to the English throne. This of course rendered Doctor Sandys so obnoxious to the ruling powers, that he was sent to the Tower, where the yeomen of the guard took from him every thing which he had been permitted to bring from Cambridge; but his faithful servant, Quintin Swainton, brought to him a bible, some shirts, and other articles. The bible being no prize for plunderers, was sent in, but every thing else was stolen by the warders. Here, after remaining three weeks, solitary and ill accommodated in a vile lodging, he was removed to a better apartment, where he had the comfort of being associated with Mr. John Bradford. In this room they remained twenty-nine weeks, during which time, their Christian spirit so wrought on their keeper, that from a bigoted Romanist, he became a sincere Protestant, "a son begotten in bonds," so that when mass was celebrated in the chapel, instead of compelling his prisoners to attend, the converted gaoler frequently brought a service book of Edward VI. with bread and wine, and Sandys administered the sacrament in both kinds, to himself and his two companions. Here he and Bradford continued, until, their apartment being wanted for the persons concerned in Wyatt's conspiracy, they were removed to the Marshalsea. On their way there, they found the minds of the people greatly changed. Popery, unmasked and triumphant, had already shewn its savage nature, and general disgust followed the short burst of joy which had been evinced on the queen's accession. Sandys walked along the streets attended by his keeper; and as he was generally known, the people prayed that God would comfort him, and strengthen him in the truth. Struck with these appearances of popularity, the keeper of the Mar-

shalsea said, "These vain people would set you forward to the fire; but you are as vain as they, if you, being a young man, will prefer your own conceit, before the judgment of so many worthy prelates, and so many grave and learned men as are in this realm. If you persist, you shall find in me a strict keeper, and one that utterly misliketh your religion." Dr. Sandys replied, "My years, indeed, are few, and my learning is small; but it is enough to know Christ crucified; and who seeth not the blasphemies of popery, hath learned nothing. I have read in scripture of godly and courteous keepers; God make you like one of them! if not, I trust he will give me strength and patience to bear your hard dealing with me." The keeper then asked, "Are you resolved to stand to your religion?" "Yea," said Dr. Sandys, "by God's grace." "I love you the better, therefore," said the keeper. "I did but tempt you; every favour which I can shew, you shall be sure of: nay, if you die at a stake, I shall be happy to die with you." And from that day, such was the confidence which this good man reposed in Sandys, that many times he permitted him to walk alone in the fields; nor would he ever suffer him to be fettered like the other prisoners. He lodged him also in the best chamber of the house, and often permitted his wife to visit him. Great resort was here made to Dr. Sandys for his edifying discourses, and much money was offered, but he would accept of none. Here too the communion was celebrated three or four times by himself and his companions, of whom Laurence Sanders the martyr, was one, to many pious persons. After a confinement of nine weeks in the Marshalsea, Dr. Sandys was set at liberty, through the intercession of Sir Thomas Holcroft the knight marshal. This, however, was not accomplished without much difficulty; and so intent was Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, on bringing Sandys to the stake, that it required some management on the part of sir Thomas before he could succeed. But no sooner was Sandys discharged, than Gardiner, being told that he had set at liberty one of the greatest heretics in England, procured orders to be issued to all the constables in and about London to search for and apprehend him. The hand of Providence, however, was displayed in his preservation in a very remarkable manner, and attended with some peculiar circumstances. During his confinement in the Tower, being in want of a pair of new hose, a tailor was sent for, who, as he was not permitted to measure him, made them too long. While the Doctor now lay concealed in the house of one Hurleston, a skinner in Cornhill, he sent the hose, as Hurleston's own, to a tailor to be shortened. This man happened to be honest Benjamin the maker, a good Protestant, who immediately recognized his own handiwork, and required to be shewn to the house where Dr. Sandys was, that he might speak with him for his good. Accordingly, at midnight he was admitted, when he informed Dr. Sandys that all the constables of the city, of whom he himself was one, were employed to apprehend him; that it was well known his servant had provided two geldings, and that he meant to ride out at Aldgate on the morrow. "But," said Benjamin, "follow my advice, and by God's grace you shall escape. Let your man walk all the day to-morrow in the street where your horses are stabled, booted, and prepared for a journey. The servant of the man of the house shall take the horses to Reibnalsgreen. The man himself shall follow, and be booted as if he meant to ride. About eight in the morning I will be with you, and here we will break our fast. It is both term and parliament time, and the street by that hour will be full of

people; we will then go forth, look wildly, and if you meet your own brother in the street, do not shun, but outface him, and assure him "that you know him not." Dr. Sandys accordingly complied, and came out at the appointed hour, clothed in all respects as a layman and a gentleman. Benjamin carried him through by-lanes to Moorgate, where the horses were ready, and Hurlston as his man. That night he rode to his father-in-law's house, but had not been there two hours when intelligence was brought, that two of the guard had been despatched to apprehend him, and would be there that night. He was then immediately conducted to the house of a farmer near the sea side, where he remained two days and two nights in a solitary chamber. Afterwards he removed to the house of one James Mower, a ship master, near Milton shore, where was a fleet of merchantmen waiting for a wind to sail to Flanders. While he was there, Mower gathered a congregation of forty or fifty seamen, to whom he gave an exhortation, with which they were so much delighted, that they promised to defend him at the expense of their lives. On Sunday, the 6th of May, he embarked in the same vessel with Dr. Cox, afterwards bishop of Ely, and the ship was yet in sight, when two of the guard arrived on the shore, in order to apprehend Dr. Sandys.

His danger was not even yet entirely over, for on his arrival at Antwerp, he received intelligence that king Philip of Spain had sent to apprehend him, on which he escaped to the territory of Cleve, and from thence to Augsburg, where he remained fourteen days, and then removed to Strasburgh. Here he took up his abode for the present, and here unquestionably he spent the most gloomy portion of his life; for his health was at this time deeply injured, and he fell sick of a flux, the usual concomitant of hardships and afflictions, which continued without abatement for nine months. Besides this, his only child died of the plague; and his beloved wife, who had found means to follow him about a year after his flight from England, expired of a consumption in his arms. In addition to his other sorrows, the disputes concerning church discipline broke out among the English exiles, on which several of his friends left the place. On his wife's death he went to Zurich, where he was entertained by Peter Martyr, but within five weeks the news of queen Mary's death arrived; and after being joyfully feasted by Bullinger, and the other ministers of the Swiss churches, he returned to Strasburg, where he preached. Dr. Grindal, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, and he, then set out together for their native country, and arrived in London the day of queen Elizabeth's coronation.

#### *Escape of JOHN JEWELL.*

Another eminent divine who narrowly escaped the flames at that period, was John Jewell, afterwards bishop of Salisbury. This great man was fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, when Mary came to the throne immediately on which change, the rest of the society, who were bigoted papists, proceeded on their own authority, knowing how acceptable it would be to the new government, to expel one whose "upright life they admitted was without reproach, though his principles were heretical." Jewell being thus driven from his own college, found an asylum in Broad-gates Hall, and so highly was he esteemed by the heads of the university in general, that the majority of them chose him public orator. In this capacity he was called upon to

draw up the letter of congratulation to the queen on her coming to the throne; which task he performed with equal elegance and prudence. According to custom, he waited upon Dr. Tresham, the vice-chancellor, to read over the address for his approbation. This man, who was one of the persecutors of Ridley and Latimer, had just caused the great bell of Christ Church to be recast, and baptized with the wonted ceremonies by the name of Mary. While Jewell was reading his performance, the new bell began to chime to mass, on which Tresham, who was not ignorant of the orator's sentiments, exclaimed, "O delicate and sweet harmony! O beautiful Mary, how musical she sounds! how strangely she pleaseth my ears!" A man of this character was not likely to give his protection to one who despised such superstitious vanities: but Jewell had a still worse enemy to encounter in Dr. Marshall, the dean of Christ Church, who had changed his religion twice already, and did so again, as many times more, in this and the following reign. This recreant, having neither conscience nor religion of his own, was resolved to make Jewell a sacrifice, thinking thereby to recommend himself to the higher powers. In order to this, he sent to Jewell, by his officers, a bead roll of popish doctrines, to be subscribed instantly, upon pain of fire and fagot. Jewell having no friend to consult, and being taken suddenly by this requisition, snatched up a pen, and saying, "Have you a mind to see how well I can write?" subscribed his name hastily to the paper, but with a vehemence which too clearly indicated his reluctance. The report of this did not tend to abate the fury of his persecutors, who were more bent upon having his blood, because he had lived on the most intimate footing with Peter Martyr, and had of his own accord acted for bishop Ridley as his scribe, in his memorable disputation. The malignity of Marshall rather increased than abated by the compliance of Jewell, who learning that there were warrants for his apprehension, quitted Oxford secretly in the dead of the night, and though lame, hastened away on foot, intending to proceed to London. It was winter, and missing his way, he fell to the ground quite exhausted, in which state he was found by Augustine Bernhers, who had been servant to bishop Latimer, and during his residence at Oxford had become acquainted with Jewell. This man, who was a native of Switzerland, and a zealous professor of the gospel, proved of great service to many suffering English Protestants, by getting information, which put them on their guard when warrants were issued against them, and also by procuring them the means of withdrawing from the kingdom. In this benevolent cause he travelled night and day, and thus it was that he happened to light upon Jewell, who would otherwise in all probability have fallen into the hands of his persecutors. Bernhers being well mounted, took the poor traveller on his horse, and in this manner conveyed him to the house of lady Anne Warcup, a widow, but of such powerful connexions, that she was enabled to shelter several confessors from the fury of their enemies. After residing some time there, Mr. Jewell went in disguise to London, where, to avoid falling into the fangs of Bonner, he was obliged to shift his lodgings several times, till by the assistance of sir Nicholas Throgmorton, he obtained a passage on board a foreign vessel, and so passed over to the continent, where he joined his brother exiles, of whom there were then about eight hundred dispersed in various parts of Germany and Switzerland. Jewell first settled at Strasburg, where a college of English had been formed, having a common table, and devoting themselves to the pursuit of literature, with great harmony and ardour

## OTHER ENGLISH EXILES IN THE REIGN OF MARY.

One of these was Alexander Nowell, who in the next reign became dean of St. Paul's, and of whom Fuller quaintly says, that as he was fishing upon the Thames, an exercise in which he much delighted, Bonner understanding who he was, set his mind upon catching him, in which he would have succeeded and sent him to the shambles, had not Francis Bowyer, at that time a merchant, and afterwards sheriff of London, safely conveyed him beyond the seas.

At Strasburg also was John Aylmer, the tutor of lady Jane Grey, and archdeacon of Stowe, who, for his intrepid opposition to popery, was marked down as a victim, and would have suffered at the stake, had he not been preserved in a most singular manner, which is thus related by Dr. Fuller, in his *Worthies of England*. The ship in which he embarked was so unlucky as to be searched, and yet he escaped, partly through the friendship of the captain, and partly through his own lowness of stature. For there being in the hold a very large wine vessel, with a partition in the middle, Mr. Aylmer sat in one end of it, while the searchers drank liquor out of the other. By this means he got safe to Holland, and from thence to Strasburg, where he published lady Jane Grey's letter to Harding, and assisted John Fox in translating the *History of the English Martyrs* into Latin.

Another of the English exiles was Thomas Beacon, a native of Norfolk or Suffolk, and a member of the University of Cambridge. In 1547 he was presented to the rectory of St. Stephen Walbrook, in London, of which he was deprived in 1554, and was twice imprisoned in the reign of queen Mary, but escaped to Marburg, and from thence to Strasburg, where he published an "Epistle to the Faithful in England," exhorting them to patient perseverance in the truth. After queen Mary's death, he returned home, and in 1560, was presented to the rectory of Buckland, in Hertfordshire, from whence he removed to that of St. Dionis Backchurch, in London. He was also a prebendary of Canterbury, which preferment he originally received from archbishop Cranmer, to whom he was chaplain. This good man died about 1570. The works of Beacon were printed together at London in 1564, in two volumes.

Besides these and many other divines who were thus rescued from the flames by divine Providence, for the future benefit of the reformed church, there were several lay persons of great distinction and worth among the exiles, one of whom was Katharine, the duchess dowager of Suffolk.

This excellent lady, in whose house bishop Latimer preached many of his last sermons, was the daughter and heiress of William Lord Willoughby of Eresby, and became the third wife of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, who in 1545 left her a widow. She next married Mr. Richard Bertie, a gentleman of ancient family, and from whom descended the noble house of Ancaster. For some time after the accession of queen Mary, the duchess and her husband led a retired life at Grimsthorp, their seat in Lincolnshire, yet watching the issue of the change in anxious suspense, knowing how closely they were observed by the popish faction, and how much they had to fear from the malignity of the queen and her spiritual counsellors. This concern for their own safety, however, neither made them indifferent to the sufferings of the poor Protestants, nor backward to assist them in their necessities. At length, after the martyrdom of the three bishops at Oxford, it became too certain that the duchess of Suffolk was marked

for a victim, and that nothing but immediate flight could save her from the block or the stake. She had at this time one child in arms, and was again far advanced in a state of pregnancy. The winter was also setting in, and the roads at that period were of the very worst description. Notwithstanding all this, there was no security in the country, and almost as little in London. The case, however, was urgent; as it was known that the arrest of the duchess and her husband was resolved upon, and that the warrants were either actually issued, or would soon be transmitted into Lincolnshire for the apprehension of the parties. Thus pressed, the lady assumed one humble disguise, and Mr. Bertie another, and, attended only by a female domestic to take care of the child, they set out for the capital, where providentially they arrived without interruption. But their embarrassments were not yet lessened, for a rigid search was continually made throughout the city, after suspected persons, especially strangers, and the river in particular was kept in such a state of strict inspection, that, after securing a vessel at Gravesend, it became a serious question how to get thither without discovery. For this purpose, they all took different directions, meeting at Billingsgate, as it were by accident, and going down in the common barge, as total strangers to each other. This plan also succeeded, and the wind proving fair, the next day they cleared the land, and in a short time reached the coast of Flanders. Here their situation was nearly as perilous as the one they had left, for the whole country was under the control of the king of Spain, and no doubt could be entertained that if a discovery should take place, the duchess and her husband would be sent back to England. The weather was now severely cold, the roads in every direction were infested by banditti, and the condition of the lady was becoming every hour most critical. The alternative was most distressing, but there was scarcely any room for hesitation, where to stay might be destruction, and where hope held out a sure asylum in prospect, though the intervening obstacles were of the most formidable character. Mr. Bertie made such provision as the exigencies of the circumstance would permit, and the duchess, putting her trust in heaven, undertook the toilsome journey with alacrity. In their route they were set upon by a gang of thieves, who took every article of property from them, except their clothes, and to aggravate the misfortune, the servant dropped the child, and either ran away, or was carried off by the plunderers. Thus reduced to the utmost distress, the duchess and her husband, alternately carrying the infant, walked on till they came to a church in the suburbs of Wesel, where the lady begged to rest, declaring her incapability to proceed farther. They accordingly entered the porch, and as there was a lamp burning there, Mr. Bertie collected some sticks and made a fire. While thus employed, the sexton came, and would have turned them out, but the Englishman was too strong for the brutal German, and chastised him so severely, that the fellow went to procure assistance. In the mean time, the duchess was taken in labour, and the same night, which was the 12th of October, she 1555, was delivered of a male child, to whom, on account of the situation under which he was born, his parents gave the name of Peregrine. When the magistrates of the city understood what had happened, they hastened to render the illustrious foreigners every assistance in their power, and, in commemoration of the event, a marble monument was afterwards erected in the porch of the church, detailing the circumstances. After the death of queen Mary, the duchess and her family re-



turned to England, where she lived to a very advanced age, and an ornament to that religion for which she had endured so many hardships and privations. The son became a famous general under queen Elizabeth, who created him Lord Willoughby of Eresby, and the daughter married the earl of Kent.

## HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN IRELAND.

It has often been made a matter of wonder, that while England and Scotland exhibited such dreadful instances of popish tyranny, the neighbouring kingdom of Ireland should have escaped. The reason, however, is obvious enough. Queen Mary and her bigoted advisers knew that the great body of the Irish action was immersed in the darkness of papal superstition, and they were unwilling to kindle such fires there as might have the effect of exciting a spirit of inquiry. Yet towards the close of that sanguinary reign, the attention of the council was directed to the state of Ireland, and had not Providence interposed to prevent it, the sister island would have witnessed scenes equally appalling with those which disgraced the English capital, and other parts of the kingdom. But, for the elucidation of this subject, it may be proper to give an historical sketch of the rise and progress of the Reformation there, from the time of Henry the Eighth to the accession of Queen Elizabeth.

*George Browne*, the first Protestant bishop in Ireland, was originally an Austin friar of London. He received his academical education in the house of his order, near Holywell, in Oxford, and becoming eminent for his learning and good character, he was made provincial of the Austin monks in England. In 1523 he supplicated the University for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, but it does not appear that he was then admitted thereto. He afterwards took the degree of doctor of divinity, in some foreign university, and was incorporated in the same both at Oxford and Cambridge. This was in 1534, before which time, by reading the works of Luther, he conceived a liking to his doctrine; and among other things, was wout to inculcate into the people, "that they should make their prayers solely to Christ, and not to the Virgin Mary, or the saints." King Henry VIII. being informed of this, took him into his favour, and promoted him to the archbishopric of Dublin, to which he was consecrated March 19, 1535, by Crammer archbishop of Canterbury, with the assistance of the bishops of Rochester and Salisbury. A few months after his entrance upon that office, the lord privy seal, Cromwell, signified to him, that his majesty having renounced the papal supremacy in England, it was the royal pleasure that his subjects in Ireland should take the oaths of complete allegiance in the same manner as had been done here. Accordingly, the archbishop was nominated one of the commissioners for that purpose, in pursuance of which he transmitted the following letter to the lord privy seal:—"My most honoured lord.—Your humble servant receiving your mandate, as one of his highness's commissioners, hath endeavoured, almost to the danger and hazard of his temporal life, to procure the nobility and gentry of this nation to due obedience, in owing of his highness their supreme head, as well spiritual as temporal, and do find much oppugning therein, especially by my brother [*George Crommer*, archbishop of] Armagh, who hath been the main oppugner, and so hath withdrawn most of his suffragans

and clergy within his see and jurisdiction: he made a speech to them, laying a curse on the people, whoever should own his highness's supremacy, saying, that this Isle, or, as it is in their Irish chronicles, *Insula Sacra*, belongs to none but to the bishop of Rome, and that it was the bishop of Rome's predecessors who gave it to the king's ancestors. There be two messengers by the priests of Armagh, and by that archbishop now lately sent to the bishop of Rome. Your lordship may inform his highness that it is convenient to call a parliament in this nation, to pass the supremacy by act: for they do not much matter his highness's commission, which your lordship sent us over. This island hath been for a long time held in ignorance by the Romish orders; and as for their secular orders, they be in a manner as ignorant as the people, being not able to say mass, or pronounce the words, they not knowing what they themselves say in the Roman tongue. The common people of this isle are more zealous in their blindness, than the saints and martyrs were in truth at the beginning of the gospel. I send to you, my very good lord, these things, that your lordship and his highness may consult what is to be done. It is feared O'Neal will be ordered by the bishop of Rome to oppose your lordship's order from the king's highness; for the natives are much in numbers within his powers. I do pray the Lord Christ to defend your lordship from your enemies."

In the parliament which met at Dublin on the 1st of May, 1536, the archbishop was very instrumental in getting the act of supremacy over the church of Ireland passed, but he met with many obstacles in the execution of it; and the court of Rome used every effort to prevent any alteration of the ecclesiastical system, in regard to the papal authority. Of the state of the country, and the difficulties which the archbishop had to encounter, he wrote as follows to Cromwell in 1538:

"The people of this nation be zealous, yet blind and unknowing, most of the clergy being ignorant, and not able to speak eight words in the mass or liturgy, as being not skilled in the Latin grammar; so that a bird may be taught to speak with as much sense as several of them do in this country. These sorts, though not scholars, yet are crafty to cozen the poor common people, and to dissuade them from following his highness's orders.—I have observed your lordship's letter of commission, and do find several of my pupils leave me for so doing. I will not put others in their livings, till I do know your lordship's pleasure; for it is meet I acquaint you first, the Romish reliques and images of both my cathedrals in Dublin, of the Holy Trinity, and of St. Patrick's, took off the common people from the true worship; but the prior and dean find them so sweet for their gain, that they heed not my words: therefore, send, in your lordship's next to me, an order more full, and a chide to them and their canons, that they might be removed. Let the order be, that the chief governors may assist me in it. The prior and dean have written to Rome to be encouraged; and if it be not hindered before they have a mandate from the bishop of Rome, the people will be bold, and then tug long before his highness can submit them to his grace's orders.—Rome hath great favours for this nation, purposely to oppose his highness; and so having got, since the act passed, great indulgences for rebellion, therefore my hope is lost, yet my zeal is to do according to your lordship's orders."

Soon after the writing of this letter, news came over that the pope had sent over a bull of excommunication against all who should own the king's supremacy. At the



same time the form of an oath, to be taken by all the people at confession, was transmitted from Rome, of which the archbishop gave the lord privy seal a translation as follows:—

"I A. B. from this present hour forward, in the presence of the Holy Trinity, of the Blessed Virgin, Mother of God, of St. Peter, of the Holy Apostles, Archangels, Angels, Saints, and of all the Holy Host of Heaven, shall and will be always obedient to the Holy See of St. Peter of Rome, and to my Holy Lord the Pope of Rome, and his Successors, in all things, as well spiritual as temporal, not consenting in the least that his Holiness shall lose the least title or dignity belonging to the Papacy of our Mother Church of Rome, or to the Regality of St. Peter.

"I do vow and swear to maintain, help, and assist the just laws, liberties, and rights of the Mother Church of Rome.

"I do likewise promise to confer, to defend, and promote, if not personally, yet willingly, as in ability able, either by advice, skill, estate, money, or otherwise, the Church of Rome, and her laws, against all whosoever resisting the same.

"I further vow to oppugn all heretics, either in making or setting forth edicts or commands contrary to the Mother Church of Rome; and in case any such be moved or composed, to resist the same to the uttermost of my power, with the first convenience and opportunity I possibly can.

"I count and value all acts made, or to be made, by heretical powers, of no force or worth, or to be practised or obeyed by myself, or by any other son of the Mother Church of Rome.

"I do further declare him or her, father or mother, brother or sister, son or daughter, husband or wife, uncle or aunt, nephew or niece, kinsman or kinswoman, master or mistress, and all others, nearest or dearest relations, friends, or acquaintance whatsoever, accursed, that either do or shall hold, for the time to come, any ecclesiastical or civil power, above the authority of the Mother Church; or that do or shall obey, for the time to come, any of her the Mother of Church's opposers and enemies, or contrary to the same, of which I have here sworn unto: So God, the Blessed Virgin, St. Peter, St. Paul, and the Holy Evangelists, help, &c."

The archbishop concluded his letter, that contained this oath of obedience to the papacy, by observations on the connexion between Ireland and Rome, which, though written nearly three hundred years ago, are perfectly characteristic of the present condition of things in that island. "His highness, the viceroy of this nation," says the vigilant prelate, "is of little or no power with the old natives: therefore, your lordship will expect of me no more than I am able. This nation is poor in wealth, and not sufficient now at present to oppose them. It is observed, that ever since his highness's ancestors had this nation in possession, the old natives have been craving foreign powers to assist and rule them, and now both English race and Irish begin to oppose your lordship's orders, and do lay aside their old national quarrels, which I fear will, if any thing will, cause a foreigner to invade this nation. I pray God I may be a false prophet, yet your good lordship must pardon my opinion, for I write it to your lordship as a warning."

This was written in May, 1638; and upon the feast of St. John Baptist following, the archbishop seized on one Thady O'Birne, of the order of St. Francis, who had just come from Rome with treasonable papers, among which was this curious letter to the great rebel O'Neal, who was the prop of the popish party.

"My son, O'Neal,—thou, and thy fathers, were all along faithful to the mother church of Rome. His holiness Paul, now pope, and the council of the holy fathers there, have lately found out a prophecy there remaining, of one St. Lacerianus, an Irish bishop of Cashel; wherein he saith, 'that the mother church of Rome falleth, when in Ireland the catholic faith is overcome.' Therefore, for the glory of the mother church, the honour of St. Peter, and your own secureness, suppress heresy, and his holiness's enemies, for when the Roman faith there perisheth, the see of Rome falleth also. Therefore, the council of cardinals have thought fit to encourage your country of Ireland, as a sacred island, being certified, whilst the mother church hath a son of worth as yourself, and of those that shall succour you, and join therein, that she will never fall, but have more or less a holding in Britain, in spite of fate. Thus having obeyed the order of the most sacred council, we recommend your princely person to the Holy Trinity, of the Blessed Virgin, of St. Peter, St. Paul, and of all the heavenly host. Amen. EPISCOPUS MAEDENSIS."

In pursuance of this commission, O'Neal declared himself an open champion of popery, and having entered into a confederacy with others, invaded what was called the English pale, where the Irish committed dreadful outrages, but were soon afterwards quelled. In the mean time, the archbishop carried on the reformation, as far as he could, with energy, by removing all superstitions, reliques, and images out of the churches, and substituting, instead of them, the Creed, Lord's prayer, and Ten Commandments in gold letters. On the death of Henry the Eighth, an order was sent over to Ireland, enjoining the adoption of the reformed liturgy in the vulgar tongue; in consequence of which, sir Anthony St. Leger, who then held the government, called an assembly of the archbishops, bishops, and others of the dignified clergy, signifying unto them the mandate he had received, and the course that had been adopted in England, requiring them to follow the example. Sir Anthony having concluded, George Dowdall, primate of Armagh, stood up, and laboured with all his force to oppose the introduction of the liturgy into the church, saying, "Then shall every illiterate fellow read service."

To this the governor replied, "No, your grace is mistaken, for we have too many illiterate priests among us already, who neither can pronounce the Latin, nor know what it means, more than the common people who hear them: but when the congregation shall hear the liturgy in their own tongue, both they and the priest will understand what it is they pray for."

This threw the primate into such a passion, that he bade sir Anthony beware of the curse of the church. Sir Anthony calmly answered, "I fear no strange curse, so long as I have the blessing of that church which I believe to be the true one." The archbishop again said, "Can there be a church more true than that of St. Peter, the mother church of Rome?" To this sir Anthony said, "I thought we had been all of the church of Christ; for he calls all true believers in him, HIS CHURCH, and himself the head thereof." The archbishop retorted, "And is not St. Peter the church of Christ?" Sir Anthony answered, "St. Peter was a member of Christ's church; but the church was not St. Peter's, neither was St. Peter, but Christ, the head thereof." Then the primate rose up and departed with several of his suffragans; but Edward Stapleton, bishop of Meath, tarried with the rest of the clergy there assembled. Sir Anthony then took the order, and held it to

George Browne, who standing up, received it, saying, "This order, good brethren, is from our gracious king, and from our brethren the fathers and clergy of England, who have consulted therein, and compared the Holy Scriptures with what they have done; unto whom I submit, as Jesus did to Cæsar, in all things just and lawful, making no question why or wherefore, as we own him to be our true and lawful sovereign."

After this, several of the more moderate of the bishops and clergy of Ireland agreed with the archbishop of Dublin; amongst whom were Edward Staples just mentioned, John Bale bishop of Ossory, and Thomas Lancaster bishop of Kildare. On the first reading of the reformed liturgy in the cathedral of Christ Church, the archbishop of Dublin preached a short sermon, against superstition, to the people; in which discourse he took occasion to speak of the order of Jesuits, that had just sprung up, and whose future ascendancy, and remarkable fall, the prelate sketched in terms almost prophetic.

As a curiosity in itself, therefore, and illustrative of the history of the age, we shall transcribe it for the amusement of the reader.

The Text: Psalm cxix. ver. 18.—*Open mine eyes, that I may see the Wonders of thy Law.*

"The wonders of the Lord God have for a long time been hid from the children of men, which hath happened by Rome's not permitting the common people to read the holy Scriptures; for to prevent you, that you might not know the comfort of your salvation, but to depend wholly on the church of Rome, they will not permit it to be in any tongue, but in the Latin, saying, that Latin was the Roman tongue. But the wonderful God inspired the holy Apostles with the knowledge of all languages, that they might teach all people in their proper tongue and language, which caused our wise king Henry, before his death, to have the holy Scriptures translated into the English tongue, for the good of his subjects, that their eyes may be opened to 'behold the wonderful things out of the law of the Lord.' But there are false prophets at this instant, and will be to the end of the world, that shall deceive you with false doctrines, expounding this text, or that, purposely to confound your understandings, and to lead you captive into a wilderness of confusion; whom you shall take as your friends, but they shall be your greatest enemies, speaking against the tenets of Rome, and yet be set on by Rome; these shall be a rigid people, full of fury, and envy. But, to prevent these things that are to come, observe Christ and his apostles. 'Let all things be done with decency, with mildness, and in order;' fervently crying unto God, 'Open thou mine eyes, that I may behold the wondrous things out of thy law;' then should you rightly keep the law, and the prophets. It is the part of a prince to be wise, for he hath a great charge, to rule and govern a nation. Your late king, foreseeing Rome, and her Pope's intentions, how that he intended to enslave his subjects, and to keep them in the state of ignorance, consulted with the learned of his realm, knowing that youth might quickly be wrought on; therefore he prepared before his death a wise and learned sort of counsellors for his son's overseers; not trusting to one or two, but to several, that he might the better rule his people, whose eyes the Lord God Almighty hath opened betimes, to behold his wondrous works.

"Though the words of my text be plainly thus, 'Open thou mine eyes;' the meanest of you that hear me have eyes, but the true meaning of the word is, 'Endue us with understanding;' for a God hath eyes, and sees men, women,

beasts, birds, and other things, but yet wants understanding. So when we say, 'Open thou our eyes,' we desire the Lord God to instruct and teach us the knowledge of his laws.

"When you were lately led in blindness, your eyes beheld the images that then stood in several of the monasteries and churches until they were removed; yet at this while were your understandings blinded, because ye believed in them, and placed your trust in them. Suppose an artist or workman make an image, either of man or woman, and at last a clergyman of Rome give it such a name, calling it St. Peter, or St. Paul, or St. Mary, or St. Anne; must not that man, though he behold his own handiwork, and knows in his heart that it was his own work, be blind and void of reason, and understanding of the law of God, and of the wondrous things that are contained in the law of the Lord? Yes, surely, he must be blind, and void of reason, and of the true faith, that would worship the same. The workman carved the eyes, but these eyes see not; he likewise carved the ears, but they hear not; the nose, and it smells not; the mouth, and it neither breathes nor speaks; the hands, they feel not; the feet, but they stand stock-still. How, therefore can your prayers be acceptable unto this image, that sees you not approaching towards it, that hears you not when you pray to it, that smells not the sweet smells, be they of myrrh or frankincense, burning before it? How can it absolve you, when the mouth is not able to say, 'Thy sins are forgiven thee?' And if you place a certain sum of money in the palm of the hand of that image; come you again to-morrow, the money, it is true, shall find a customer, but the image never the wiser that took it; and if you desire to have it come unto you, it cannot without help. Therefore the workman that made this image is as blind, as deaf, as dumb, and as void of sense, as the image itself; and so be ye all that put your trust therein.

"Therefore of late, new artificers, by springs, have made artificial ones, which for a certain time shall move, and ye shall believe it to be real and certain. But beware, good people, for they be but lying wonders, purposely that ye may break the law of God. And thus hath the devil devised a lying wonder, that ye may be deluded to break the law of the Lord; which is, 'Thou shalt not make unto thyself any graven image.' O Lord, open thou our eyes, our ears, and our understandings, that we may 'behold the wondrous things that are in thy law!' The law of God is an undefiled law; Oh, why should we be so wicked then as to defile that law which the Almighty God hath made so pure without blemish. Jesus came to fulfil the law, and not to abolish the law. But there is a new fraternity of late sprung up, who call themselves Jesuits, which will deceive many, who are much after the Scribes and Pharisees' manner amongst the Jews. They shall strive to abolish the truth, and shall come very near to do it; for these sorts will turn themselves into several forms; with the Heathen, as Heathenish; with Atheists, an Atheist; with the Jews, a Jew; and with the Reformers, a Reformed; purposely to know your intentions, your minds, your hearts, and your inclinations; and thereby bring you at last to be like the fool; that said in his heart, 'There was no God.' These shall spread over the whole world, shall be admitted into the council of princes, and they never the wiser; charming of them, yea, making your princes reveal their hearts, and the secrets therein, unto them, and yet they not perceive it: which will happen from falling from the law of God, by neglect of fulfilling of the law of God, and by winking at their sins. Yet in the end, God, to justify his law, shall suddenly cut off this society, even by the hands of those

who most encouraged them, and made use of them ; so that at the end they shall become odious to all nations. They shall be worse than Jews, having no resting place upon the earth, and then shall a Jew have more favour than a Jesuit. Now to arm you all, good Christians, against these things that are to come, lest ye be led into temptation, cry unto the Lord your God, and heartily pray that he would be so merciful unto you, as to 'open the eyes of your understanding, that you may behold the wonders and pleasantness that is in his law,' which God of his mercy grant that you may all do."

On the very day that the Common Prayer was introduced into Christ-church, Dublin, the papists played one of their old tricks, in order to infuriate the minds of the people. In the church was a marble image of our Saviour holding a reed, and crowned with thorns. Whilst the service was performing, drops of blood were seen to trickle down the face of the statue, on which the contrivers of the imposture cried aloud, "See how the Redeemer sweats blood, on witnessing the entrance of heresy into his church!" Immediately many of the congregation prostrated themselves with the beads in their hands before the image, to which they now directed all their prayers. Great numbers flocked to the spectacle, and such was the danger to be apprehended from the commotion, that the lord lieutenant and corporation hastened out of the choir, for fear of personal violence. As soon as they were gone, the intrepid archbishop, suspecting the fraud, caused the image to be searched, and there they found a sponge soaked with blood, which one Leigh a monk had contrived to insert in such a manner within the crown, that, by the least pressure, drops would be made to fall on the face. When this discovery was made, the people united their execrations against Leigh and his colleagues, who afterwards did public penance in the church, and stood on a table before the pulpit, with their crimes in writing on their breasts; the archbishop preaching from this appropriate text, "God shall send them strong delusions, that they should believe a lie." The intelligence of this fraud produced an order from the privy council in England, for the removal of all images out of the churches in Ireland.

In the first year of queen Mary, archbishop Browne was deprived of his preferment, under pretence that he was married: but whether he suffered in any other respects, we have not the means of ascertaining; nor is the time of his death recorded, though it must have occurred before the coming of queen Elizabeth to the throne, otherwise there is no doubt but that he would have been restored to his dignity.

Sir James Ware, whom we have followed, concludes his interesting narrative with this extraordinary anecdote. Queen Mary having dealt severely with the Protestants in England, about the latter end of her reign signed a commission to take the same course with those in Ireland. To execute this with the greater force, she appointed Dr. Cole one of the commissioners to carry over the warrant to Dublin. The doctor, when he came to Chester, was waited upon by the mayor; to whom he said, taking the important document out of his leather box, "Here is a commission that shall lash the heretics of Ireland." The good woman of the house being well affected to the protestant religion, and also having a brother, named John Edmonds, of the same profession, then a citizen in Dublin, was much troubled at the doctor's words; and watching a convenient time, when the mayor departed, and the doctor complimenting him down stairs, she opened the box, took out the commission, and

placed in lieu thereof, a sheet of paper, with a pack of cards, the knave of clubs being uppermost. The doctor, on coming back to his chamber, suspected nothing of what had been done, and therefore put up the box without any examination. The next day he sailed for Ireland, and on the 7th of October, 1558, landed at Dublin; where he waited upon the lord Fitzwalters, the viceroy; who called a council, to receive the commission. Here the doctor made a speech, relating the occasion of his coming, and then presented the box in great form to the lord deputy, who gave it to the secretary. When that officer lifted the cover, and took out the terrible document, behold, nothing smote his view but a pack of cards, with the knave of clubs uppermost. This startled the whole council; and the doctor, in great confusion, said that he certainly had been intrusted with a commission, though how or where it was gone, he could not surmise. The lord deputy made answer, "Well, then, as that is the case, you must go back, doctor, for another warrant, and in the mean while we will shuffle the cards." The doctor being troubled in his mind, returned to England, and obtained a new commission, of which he was very careful; but while waiting for a fair wind, news came that the queen was dead: and thus God preserved the Protestants of Ireland. When lord Fitzwalters appeared at court, he told the story to queen Elizabeth, which so delighted her majesty, that she sent for Elizabeth Edmonds, and gave her a pension of forty pounds a year for life.

This Dr. Henry Cole was a remarkable instance of tergiversation. He was a native of the Isle of Wight, had been a fellow of New College, Oxford, and went to Padua, where he professed himself a zealous Catholic; but on returning to England, and finding the papal supremacy thrown off, he complied with the change, and acknowledged Henry the Eighth to be the head of the church of England. He now obtained a variety of preferments, and became an advocate in the court of Arches, and in 1542 was elected warden of New College. On the accession of Edward VI. he outwardly embraced the principles of the Reformation; but when queen Mary came to the throne, he publicly professed himself a zealous Romanist, and was made provost of Eton. He was also one of the divines employed to dispute with Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, at Oxford, where he behaved with the greatest brutality, particularly at the burning of the primate, when he preached a sermon before the stake. These services, however, procured him the deanery of St. Paul's from cardinal Pole, who made him his vicar general.

In the next reign this temporizing pluralist was deprived of his preferments, and died in or near Wood-street Compter in 1579.

## THE SPANISH PROTESTANT MARTYROLOGY.

ABOUT the year 1440 great numbers of people were, at the instigation of the inquisitors, driven by the king's soldiers out of the mountainous districts of Douringo in Biscay, to Valladolid and Domingo de Calcada, where they were burnt alive for refusing to abjure certain tenets which were condemned as heretical by the Roman church. We are not told what the doctrines were, for professing which such multitudes were put to death; but it can scarcely admit of a doubt that they were similar to those held by the Vaudois among the Alps; the primitive faith having, till about this time, been preserved entire only in some mountainous and almost inaccessible countries, where the inhabitants were for

a long period secure by their poverty and obscurity from the merciless fangs of the popish friars and persecutors. When the principles of the reformed religion began to spread through the Netherlands, the emperor Charles V. thought he could not do better than to call thither some of the ablest divines out of Spain, for the purpose of checking the progress of heresy. Other ecclesiastics of eminence, of the same nation, were also employed in England, after the marriage of Philip the Fifth and our queen Mary. But it happened that the course adopted to strengthen the Romish faith had a contrary effect; and even several of the persons whose zeal had been kindled for the conversion of heretics, became the instruments of propagating the truth among their benighted countrymen. As, by their exemplary piety and great learning, they were extremely well qualified for so blessed a work; their success in it was such, that had not a speedy and full stop been put to their zealous labours by the merciless Inquisition, the whole kingdom of Spain would in all likelihood have been converted to the Protestant religion, in less time than any other country had ever been; so mightily grew the word of God and prevailed, by the labours of these holy men, who had been called to the knowledge and love of it after such an extraordinary manner. That this is not an exaggerated statement, will appear from what is confessed by Paramus, who wrote the history of the Spanish Inquisition, and held himself a high situation in the Holy Office. "Had not," says he "the Inquisition taken care in time to put a stop to these Protestant preachers, their religion would have run through Spain like wildfire; for people of all degrees, and of both sexes, were shewing a wonderful inclination to the new doctrines." Another Spanish historian of that period, makes the following complaint. "In former times, the prisoners who were brought out of the Inquisition to be burnt, or do penance, were mean people, and of a bad race, (meaning Jews :) but in these later years, we have seen its prisons, scaffolds, and stakes, filled with illustrious persons of noble families, and others who, as to all outward appearances, had great advantages over their neighbours, as well for their learning, as in regard to their piety. Now the fountain of this, and of many more evils, was the zeal of our Catholic princes in sending divers learned men and preachers out of the kingdom of Spain into Germany, England, and other countries; hoping by their sermons to convert those that were in error, to the way of truth: but such was their misfortune, that instead of reaping fruit by their diligence, the preachers thus sent by them to give light to others, returned home blind themselves, and having either been deceived, or possessed with an ambition of being esteemed learned, and of having improved themselves in those countries, they followed the example of the heretics." Again the same writer says, "All the prisoners in the Inquisition of Valladolid, Seville, and Toledo, were persons of singular qualifications; but I shall here pass over their names in silence, that I may not, by their bad fame, stain the honours of their race, and the nobility of the several families infected with this poison." Memorials of a few only of these martyrs and confessors have been transmitted to us, and that accompanied by very scanty particulars of their sentiments and conduct, owing to the extremely cautious jealousy of their persecutors.

The first that suffered martyrdom in Spain as a protestant, was Mr. *Nicholas Burton*, an English factor, who was burnt alive at Seville, in the reign of queen Mary. Such was the dishonesty of the Inquisitors, that, not content with taking away the life of this good man, they seized all the goods and notes which belonged to his employers, the mer-

chants in London; and when Mr. Frampton was sent over to demand them, the robbers contrived to stop his proceeding by imprisoning him also on a charge of heresy.

In the year 1558, Dr. *Augustine Cazalla*, a canon of the cathedral of Salamanca, who had been for several years chaplain and preacher to the emperor Charles the Fifth, in Germany, was taken up and imprisoned by the Inquisitors of Valladolid, for being a protestant; and at the same time his mother, *Donna Leonora de Viverra*, in whose house the professors of the reformed religion used to assemble to worship God, with her three other sons, two daughters, and servants, were all apprehended. Dr. Cazalla, after undergoing the cruelties of the Inquisition, was with thirteen other persons brought forth and burnt to ashes, but his aged mother died in prison. After the death of this eminent man, it was industriously reported that he had reconciled himself to the church of Rome while in confinement: but if so, the circumstance served only to aggravate the barbarity of his murderers. The tale, however, is if a piece with popish veracity in general; for had Cazalla, who is acknowledged by the author of the History of the Inquisition in Spain, to have been a most elegant preacher, really recanted, his persecutors would gladly have availed themselves of his talents, in order to support their cause, and induce others to follow his example.

At the same time with Dr. Cazalla, there suffered a most devout and eminent lawyer, named *Herezulo*. He owed his conversion to the preaching of his brother martyr; and the author of the Pontifical History, who witnessed his execution, admits that he died with great firmness and constancy. "I was so near the bachelor Herezulo when he was burnt alive," saith this bigoted writer, "that I could observe all his gestures and motions; for he could not speak, having his mouth gagged on account of the blasphemy which he had uttered against the Roman Church. He appeared to me to be a most resolute and hardened person; and though I marked him very narrowly, I could not discern the least sign of expression of uneasiness in him; only that he had a sadness in his countenance, beyond any thing I had ever witnessed." Some time afterwards, *Donna Leonora de Cisneros*, widow of this blessed martyr, after a long confinement, was brought out of the Inquisition at Valladolid, and underwent death with a courage nothing inferior to that of her husband: and the writer we have just quoted says they endured being burnt alive as if they had been made of stone, and not of flesh and blood.

Another Spanish martyr at that time was Dr. *Perez*, a secular priest, of great learning, exemplary piety, and a most fervent preacher. He was brought out of the Inquisition, and burnt alive in the same act of faith with Dr. Cazalla: at which scene of horror Don Carlos, prince of Spain, was present; of whom it is surmised, that he afterwards evinced such an inclination to the Protestant religion, as to occasion his being privately put to death by his own father.

Not long after, there was another act of faith celebrated by the same court of Inquisition, in which *Don Carlos de Seso*, a nobleman of an illustrious family, was brought forth and burnt alive, together with forty more protestants, among whom was *Juan Sancho*, who had been a servant to Don Pedro Cazalla, the brother and fellow-sufferer of the doctor. The author of the *Historia Pontificalis* says that this great company of martyrs endured their torments with a courage that astonished all the beholders.

While these tragedies were performing at Valladolid, the Inquisition of Seville was not idle. Some years before this, a protestant church had been gathered in that city by the



ministry of Dr. John Egidio, and Dr. Constantino Pontio, the two great and shining lights of Spain. The former was first rector of the university of Complutum, and from thence was called to the professorship of theology at Sigüenza, where he had not been long, before he was chosen canon and preacher of the cathedral of Seville by the dean and chapter of that church. In all these posts, but particularly the last, he conducted himself so well, that he was beloved and admired for his fervent piety, extensive learning, and profound humility. The emperor Charles esteemed him so highly, that he familiarly called him his preacher, and in 1550 nominated him to the bishopric of Tortosa; but before the good man could be consecrated, the Inquisition caused him to be taken up, as being a protestant, and a teacher of that religion. When or how he died, in the Inquisition, we know not; but it is certain that, some years after his arrest, his bones were brought out and burnt in an act of faith celebrated in that city, as the remains of one who had died an impenitent heretic.

Dr. *Constantino Pontio*, or *De La Fuente*, chaplain to the emperor Charles, and canon of the cathedral of Seville, was, after the resignation of that prince, taken up by the Inquisition as a protestant heretic: but in what manner he came by his death was never made public; for his body, books, and manuscripts, were brought out and burnt with his effigy in an act of faith, in 1559. Among these treatises was one with the title "An Account of the true Christian Church:" and another "Of the Antichristian Church," which last he maintained to be that of Rome. There was likewise among his works, one against "Purgatory and Indulgences," a second upon "Transubstantiation," and a third against "the Merit of Good Works."

This learned divine had been ordered by the emperor to attend his son Philip into Flanders, and in the history of that journey, printed at Madrid in 1550, Dr. Constantino Pontio is said to be "the greatest philosopher, the profoundest divine, and the most eloquent preacher, that Spain had enjoyed for many ages." When Charles V. heard that his favourite chaplain was taken up by the Inquisition, he said, "If Constantino be a heretic, he is not an ordinary one." He was so popular as a preacher, that the people used to throng into the church two or three hours before he ascended the pulpit.

On the 24th of September 1559, Don Juan Pontio de Leon, son of Don Rodrigo Conde of Baylen, was, with divers others professing the protestant faith, burnt at Seville. These blessed martyrs were all converted to the truth by Dr. Egidio, and did, both in their lives and at their deaths, discover themselves worthy of the cause for which he and they were called to suffer. The charges alleged against them were the maintaining, 1. That the worship of the church is idolatrous; 2. That the pope is Antichrist; 3. That men are justified by faith, and not by works.

At the same time and place was burnt alive, with his dear and intimate friend Don Juan de Leon, the reverend father *John Gonsalvo*, a secular priest, who, as he was going to the stake, began to sing the one hundred and ninth psalm; but being commanded to be silent, he obeyed, well knowing that if he had not, he should have been gagged. When he came to the stake, and observed that one of his sisters, who was to be burnt with him, looked much dejected, he called out to her to be comforted, saying, "Be of good courage, my dear sister, keep the faith;" but as he was going on with his exhortation, the officers ordered him to be strangled, and afterwards they had the impudence to say, that he meant the faith of the Roman church.

*Juliano Fernando*, who for his low stature was commonly called Little Julian, was taken up by the Inquisitors at Seville for importing and dispersing great numbers of Spanish bibles which had been printed in Germany. Though it is a hard matter to know what passes within the walls of the Inquisition, we are told by some who were confined there at the time, that they once heard Julian say, as he passed along, "The friars are baffled; they are baffled:" and again, that at another time, after torture, he exclaimed, "The wolves fly, they fly." In the morning before he was to be burnt, meeting with a great number of protestants in the hall, while their flaming garments were putting on, he cried out to them, "Dear brethren and sisters, be of good courage, and triumph over death." For this he was gagged, and continued so until he came to the stake, when a priest, whose name was Fernando Rodriguez, and who had for some time secretly professed the reformed religion, desired that his mouth might be unclosed, boasting he should be able to prevail with him to be reconciled to the Romish church. Accordingly, Julian was ungagged, but after hearing all that the priest had to say, he said, "Thou apostate, how darest thou, against the convictions of thy own conscience, go about to persuade me to save my life by abjuring the truth?" This reproof so enraged the priest, that he cried out, "Shall Spain, the conqueror of nations, have her peace disturbed by such a dwarf as this?—Executioner, burn that incorrigible heretic;" which was done immediately: though one of the officers, more compassionately than the rest, put an end to his suffering by a stunning blow on the head, which put an end to him before the flames gained any power.

Another martyr of that city was *John de Leon*, a monk of St. Isidore, and a convert of Dr. Egidio. He, with some of his brethren of the same monastery, made their escape to Frankfort in Germany; but not thinking it safe to remain there, John de Leon went to Geneva. While in that city, he contracted an intimacy with some of the English exiles, who, on the death of queen Mary, gave him a pressing invitation to visit their country. He accepted this brotherly offer, and in company with one John Fernel, another Spanish confessor, proceeded as far as Middleburgh in Zealand, intending there to embark for England. But they had scarcely reached that place, when they were discovered and apprehended. On the officer's telling Leon, "that he was the man he had been looking for," he turned to his companion and said, "Come, brother, let us go: God calls us to suffer for his gospel; and if we do not forsake him, he will not forsake us." After having been carried to prison, and racked there, to make him disclose where the other Spanish refugees lay concealed; John de Leon was put on board a ship bound to Cadiz, being confined in heavy irons all the voyage, and was kept gagged, except at those times when he received his short meals of bread and water. He was likewise gagged when brought out of the Inquisition, and so he continued to be until he was reduced to ashes; yet amidst these dreadful sufferings he preserved his principles, nor ever once discovered anything that indicated fear or uneasiness.

At the same time, Dr. *Christopher Landis*, an eminent physician, was burnt alive for being a protestant; and, as his companion did, suffered the pains of death with a joy and unconcern that amazed all the beholders. In the same act of faith suffered with great fortitude, and triumph over death, *Christopher Aurio*, a learned schoolmaster, who, by reading the holy scriptures, had been converted to the protestant religion.



*Garcias Arias*, commonly called Dr. Blanco, a monk of St. Isidore, like the apostle Paul, became, from a violent persecutor, a zealous confessor of the true faith, for which he was not long after burnt alive at Seville, rejoicing that God had thought him worthy to suffer for so glorious a cause. This monastery of St. Isidore was the great seminary of the Protestant religion in Spain, five monks having been taken out of it by the Inquisition, and consigned to the flames; while twelve made their escape from thence, and repaired to Geneva.

*Ferdinando a Sancto Johanne*, though but a young man when he was burnt, had been eight years a professor in the college of St. Isidore at Seville. He was a person of great zeal and devotion, and was brought gagged out of the Inquisition, in which state he continued till he was burnt, praising God with his eyes and hands, though not permitted to do so with his lips.

Besides these, there suffered a young lady named *Donna Maria Bohorquia*, of such admirable knowledge and piety, that Dr. Egidio used to say, no person could discourse with her on divine subjects, without being made both wiser and better. When yet but a girl, she learned Latin, that she might be able to read the bible, which, in Spain, was not at that time to be met with in any other language; and having, by indefatigable study, in a short time acquired so much skill in that tongue, as to be able to understand the divine oracles speaking in it to her conscience, she so applied herself thereto, that she had almost all the scriptures by heart; neither did she, after she had once tasted of the fountain of life, ever care to read in any other book. When brought out of the Inquisition to be burnt, she, with a heavenly joy spread over her countenance, began to give praises to God with a most melodious voice; and having, when forbidden to sing, refused to give over, she was gagged, in which state she was conducted to the stake. The friars, dreading the effects of her example on the populace, cried out, after she was fastened to the stake, "She is converted, and desires, before she dies, to be reconciled to the church of Rome;" immediately on saying which, they caused her to be strangled, and the fire to be kindled. There were many more women, and several of them of great quality, burnt at that time, both at Valladolid and Seville, as heretics, or professors of the reformed religion. They were all well read in the holy scriptures, which made Paramus, the inquisitor, declaim furiously against the Protestants, for translating and publishing the word of God, so that the laity, and especially females, became acquainted with the divine oracles, to the confusion of the ecclesiastics.

#### *The Sufferings of GOTTESCHALC.*

In the year 848, a council was held at Mentz, to consider the opinions then broached by *Gotteschalc*, or Fulgentius, a native of Germany, who had embraced the monastic life at Orbais, in the diocese of Soissons. There, under the abbot Bavo, he applied himself to the reading of the Latin fathers, particularly of St. Augustine, with whose works he became so enamoured as to get many of them by heart. Here he contracted an intimacy with his learned countryman *Wallafrid Strabo*, and on being ordained priest, he went to Rome. In his return, he tarried some time with count Eberhard, one of the chief lords of the court of the emperor Lothaire, where in a conversation with Nothingsus, bishop of Verona, he spoke so freely on the subject of predestination, that the prelate was offended, and complained of the presumptuous monk to Raban, archbishop of Mentz. Raban,

in consequence, wrote a letter to count Eberhard, in which he said, "It is reported that you retain a half-learned man, named *Gotteschalc*, who teacheth that the predestination of God imposeth a necessity upon all mankind; so that he who would be saved, and laboureth for that purpose by faith and good works, exerciseth himself in vain, if he is not absolutely foreordained to eternal life. He hath already, by this argument, driven many to despair; which moveth them to say, 'What need I work for my salvation? It is in vain for me to do good, if I am not predestinated; and even though I do evil, predestination will lead me to eternal happiness.'" Such was the representation which Raban gave of the doctrine of *Gotteschalc*, against whom he thundered the severest anathemas, and called upon Eberhard to drive him from his presence. This remonstrance had its effect, and the poor monk was obliged to leave Italy; but he had the boldness, after passing through Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Noricum, to visit Mentz, where a council had assembled to examine his doctrine. Here *Gotteschalc* presented a writing, wherein he set forth his belief in regard to the divine decrees, which he made to be two-fold; the one being a predestination of the elect to eternal life, by the free grace of God, without any reference to good works foreseen; and the other an excision or reprobation of those who are for their sins doomed to endless misery. Though the doctrine of *Gotteschalc* did not vary a single iota from what was largely and strongly enforced in the works of St. Augustine; the council of Mentz condemned it as heretical, and resolved, to send the refractory monk to Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, in whose diocese he had been ordained priest. Raban on this occasion wrote a synodical epistle to Hincmar, wherein he stiled *Gotteschalc* a vagabond, and makes him say, contrary to what he really maintained, that "God predestinates to evil as well as to good, and that there is no will in men, whereby they can turn themselves from sin to righteousness, or even correct their immoral habits."

After grossly misrepresenting the principles of *Gotteschalc*, the archbishop of Mentz says to his brother of Rheims, "We send him back to you, that he may be confined somewhere within your diocese, and so be prevented from seducing the people, as I understand he hath already deceived many." On the arrival of the monk at Rheims, he was immediately placed in confinement; and in the mean time a tribunal was erected for his trial, under the authority of Charles the Bald. There were thirteen bishops convened on this occasion, besides other ecclesiastics, the principal of them being Venilo, archbishop of Sens, and Hincmar of Rheims; Rotad, bishop of Soissons, Lupus of Chalons, Pardulus of Laone; Rigbold, the chorepiscopus of Rheims, and the three abbots of Corbie, Orbais, and Hautvilliers. *Gotteschalc* having been examined by this council, was condemned as an incorrigible heretic, and as such was deposed from the priesthood, which it was said he had received contrary to rule, though he was actually ordained by one of the bishops who sat in judgment upon him. Moreover, for his firmness in holding the doctrine which his adversaries called heresy, he was sentenced to be scourged with rods, and then to be imprisoned for life. He was also forbidden to teach, and enjoined perpetual silence. The whole of this sentence was most rigorously executed; and the degrading part of it was actually inflicted in the presence of the monarch. Having undergone this punishment for transcribing and believing the arguments of St. Augustine, he was obliged to throw the manuscript collections, which he had extracted from the fathers and scriptures, into the fire; after which he was sent to the abbey of

Hautvilliers. Here, however, he continued to study, and he drew up two confessions of faith; the one short, and the other large, but both to the same effect. In the first of these he saith, "I believe that God hath freely predestinated the elect unto eternal life; and that by his just judgment he hath doomed the reprobate unto eternal death, by reason of his most certain foreknowledge of their demerits." In the other confession, which is addressed under a precatory form to the Almighty, Gotteschalc dwells much upon the divine immutability, whereof the eternal decrees he considers as a consequence. He says that predestination is one in itself, though the effect is two-fold. He wishes, that for the sake of those who were not well informed, to be allowed to defend his doctrine in a public assembly, before the king, the prelates, clergy, and people. But the most extraordinary part of this performance is the offer of Gotteschalc to prove his sincerity, by entering successively into three vessels of boiling water, oil, and pitch, and lastly, going through a large fire. This overture, which shews the intrepidity of the man, however, was disregarded. In the mean time, Hincmar, who was a bitter persecutor, wrote to Prudentius, the ancient bishop of Troyes, requesting his advice as to what further proceedings he should adopt towards the pertinacious monk, whom he had in custody, but whose spirit he could not subdue. The archbishop, after relating what had taken place at the council, and the means that had been pursued for the conversion of the heretic, asked Prudentius whether Gotteschalc ought to be admitted to the participation of the holy offices at the ensuing Easter. Prudentius, who was a man of learning, instead of approving the fiery conduct of his brother prelate, sent him a collection of passages out of the holy scriptures, and the fathers, chiefly St. Augustine, whose authority he respected himself, and desired Hincmar to do the same. The latter, finding little encouragement in his violence from that quarter, wrote to Rabau, who in reply exhorted him not to suffer Gotteschalc to receive the sacrament, nor to speak or write to any body. On the other hand, Ratramnus, a celebrated monk of Corbie, composed two books on the doctrine of predestination, which he explained in the same manner as his suffering friend, but without being called to account for it, because he was in favour with the king, who sent the book to Hincmar for his edification, though it had not the effect of moderating his spirit. He endeavoured to interest other ecclesiastics of high dignity on his side, particularly Remy, archbishop of Lyons, who answered his letter in a very mortifying manner. "It seems absurd to us," says the archbishop, "that this poor monk, being brought to be judged by the bishops, should first be condemned to be whipped by the abbots who were present, and afterwards be condemned by the prelates according to the canons. He deserved to be chastised for his injurious language to the bishops; but it would have been better that his punishment had been inflicted by others, and not by them. As to his opinions, we must be excused if we say, that what he hath advanced on the subject of predestination, is the truth, and cannot be denied by any of us, who would be thought orthodox. Therefore we are afflicted, that they have condemned, not this unhappy man, but ecclesiastical verity." Again he says, "What appears ... heinous to every body is, that by an unheard-of cruelty he was so grievously scourged, as hath been related to us by such as were there; and that he was also forced to throw into the fire, which was near him, a memorial, wherein he had made a collection of passages from the scripture and the fathers, to present the same to the council. The long and inhuman confinement of this poor man ought, as we

think, at least to be qualified by some consolation, and we should gain this brother, for whom Jesus Christ died, rather by charity, than by loading him with misery." Such was the Christian remonstrance of this archbishop; but it proved fruitless, for Hincmar, instead of relaxing in his severity, not only continued to persecute Gotteschalc with the utmost rigour, but drew up articles of faith, which were so completely Pelagian, that the archbishop of Lyons undertook their refutation in a treatise, "On the Authority of the Scripture." An assembly of the clergy was also held at Valence, in which the doctrines condemned by Hincmar and his party, were openly avowed and defended with great ability. "God, by his prescience," say these divines, "knew from all eternity the good which virtuous men will do, and the evil that the wicked will do. He foresaw that the one would be good by his grace, and through the same would receive the eternal recompense; and he foresaw also that the others would be evil by their own malice, and he condemned by his justice to eternal punishment. The prescience of God, however, doth not impose a necessity of being evil upon any person; and no one is doomed by the Almighty to misery, without deserving it by his own iniquity. The wicked do not perish because they could not, but because they would not be righteous; and thus it is through their own fault that they are in a state of condemnation. We boldly confess the predestination of the elect to life, and the predestination of the wicked to death: but in the choice of those who shall be saved, the grace of God precedes their merit; and in the condemnation of those who perish, their demerit precedes the just judgment of the Almighty. Wherefore in the wicked he hath only foreseen, and not predestinated, their iniquity; because it cometh from themselves, and not from him; but he foresaw it, since he knoweth all things, and hath predestinated the punishment which ought to follow their demerits, because he is just. Now, that by the divine power, any are predestinated to evil, as if they could not do otherwise, we are so far from believing, that we anathematize those who assert it. As to the redemption by the blood of Jesus Christ, they are mistaken who say that it was shed even for the wicked, who, dying in their sins, have been condemned from the beginning of the world; and we, on the contrary, say that this price was given only for those who believe in his passion." This declaration was drawn up in direct opposition to the articles which Hincmar, and his associates, had framed for the condemnation of poor Gotteschalc; who languished in confinement twenty years, under the tyrannical government of his oppressor. A short time before the death of the unfortunate monk, Hincmar wrote a letter, in which he says, to one of his friends who seems to have interested himself in his favour, "If you are asked how Gotteschalc is kept, you may say that he is fed like the rest of the brethren of the society; that he hath sufficient clothing, and wood to warm him; and that there is a chimney in his cell, with every thing necessary. The bath is not denied him; but since he came into this place, he hath neither washed his hands nor face; so that if he were set at liberty, he would be a loathsome spectacle." The reader, perhaps, will be inclined to believe that this representation of the humane treatment of Gotteschalc, and of his voluntary neglect of his own person, are alike void of probability. It is certain that he died in prison not long after, that is, about the year 868. When Hincmar was informed of his situation, he sent him a formulary of faith, which he was required to subscribe, in order to his receiving absolution and the last holy offices; but Gotteschalc rejected the proposition with indignation.

Hincmar then told the monks, that if the prisoner would consent, the sacraments should be administered ; but that if he persisted in his refusal, they should neither pray by him, nor give him remains christian burial. The confessor persevered in what he considered to be the truth, and his body was cast out, like that of a dog, as unworthy of interment.

#### *Account of PETER DE BRUYS.*

About the year 1110 a religious sect was founded in the south of France, by *Peter de Bruys*, who, disgusted with the corruptions of the clergy in that dark age, made the most laudable attempts to reform those abuses, and to restore the church to a state of simplicity. He succeeded in gaining a considerable number of followers ; but if the report of those who opposed him is to be credited, the Petrobrussians, as they were called, committed many excesses in their zeal, especially in Provence, where they pulled down the altars, and destroyed the crucifixes. These disorders excited the indignation of the clergy, who, calling in the assistance of the princes, compelled Peter and his adherents to retire into Languedoc ; where, however, they continued to propagate their opinions and gather disciples, till their leader was taken at St. Giles's near Toulouse, and burned alive in 1130. The doctrines charged upon Peter de Bruys were these : 1. That no persons whatever should be baptized before they come to the full use of their reason. 2. That it is an idle superstition to build temples of stone for the service of God, who will accept of a sincere worship wherever it is offered ; and that therefore such churches as had already been erected, were to be pulled down and destroyed. 3. That crucifixes, as instruments of superstition, should be treated in the same manner. 4. That the real body and blood of Christ are not exhibited in the eucharist, but are simply represented in that ordinance by figures and symbols. 5. And lastly, that prayers, oblations, and other services for the dead, are of no avail.

There was another reformer, at the same period, named Henry, who is confidently said to have been one of the disciples of Peter de Bruys ; but if so, he differed from him in regard to the cross, for instead of abhorring that significant emblem of our redemption, he always carried one in his hand. This man was at first a hermit, but, being fired with zeal against the depravity of the times, he quitted his cell, and went first to Lausanne, and afterwards into the country of Mans, where he was greatly followed, and obtained considerable influence, though his manners were distinguished by the most rigid austerity. The picture drawn of Henry by a contemporary historian, is very curious, and characteristic of him and his adversaries.

"About this time," says the writer, "there arose a certain hypocrite, who for his wicked actions, corrupt morals, and abominable doctrines, deserved the severest punishments. This man concealed the rage of a ravenous wolf under the appearance of an innocent sheep. His countenance and eyes looked like a ruffled and tempestuous sea. He was yet very young ; he wore short hair, but no beard ; he was of large stature, and very meanly clothed ; walked quick and barefoot, even in the midst of winter ; he was affable in his behaviour, but his voice was powerful, and he lived in a manner quite different from other people. His ordinary places of residence were the poorest cottages, but in the day-time he generally abode under porticoes ; eating and sleeping on some hill in the open air. He acquired a great reputation for his supposed sanctity ; particularly among

the women, who cried him up for an extraordinary servant of God, and gave out that no person equalled him in converting the most obdurate hearts. They said also, that he was endued with the spirit of prophecy, to discern the secret recesses of the conscience, and thereby detect the most private sins of men. His fame having spread into the diocese of Mans, he sent thither two of his associates and disciples, who lived in the same manner as their master. These men arrived at Mans on Ash Wednesday, and were received by the people as angels. In imitation of their leader, they carried staves, on the top of which was an iron cross ; and they wore the dress of penitents. Bishop Hildebert was surprised at the sight, but received them kindly. He was then just about to take his journey to Rome, and in the mean time ordered his archdeacons to give Henry leave to preach throughout his diocese. Of this license he presently availed himself, and was attended by immense crowds of hearers ; among whom were many of the clergy. He had a natural eloquence, and a tone of voice resembling thunder. But he soon began to propagate his tenets, and to stir up the people against the ecclesiastics ; which produced great confusion. The chapter of Mans perceiving this disorder, gave him notice to leave off preaching either publicly or privately ; but the people were so irritated, that they very nearly killed the canon who brought the message, and Henry, instead of obeying the inhibition, continued to occupy the pulpits of some of the principal churches." When Hildebert returned from Rome, Henry retired to Calais, where he still vented his doctrines, and the people followed him in great numbers. The bishop, finding his authority disparaged and his benediction slighted, is said to have had Henry before him for examination : when he was found extremely ignorant of the daily offices of the church, professing that, though he knew nothing of the matins or vespers, he made it his study to deliver discourses to the people. Upon this the bishop prohibited him from staying any longer in his diocese. Being thus expelled from Mans, he returned to Languedoc ; where he continued his preaching with astonishing effect, according to the vehement declamations of St. Bernard, who in one of his letters says, "There are many churches without congregations, people without priests, and Christians without Jesus Christ. The churches are become like so many synagogues ; the sanctuary is divested of its holiness ; the sacraments are looked upon as things profane ; the festivals have lost their solemnity ; men die in their sins without absolution, or receiving the communion ; baptism is denied to infants ; prayers and sacrifices for the dead are derided ; invocation of the saints is rejected ; episcopal jurisdiction, pilgrimages, consecration, chrism, holy-water, and, in short, all the sacred offices, are utterly despised." Such was the change brought about in that dark age, by a man, who is described as an ignorant enthusiast ; but if Henry was really as contemptible as he is represented, what sort of teachers must the clergy have been whom he supplanted ? St. Bernard, however, proved at last too hard for the itinerant preacher, for, having called in the papal authority and secular power to his aid, he caused Henry to be arrested, and carried in chains to Rheims, where, in 1158, a council was assembled, under pope Eugene III. who committed him to close confinement ; but what became of him afterwards, is not recorded.

#### *The History of ARNOLD of Brescia.*

This celebrated reformer, who, as his surname implies, was a native of Brescia in Italy, went to France, on purpose

to become a pupil of Abelard. Upon his return home he assumed the monastic habit, but soon began to propagate novelties, which excited general attention, and procured him many followers. He maintained in his sermons that the ecclesiastics ought not to enjoy any temporal possessions, but should subsist by the voluntary contributions of the laity. This naturally led him to declaim against the royalties enjoyed by bishops, the splendid estates of abbots, and the dignities of other ecclesiastics. Besides all this, he undervalued the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper, saying, that the one ought to be administered to adults only, and that the other is a mere commemoration of the death of Christ. These opinions rendered him so obnoxious, that, in 1199, a council was held in the church of St. John Lateran, at Rome, under Pope Innocent II.; when Arnold was declared a heretic, and his doctrines were proscribed. Upon this he retired into Switzerland, where he continued during the whole of that pontificate, and then returned to Rome, being encouraged by the accession of Guido de Castello to the tiara, with whom he had been intimate, and who was known to have inclined very much in his favour at the time of his condemnation. This prelate, who took the name of Celestine the Second, incurred the censure of St. Bernard, for taking the part of Abelard, so that it may well be supposed he adopted no harsh measures against Arnold, who also remained unmolested under the next Pope, Lucius the Second. But when Eugenius III. took the chair, in 1145, the people of Rome were grown so weary of a papal government, especially on the preaching up of a new crusade, that they proceeded to adopt measures for the restoration of their ancient republican constitution. The Arnoldists, agreeable to their principles, that the ecclesiastics ought not to enjoy either civil power or estates, supported this revolution with such energy, and their numbers were so great, that the pope was obliged to quit Italy, and retire to France. He died at Tivoli, in 1153, and was succeeded by Anastasius IV. who enjoyed the dignity little more than a year, his place being supplied by our countryman, Nicholas Breakspear, who took the name of Adrian IV. The Roman people, however, were by this time so much inflamed against the dominion of the church, that had they been properly supported, their city would again have been the seat of the empire. That Arnold aimed at this great object, cannot be questioned, and for this his name has been grossly vilified by the popish writers who have touched upon the history of his times. Yet, according to them, he must have possessed extraordinary talents and influence, for Otho Frisingensis has preserved a letter, which he says Arnold drew up at the command of the senate and people of Rome, inviting the emperor Frederic to take them under his rule, and to make their city once more the head of the empire. The same historian says, that Arnold was endowed with happy natural parts, that his manners were regular, and that his life was consonant to the rules of purity. On the other hand, and by way of contrast, he charges him with being of a turbulent and seditious temper. He grounds this judgment upon the circumstance, that when Arnold returned to Italy, he began to censure the whole body of ecclesiastics, and to associate only with laymen: an offence which no one who has considered the dissolute manners of the clergy at that period, will feel disposed to think of a very heinous description. Yet, the historian, who has done all that he could to blacken the character of Arnold, and represented him as a ringleader of rebels, allows that the commotions which broke out at Rome took place before his arrival there. "Being entered into the city," says he, "and finding it altogether in an

uproar against the pope, he was so far from following the advice of the wise man, not to add fuel to the fire, that he greatly increased it, proposing to the multitude the example of the ancient Romans, who, by the counsel of their senate, and the valour of their youth, made the whole world their own. On this account he persuaded them to rebuild the capitol, to revive the senate, and reform the patrician order. He maintained, that the pope had no right whatever to hold any temporal power or jurisdiction, but that he ought to confine himself wholly to his spiritual functions. This infectious doctrine (as Otho calls it) prevailed to such a degree, that the populace proceeded to acts of violence against several of the nobility and dignified ecclesiastics." At length, however, the papal party gained the ascendancy, and compelled their opponents to retire into Tuscany, where Arnold was received as a prophet. But neither this popularity, nor the favour of the viscount of Campania, could secure him from his enemies, who, having seized his person, loaded him with chains, and sent him to Rome, where he was strangled and burnt, in 1160; after which his ashes were thrown into the Tiber, "to prevent (says the historian) the people from expressing any veneration for his remains." This declaration affords a convincing proof of the esteem in which he was held by the Romans, and the desire they then had to throw off the papal yoke.

#### *The Martyrdom of THOMAS CONECTE.*

In the early part of the fifteenth century, a Carmelite of Brittany, in France, made his appearance as an itinerant preacher with such success, that wherever he came, immense crowds were collected, for the pleasure of hearing his discourses. The largest churches were too small to contain the congregations that flocked from all parts, so that Brother Thomas, as he was called, usually preached from a high scaffold erected in some open square. The Netherlands constituted the principal field of his labours, and the writers who have given an account of him say, that his eloquence had the effect of inducing the ladies to lay aside their ornaments, and the men their cards and dice-boxes. In some places, we are told, a fire was kept up near the pulpit, where the females sacrificed their extravagant head-dresses, and the other sex their instruments of gaming. It would have been well if Conecte had been content with his popularity in the Low Countries; but the zealous desire to promote a reformation in Italy, carried him thither about the year 1432, and after correcting some abuses which prevailed in the convent of his order at Mantua, he went to Venice, where also he added to his reputation very considerably, and obtained many powerful friends by his exertions in the cause of virtue. From that city he proceeded to Rome, in the train, and under the protection, of the Venetian ambassador; but the freedom with which this celebrated preacher treated the corruptions of the papal court, gave such offence to Eugenius the Fourth, who then filled the pontifical throne, that he ordered the cardinals of Navarre and Lyons to prosecute him for heresy. The two prelates set about the work with such indefatigable diligence, that it was not long before the object of their malice came under the sentence of the Inquisition, and, in the year 1434, he was burnt alive, for preaching doctrines repugnant to the faith of the church, though, according to the Romish historians, the whole of his demerit consisted in exposing the scandalous manner of the age; which, if true, shows the atrocity of the papal tyranny in still blacker colours, since even a zeal for morality could not preserve a conscientious preacher from the flames.



*The Case of NICHOLAS DE BULDESTORFF.*

In the year 1446, an ecclesiastic named *Nicholas de Buldestorff*, became a victim to popish cruelty at Bale, for preaching, and defending in writing, the doctrine of the Millennium. He was called the Angelical Pastor; and, among a variety of notions which he vented, were these, that the age of the world, in its present state, is to be six thousand years, correspondent to the six days of the creation; after which period there will be a sabbatism of one thousand years, wherein Jesus Christ will reign visibly upon earth, and over a redeemed people, purified from corruption. For this harmless tenet, which, in fact, differs not from what was publicly held and taught in the second century by some of the fathers of the church, among whom was Irenæus, the poor man was dragged before a general council, which sapient assembly condemned him as a heretic, ordered his writings to be burnt, and himself to be confined in prison for life. But even this sentence was afterwards considered as too merciful, and when no argument could prevail over Buldestorff to make him revoke his errors, the same council ordered the visionary enthusiast, for he was no worse, to be burnt alive at Basle, which judgment was carried into execution with circumstances of peculiar barbarity.

*History of LEWIS DE BERQUIN.*

This gentleman was the lord of a village of the same name, in the province of Artois, in France, and he became so distinguished at court as to be appointed one of the counsellors to the king. By reading the works of Erasmus, he acquired a liberality of thinking, which rendered him an object of suspicion to the ecclesiastics: but when he presumed to translate some of the most obnoxious performances of his favourite author into French, the fury of the monks grew outrageous. The principal enemy of *Berquin* was William Quernus, one of the most fiery inquisitors of his time, who set his emissaries at work, and in a short time caused the object of his malice to be imprisoned on a formal charge of heresy. The accusation was founded on a number of extracts taken from his works; but these passages, when properly compared with their relatives, appeared so innocent, that the judges could find nothing criminal in them, and acquitted the prisoner. The adversaries of *Berquin*, however, pretended that he owed his escape to partiality, and the interposition of the royal favour; which he denied, and in consequence hostilities recommenced between him and the monks. Soon after, Noel Beda, and his confederates, pursued their game with such eagerness, that they were not long in getting *Berquin* apprehended on a fresh charge of heresy, which succeeded so well, that sentence was pronounced against him, by which it was ordered that his books should be committed to the flames, that he should recant his errors, and submit to such penance as might be imposed upon him, or expiate his offence at the stake. Being a man of intrepid resolution, he determined to endure the utmost severity, rather than recant what he had advanced, or compromise his character and principles by a base humiliation. This inflexibility had such an effect upon the regent, that the execution of the sentence was deferred till the return of the king from Spain. That monarch, finding the danger his counsellor was in from Beda and his faction, wrote to the parliament, enjoining them to be cautious how they proceeded, and telling them that he would himself take cognizance of the affair. Soon

after, *Berquin* was set at liberty, which gave him such courage, that he turned accuser in his turn, and prosecuted his enemies; in which he acted with great imprudence, and contrary to the advice of his friend Erasmus, who foresaw the result. The exasperated ecclesiastics now planted new engines, and entrapped their victim the third time so effectually, that he was condemned to make a public recantation, and then to be imprisoned for life. Refusing to acquiesce in this judgment, he was pronounced contumacious, received sentence of death, and was burnt on the Greve, April 17, 1529, being then about forty years of age. He suffered death with great resolution, though the monk who attended him declared that he gave signs of abjuration; which (as Erasmus says) was one of the ordinary lies which those people contrived to justify their proceedings towards heretics. The same great writer, however, has been guilty himself of an error in calling into question the Lutheranism of *Berquin*, which is put beyond all doubt by the following passage in the History of Printing, by Chevillier:—"In 1523, May 23, the parliament ordered the books of Lewis de *Berquin* to be seized, and communicated to the faculty of divinity for their opinion. The book "*De Abrogandâ Missâ*" was found upon him, with some others of Luther's and Melancthon's works; and seven or eight treatises besides, of which he was the author, bore these titles, "*Speculum Theologastorum*;" "*De Usu et Officio Missæ*," &c. "*Rationes Lutheri quibus omnes Christianos esse Sacerdotes molitur suadere*;" "*Le Debat de Piété et Superstition*." There were found also some books which he had translated into French, as, "*Reasons why Luther has caused the Decretals, and all the books of the Canon Law, to be burnt*;" "*The Roman Triad*," and others. The faculty, after having examined these books, judged that they contained expressly the heresies and blasphemies of Luther. Their opinion is dated Friday, July 26, 1523; and is addressed to the court of parliament. After having given their censure upon each book in particular, they conclude that they ought all to be cast into the fire; that *Berquin*, having made himself the defender of the Lutheran heresies, he ought to be obliged to make a public abjuration, and to be forbidden to compose any book for the future, or to make any translation prejudicial to the faith." Theodore Beza says, that *Berquin* would have been to France what Luther was to Germany, had Francis the First been as good a patron as the duke of Saxony was to the reformer.

*The narrow Escape of Dr. JOHN BAUHIN.*

At the same period, the learned physician *John Bauhin* was brought into trouble on account of his religious principles; and nothing but his great professional talents, and the interest of his patroness, queen Catherine of Navarre, saved him from the flames. He was a native of Amiens, and when no more than eighteen years old, attained such eminence as a surgeon, that he was consulted by persons of the first rank in life. By reading Erasmus on the New Testament, his eyes were opened to the errors of popery, which induced him to visit England, in 1532, where he practised three years in and about the court with great reputation. After this he returned to Paris, and married: but having avowed his religious opinions without reserve, and afforded his protection to the suffering professors of the same faith, he was seized and thrown into prison in the reign of Francis the First. On being brought before the ecclesiastical judges, and required to abjure the protestant tenets, he resolutely refused; for which he received sentence to be burnt alive. Queen Margaret, the king's sister, who



had been cured by him of a dangerous malady, then interposed in his behalf so forcibly, that her entreaties prevailed over the host of the Sorbonne, and Bauhin obtained his pardon and release; after which, his patroness appointed him her physician in ordinary. Bauhin, however, knew the malice of the popish party too well to trust them, even though he had so powerful a friend: and, therefore, he took an early opportunity of withdrawing secretly to Antwerp; but even here the dread of the Spanish Inquisition obliged him to take another flight, and at length he obtained an asylum at Basle, where he supported himself by correcting the press of Frobenius, the printer. Afterwards, however, he renewed his profession, and died dean of the faculty, in 1532. Bauhin was a man of such humility and piety, that he was wont to ascribe the cures he wrought more to the efficacy of prayer than medicine.

#### *The Martyrdom of ANNAS DU BOURG.*

*Annas du Bourg*, one of the most eminent lawyers and magistrates of France, in the sixteenth century, was born at Auvergne, in 1521, being the son of Stephen du Bourg, comptroller general of the customs in Languedoc, and brother to Anthony du Bourg, president of the parliament of Paris, and afterwards chancellor of the kingdom. Annas was intended for the church, and actually entered into orders; but, on the alteration of his religious principles, he studied the law at Orleans, and obtained the appointment of counsellor clerk to the parliament of Paris. In this high station he declared himself the protector of the reformed party, and endeavoured either to prevent or alleviate the punishments inflicted upon them. This alarmed some of the more bigoted counsellors of Henry the Second, who advised their master to get rid of the protestants altogether; and told him that he should begin with punishing the judges who secretly favoured them, and those also who employed their credit and interest in screening them from judgment. They likewise suggested that the king ought to make his appearance suddenly and unexpectedly in the chamber of parliament, on a particular day, when there was to be a kind of charge brought against some of the magistrates, among whom was Annas du Bourg. The king followed this advice, and on the day appointed, which was in the month of June, 1559, came to the parliament, just as Du Bourg had entered upon his own defence, which he pleaded with great eloquence, but went so far as to attack the licentious manners of the court. This freedom irritated the king to such a degree, that he caused the magistrate to be arrested on the spot: but instead of being tried for a civil offence, he was accused of heresy; and on the 19th of the same month, the archbishop of Paris caused him to be degraded from the character of priest, and to be delivered over to the secular power. But the king's death, in July, delayed the execution until December, when he was again condemned by the same prelate and the archbishop of Lyons, his appeals to the parliament having been rejected. The Elector Palatine, and other protestant princes of Germany, exerted their utmost efforts to obtain a remission of the judgment, but their applications were disregarded: and as his enemy, the president Minart, happened to be assassinated about the same time, though Du Bourg had nothing to do with the crime, he was put to death by hanging and burning, December 20, 1559; leaving behind him the character of a pious and learned man, an upright magistrate, and a steady friend to his country. At his execution, he avowed his religious principles with undaunted spirit; and even the popish historians,

who have mentioned his fate, admit that the death of such men tended rather to make new heretics, than to convert the old.

#### *The Persecution of ROBERT STEPHENS.*

The invention of printing may be considered as a remarkable instance of the wisdom of Providence in adapting the means to the end; for a more powerful engine could not possibly have been contrived to spread the light of the gospel, than this instrument of the press, by which the copies of the scriptures in different languages were easily multiplied and extensively circulated, so that the same could be read as well by the poor as the rich. Among the learned printers of that day, *Robert Stephens* may justly be mentioned as one of those to whom the world is most indebted for the extensive utility of their labours. He was the son of Henry Stephens, of Paris, the founder of the family, but far excelled him in erudition and celebrity. His education was liberal, and he particularly excelled in the knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew languages. After the death of his father, in 1520, he worked for some time with De Colines, who married his mother, and at length they entered into partnership. In 1522, they published an edition of the New Testament in a portable size, the rapid sale of which greatly alarmed the doctors of the Sorbonne, who could not be reconciled to the circulation of a work, that furnished the reformers with unanswerable arguments against popery. The Sorbonnists, however, not being able to find a plausible pretext for suppressing the book, or punishing the printers, were obliged to remain silent, and conceal their indignation till a more favourable opportunity. One of the doctors, who was also a tutor of the college, could not refrain from venting his rage on this occasion, especially when he found that the book was much sought for and read by the students. "These youngsters," said he, "plague me perpetually by their questions drawn from the New Testament, of which I would we were well rid. As for myself, I was fifteen years old before I heard or knew that there was such a book in existence." In 1526, Robert Stephens dissolved partnership with De Colines, and set up a printing establishment of his own; in which he was so scrupulous on the point of correctness, that he used to fix his proof sheets in some conspicuous place, with offers of remuneration to those who should detect an inaccuracy. For some time he used the same types with his father and late partner; but, in 1532, he had a new and elegant fount cast, which he first used for his edition of the Latin Bible, dated that year. He neglected nothing that could make a perfect production of the art; and not only collated the text most carefully with two manuscripts, one at St. Germain-des-Pres, and the other at St. Denis, but consulted the ablest divines, sought their advice, and obtained their corrections. This edition, however, gave his old enemies, the Sorbonnists, an opportunity to renew their bigoted opposition to the circulation of the scriptures; and had not the king, Francis the First, who had a great esteem for Robert, protected him against their violence, he would probably at this time have been cast into prison, or been obliged to fly the country. Still the love of peace and of a quiet life, to enable him to execute his undertakings, induced him to submit so far to these furious spirits, that he promised to print no work in future without their consent. In 1539, he was appointed king's printer of Latin and Hebrew; and it was at his suggestion that Francis caused the beautiful types to be cast by Garamand, which are still in the royal printing-office at Paris. These favours, however honourable

to the king's taste and liberality, were ultimately injurious to Robert, by exciting the jealousy of the Sorbonne doctors, who could not endure that his majesty should bestow his confidence on a man whom they suspected of being unsound in the faith; and therefore sought occasion to persecute him for heresy. At length they discovered grounds for this accusation, in the new edition of the Bible, published by Stephens, in 1545, which had a double Latin version, with the notes of Vatablus. As Leo Juda, the translator of one of these versions, was well known to be a Zuinglian, that circumstance alone was considered as sufficient to fix upon the printer the suspicion of heretical pravity; but the sagacious doctors were not content with this, for they charged him with getting the notes of Vatablus altered or corrupted by Calvin. These were serious charges at such a critical period; but the king again interposed his authority, and the printer escaped prosecution. The death of the monarch, however, increased the activity of the Sorbonnists, who soon took occasion to shew their malice, though it was in a case which did not concern the printer. Duchatel, in his oration on the deceased king, by a flight of oratory had said, that "his soul ascended immediately from earth to glory," which the faculty of divines affected to consider as an attack upon the doctrine of purgatory. Robert Stephens, out of gratitude to his patron, printed this funeral discourse in an elegant form, and this was construed by his adversaries into a proof of his heretical disposition. Being now without a protector, and justly apprehensive that further attempts would be made to deprive him of life, he resolved to leave the kingdom, which he accomplished in the year 1551, and went to Geneva, where he carried on his business, and published some keen satires against his old antagonists; who were, however, perhaps more exasperated at his presumption in printing a cheap edition of the New Testament in French. This great man became a burgomaster of Geneva, and died there in 1556; with the deserved reputation of being the most learned printer of the age. Thuanus, the historian, though a Catholic, gives Stephens a high character, and asserts, that the Christian world was more indebted to him, than to all the great conquerors of ancient or modern times. The wife of Robert Stephens was a very learned woman, and taught Latin to her children and servants with such success, that no other language was suffered to be spoken in the house.

#### *History of FRANCIS ALARD.*

It is the property of Popery to alienate and deaden the natural affections; so that, under its baleful influence, when a difference of opinion arises, where the authority of the church comes into play, the nearest connexions become the bitterest enemies: the father makes no scruple of persecuting his son, the child of denouncing his parent, the brother turning informer against his brother, and even the wife becoming the instrument of ruining her husband. The truth of this representation might be made sufficiently evident by numerous instances; but we shall here only adduce two of the most remarkable.

In the sixteenth century, there lived a noble family at Brussels, named Alard de Centier, the members of which were distinguished by their zealous attachment to the church of Rome. Among these was *Francis Alard*, a Dominican, who acquired a great reputation for his learning, and particularly his eloquence in the pulpit, in the exercise of which talent he displayed uncommon ardour against Luther, without having read any of his works. But on going to Hamburgh,

where he was much followed on account of his oratory, he fell into the acquaintance of an eminent merchant, who esteemed him for his integrity, though their doctrinal principles were essentially different. The merchant perceived that his friend was actuated by zeal without knowledge; and therefore was desirous of bringing him to a sense of the truth. He accordingly questioned Alard, whether he had ever studied the points in controversy, and had impartially examined the arguments of the divine whom he stigmatized as an heresiarch. The Dominican candidly admitted that he was a total stranger to the works of the reformer, but expressed his willingness to read them; on which his friend put one or two of the books into his hand. The perusal of these treatises had the immediate effect of humbling the young monk, and of making him less confident in his own judgment, and more reserved in deciding upon articles of faith, than he had hitherto shewn himself. Being thus brought to a state of mind favourable for inquiry, he proceeded to read the scriptures, without suffering the authority of men to interfere with his belief: the result was, as might be expected, a thorough change in his sentiments; and as his conversion was too sincere to be kept concealed, Alard found it expedient to leave his convent, in doing which he was assisted by the merchant, who also furnished him with the means to pursue his theological studies, first at the university of Jena and next at that of Wittemburg: but the death of his patron depriving him of his resources, he ventured to return to Brussels, in order to solicit assistance from his father. Before, however, he could obtain a private interview with him, Francis accidentally met his mother in one of the streets of the city; and the bigoted woman no sooner set eyes upon him, than she threw herself into a violent passion, loaded him with reproaches, and hastened to denounce her son to the Inquisition as an incorrigible heretic. He was accordingly soon apprehended, and when no persuasions or threats could induce him to return to the bosom of the church which he had forsaken, his mother was so irritated, that she urged his judges to pass sentence upon him, and even offered to furnish the wood to burn him alive! Judgment of death being pronounced, he was reconducted to his cell; but on the night previous to the appointed execution, he heard a voice, saying, "Francis, arise and depart." From whom, or whence this came, can only be conjectured; though the probability is, that it was the friendly interposition of some relative, in whom the feelings of nature were not extinguished. Let this be as it may, he cleared the prison, and, after some hardships and difficulties, arrived in safety at Oldenburgh, where his remarkable story obtained him the favour of the prince, who made him his almoner. Here he continued till some degree of religious liberty began to prevail at Antwerp, to which place he repaired, and was there met by his father, who came for the purpose of bringing him back to popery; but Francis reasoned with so much power, as to make a sincere convert of his parent. The persecution breaking out again with redoubled fury in the Netherlands, obliged him to seek an asylum in the dominions of Christiern IV. king of Denmark, who gave him the living of Wilster, in Holstein, where he died, July 10, 1578. He left a son named William, who became rector of the college of Krempen, and pastor of the church in that place.

#### *The Murder of JOHN DIAZ.*

Another, but more melancholy instance of fanatical cruelty was exhibited, in the same century, on the person of *John Diaz*, a native of Cuença, in Spain. He studied theology at

Paris, where, by reading the writings of Luther and other reformers, he soon became a convert to the protestant doctrines. This circumstance rendering it necessary that he should leave France, he retired to Geneva, where a reformation had been brought about by Calvin. Here Diaz contracted an intimacy with that great man, and also with Budeus and Crispinus, who assisted him materially in his studies. From thence he went to Strasburgh, where he became known to Martin Bucer, who, perceiving his promising talents, obtained leave of the council of that city to take him as his assistant, in the conference between the Protestants and Catholics at Ratisbon. On the arrival of Diaz at that place, he met with his old acquaintance Malvenda, who had been his fellow-student in the college at Paris, and who now took occasion to employ the strongest arguments he could muster, to bring him back again into the bosom of the Roman church. Diaz, however, was proof against all the sophistry of Malvenda, and soon after went to Neuburg, to superintend the printing of a work which Bucer had just completed for the press. Scarcely had he reached that town, when he was surprised by the appearance of his brother Alphonso, who was an advocate in the court of Rome, and, on hearing of the apostasy of John, had come to Germany, in all haste, to recover or destroy him. The arguments of the counsellor, however, were as ineffectual as those of Malvenda had been; but instead of lamenting what he termed the obduracy of his brother, he affected great kindness towards him, furnished him with money, and took leave of him with expressions of tenderness. Under this guise, however, he meditated the most atrocious designs, and, pretending to go to Rome, went to Augsburg, where he engaged a bravo in his service, and at break of day on the 26th of March, 1546, was again at Neuburg. On repairing to his brother's lodgings, he found that he was in bed, and fast asleep; so, remaining at the door, he sent up the assassin, disguised as a courier, who awakened the unfortunate victim, by producing some letters from Alphonso and Malvenda. While John was dressing, the ruffian struck him on the head with an axe, which he had concealed under his cloak, and having split his skull in two, left the house with his employer. The murderers instantly left the town, but were vigorously pursued, and taken at Inspruc; where preparations were made to bring them to trial, when the emperor interposed his authority, at the instigation of the papal court, and, under the plea of hearing the cause himself, put an entire stop to the proceedings, in contempt of the demands of the magistrates of Neuburg, and of the protest of prince Otho, who complained of the infringement of his rights, in this exercise of the imperial power to prevent justice. But no earthly power could protect Alphonso from the torments of conscience, which became so insupportable, that when neither change of place, the practices of superstition, nor the papal absolution, could extinguish the fire which devoured him, the fratricide, like Judas, sought a refuge from his misery by hanging himself.

The two historical relations just given, exhibit a fearful picture of that bondage in which the votaries of papal superstition are held by the influence of a creed, that confines the charities of life within the pale of an infallible church, and dooms to present suffering and future woe all who presume to think for themselves in matters of faith. The circumstances here recorded happened, it is true, near three centuries since; but that popery is still of the same unsocial and persecuting spirit, as far as the difference of times will permit, might be shewn in many instances.

Scripture represents the "forgetting of a child by its mother," as a case of extremity bordering on improbability; yet, in the Romish communion, it is made a matter of duty. Thus an ecclesiastic, who has recently quitted that church in Spain, addresses his brethren of that faith: "Believe a man who has spent the best years of his life where Catholicism is professed without the check of dissenting opinions, where it luxuriates on the soil which fire and sword have cleared of whatever might stint its natural and genuine growth—a growth incessantly watched over by the head of your church, and his authorized representatives the inquisitors. Alas! 'I have a mother,' outweighed all other reasons for a change in a man of genius, (the English poet Pope,) who yet cared not to shew his indifference to the religious system under which he was born. I too had a mother, and such a mother, as did I possess the talents of the great poet tenfold, they would have been honoured in doing homage to the powers of her mind and the goodness of her heart. No woman could love her children more ardently, and none of those children was more vehemently loved, than myself. But the Roman Catholic creed had poisoned in her the surest source of affection. I saw her, during a long period, unable to restrain her tears in my presence. I perceived that she shunned my conversation, especially when my university friends drew me into topics above those of domestic talk. I loved her, and this behaviour cut me to the heart. In my distress I applied to a friend to whom she used to communicate all her sorrow, and to my utter horror, I learnt, that suspecting me of anti-catholic principles, my mother was distracted by the fear that she might be obliged to accuse me to the Inquisition, if I incautiously uttered some condemned proposition in her presence. To avoid the barbarous necessity of being the instrument of my ruin, she could find no other means but that of shunning my presence. Did this mother over-rate, or mistake, the nature of her Roman Catholic duties? By no means. The Inquisition was established by the supreme authority of her church; and under that authority she was enjoined to accuse any person whatever, whom she might over-hear uttering heretical opinions. No exception was made in favour of fathers, children, husbands, wives; to conceal was to abet their errors, and doom two souls to eternal perdition."

Such is the affecting statement of Mr. Blanco White, in his irrefutable "Evidence against Catholicism," lately published; from which most seasonable and important work we shall here extract another passage, in illustration of the position, that popery is internally and externally the enemy of human happiness. Speaking of the sacrifice of innocent females to a life of seclusion, this author says, "I saw my eldest sister, at the age of two-and-twenty, slowly sink into the grave within the walls of a convent; whereas, had she not been a slave to that church, which has been a curse to me, amusement and exercise might have saved her life. I obtained that melancholy sight at the risk of bursting my heart, when, in my capacity of priest, and at her own request, I heard her last confession. When shall I forget the mortal agony with which, not to disturb the dying moments of that angelic being, I suppressed my tears in her presence? I saw my sister no more; but another was left me, if not equal in talents to the eldest, amiable and good in no inferior degree. To her I looked up as a companion for life. But she had a heart open to every noble impression, and such, among Catholics, are apt to be misled from the path of practical usefulness, into the wilderness of visionary perfection. At the age of twenty, she left an infirm mother."

the care of servants and strangers, and shut herself up in a convent, where she was not allowed to see even her nearest relations. With a delicate frame, requiring every indulgence to support it in health, she embraced a rule which denied her the comforts of the lowest class in society: a coarse woollen frock fretted her skin; her feet had no covering but that of shoes, open at the toes, that they might expose them to the cold of a brick floor; a couch of bare planks was her bed, and an unfurnished cell her dwelling. Disease soon filled her conscience with fears, and I had often to endure the torture of witnessing her agonies at the confessional. I left her when I quitted Spain, dying much too slowly for her only chance of relief. I wept bitterly for her loss two years after; yet I could not be so cruel as to wish her alive."

### MARTYRS IN THE LOW COUNTRIES.

THE Reformation made a rapid progress throughout the Netherlands, at the period when those countries were under the Spanish yoke; and as the emperor thought he might act more despotically there than in Germany, he caused repeated placards to be published against the professors of the new religion; the last edict being always more severe than the former, and as rigidly put in execution by the clergy. For the period of half a century from 1523, there was hardly a year in which there were not a number of public executions, besides such as perished in prison. At first they butchered them by two or three at a time; but at last they multiplied the number to dozens and scores. The common death inflicted upon felons, found guilty of robbery and murder, would have been esteemed merciful; instead of which, for heretics, they had racks and screws, pulleys and slow fires; some were even ripped up; and, in many places, the persecutors adopted an extraordinary mode of punishment, in burying the culprit alive. Notwithstanding these cruelties, the Protestant faith ran rapidly, and its adherents maintained their integrity with undaunted fortitude.

A Widow in North Holland, in 1527, being asked what she thought of the host, answered boldly, that she took it for nothing but a piece of dough. In regard to the worshipping of angels and saints, she confessed that she knew no other mediator but Jesus Christ. Being threatened with the fiery trial, she continued steadfast, saying, "If this power be given you from above, I am prepared to suffer." To a person who thought to shake her by observing, "You do not fear death, because you have not yet tasted it?" She replied, "That is true; neither shall I ever taste it; for Christ has said, If a man keep my sayings, he shall never see death." After sentence was pronounced against her, they advised her to confess her sins to a priest; but she cried aloud, "I have already confessed all my sins to Christ my Lord, who taketh away all sins; but if I have offended any of my neighbours, I heartily ask them forgiveness." Thus she went to the place of execution at the Hague, with meekness and courage united, and being first strangled, was burned to ashes.

Mr. *Peter Brully*, a minister of Strasburg, who occasionally preached to some Protestants at Tournay, being thrown into jail, and examined, continued firm in the confession of his faith; comforted his fellow-prisoners and relations; and in a letter to his wife, put her in mind, "that the servant's condition ought not to be better than that of his master." He looked upon the most excruciating death with a submissive and easy mind; and, in the midst of a slow fire, called upon his Creator and Redeemer with an entire trust and confidence, as long as he was able to speak. *Peter Moys*, one of his hearers, was imprisoned about the same time, and

persevered in the faith, through violent temptations. While he was pleading for himself, and speaking of his principles and hopes, the priests repeatedly contradicted and interrupted him; upon which he said, "If you will not hear me, send me back again to the toads and serpents, my companions in the dungeon; for they do not disturb me when I sing or pray; whereas you, who are rational creatures, made after God's image, refuse to hearken to me when I mention his eternal word." To some persons who reminded him of a particular friend of his that had presumptuously delivered himself up to the persecutors, and afterwards recanted, he said, "I pin my faith upon no man's sleeve. I am supported by a much more stable foundation; for I set my Saviour Jesus Christ before me as my only pattern. It seems to me that my friend's surrendering himself in that manner was little better than tempting God's providence. As for myself, if the Almighty had furnished me with such an opportunity of escaping, I would have made use of it, and kept out of your hands; but since I am fallen into them, do with my body as you think fit: my soul, however, thanks to my Maker, is not in your power." Whilst they were conveying him to the fire, he cried out to the people, "Believe not these impostors, the priests and monks; but receive the gospel of the Son of God."

There was likewise a tailor accused of heresy, and imprisoned, together with his wife, but, his heart failing him, he recanted, and so was only beheaded; for the persecutors would not altogether pardon those whom they once convicted; and the only favour shewn them, in case they consented to be reconciled to the church they had forsaken, was that of changing the manner of punishment. The wife of the tailor behaved more courageously, and continued steadfast, for which she was sentenced to be buried alive. As she was leading to the place of execution, and passed by the prison where her husband had been confined, but knew not of his retraction or death, she exclaimed, "Farewell, my dear Adrian, I am going to another wedding." When she came to the scaffold, and saw the instruments of death, and particularly the fatal coffin, in which she was to be laid alive and buried, she asked the tormentors with undaunted intrepidity, "Is this the pasty you have prepared for me?"

Another tailor, named *Mitchel*, at Tournay, after condemnation, being asked by the judges, whether he would rather abide by his confession, and be burned to death with a slow fire, or recant it and be decapitated; without the least hesitation answered manfully, "He who deems me worthy to suffer for his name's sake, will likewise grant me strength and patience to undergo the fiery trial."

One *Martin*, a shoemaker, at Ypres, underwent the same judgment most undauntedly. After he had received the sentence, he looked out of a window, and seeing the wood prepared to burn him, said to one that insulted him on his principles, "This is a poor little fire in comparison of the everlasting one; but after I have suffered a little smart by it, I shall enjoy eternal happiness."

With no less courage and confidence in the Divine grace, did *Mary*, the wife of Austin Barbier, suffer herself to be laid alive in a coffin, and stamped upon by the hangman till she burst. Her husband was apprehended some time after, and led away to execution; and though naturally very timorous, he conducted himself bravely under the dispensation. To a person who said, "Take pity on yourself; and if you will not save your body, at least save your soul," he replied by thanking him, but observed, "You may easily see that I have a great concern for my own safety, since rather than I would do any thing against my conscience, I give my



body to be burned. In this I count myself happy, that I do not suffer for a wicked life, but only for the truth of Jesus Christ, for which all the martyrs have shed their blood, as I hope by his grace to do likewise."

At Valenciennes, a Father, with his Son, Daughter, and the Husband of the latter, were all condemned to be burned together. The old man answered the crafty arguments with which they attacked his faith in the following plain and simple manner: "I do not pretend to so much learning as to be able to refute all your objections to my religion; but I shall rely upon the truth of the gospel, say what you will." With this calm integrity and firm persuasion he went cheerfully to the fire. The other two men suffered with him; but the daughter being in a state of pregnancy, was respited till her delivery, after which, when urged by the judges to a recantation, with the promise of life, she said, "Ah! my lords, I have languished sufficiently already, why would you keep me here any longer? I am now strong enough, God be praised, to follow my father, brother, and husband." Thus were the martyrs superior to the malice of their enemies, and thus did they witness a good confession in the face of the worst terrors they were called to endure. Many of the Anabaptists also suffered at the same time, with wonderful constancy, the most cruel deaths, and bore the fiery trial with astonishing joy.

At Dixmude, one *Walter Capel* was condemned on account of his religion. He was a very generous man, and bountiful to the poor, among whom he had often fed a simple creature that was maintained as an idiot by the alms of the town. When Capel was sentenced, this fool cried out to the judges, "You are murderers; you spill innocent blood: the man has done no ill, but always given me bread!" And whilst the martyr was at the stake, this faithful creature would have thrown himself into the fire, if he had not been prevented. Nor did his gratitude die with his patron, for he went daily to the field where the half-burnt carcase was suffered to remain, and there he would shake the flesh of the victim with his hand, and cry, "Ah, poor soul! you did me no harm, and yet they have shed your blood." Some time after, when the flesh was wholly consumed, he went again to the stake, pulled away the bones, and laying them on his shoulders, carried them to the house of one of the burgo-masters, with whom, as it happened, several other of the magistrates were then present; and casting the reliques at their feet, he cried out with asperity, "There, you murderers, you have eaten his flesh; eat now his bones."

While the persecution was raging violently in England, during the reign of Mary, the fires were kept up with equal fury in the Low Countries, where the Protestants notwithstanding continued to meet in private houses for the sake of worship and edification.

At Lisle, the friars kept up an unceasing vigilance in detecting the secret assemblies, and bringing those whom they found there to the tribunal. Among others, they one night narrowly watched and searched the house of *Robert Oguter*, where they found only prohibited books. This discovery, however, was deemed sufficient on which to apprehend the owner, his wife, and two sons: When they accused the father with not going to mass, and holding unlawful meetings at his house, he owned both charges to be true, and gave this answer to the magistrates, "I do not go to mass, because the precious blood of the Son of God, and his oblation of himself, is thereby rendered void, and of none effect; for Christ did by his one only sacrifice perfect for ever those that are sanctified. The apostle mentions only one offering, (Heb. ix. 14.) We read of no mass in the

Bible, but of the Lord's supper. The mass is a human invention, and therefore vain. As for the assemblies of religious and godly people, I acknowledge that I have kept them in my house; but they were not by any means prejudicial to the government. I know they were forbidden by the prince; but I know at the same time that Christ commanded them to be held; and I would therefore rather obey God than man." One of the magistrates asked, "What they did at these meetings?" whereupon Baldwin, the eldest son, replied, "When we come together in the name of the Lord, to hear his holy word, we all fall down at once upon our knees to the ground, and confess in humility of heart our sins before the divine Majesty. Then we all join in the same prayer, namely, that God's word may be purely preached to us, and rightly understood by us. We also pray for our sovereign the emperor; and you, my lords, as our immediate governors, are not forgotten by us. As a proof, I am ready, if you please, to recite our prayers before you." Some of the judges, much to the dislike of the ecclesiastics, made a sign to him, that he should do so; whereupon kneeling down before them all, he poured forth his prayer with such a hearty zeal, fervency of spirit, and vehement emotion, as drew tears from the eyes of the magistrates. "These," said Baldwin on standing up—"these are the things that take place in our conventicles." After this, all the prisoners made a confession of their faith; and then were put to the rack, to make them discover who frequented their meetings: but they would name none, except such as were already known, or had fled. A few days after this, the father and Baldwin were condemned to the fire. As they were leading away to the stake, the monks would have persuaded the old man, at least to carry a crucifix in his hand; adding, with a taunt, "Lift up your heart unto God, for you know that this representation is nothing but a piece of wood." With this they endeavoured to force the cross into his hand, which Baldwin observing, snatched it away and said, "My father, what do you mean? Would you turn idolater at the point of death? Let not the people be scandalized, for we desire no wooden Christ, when we bear about the Lord Jesus, the Son of the living God, in our hearts, where his name is written in everlasting characters." On mounting the scaffold, he begged leave to make a confession of his faith in the hearing of the multitude; but it was refused. As soon as he came to the stake, he began to sing the sixteenth psalm; upon which the friars cried out, "Hark how they chant their vile errors, in order to deceive the people." But Baldwin retorted with saying, "Dare you charge the psalms of David with being errors? But this is your old practice, to blaspheme the Holy Ghost." Then turning to his venerable parent, he said, "Be of good cheer, my father; it will soon be over." Whilst they were binding the old man to the stake, the executioner struck him on the feet with his hammer; whereupon he said, "Friend, you have wounded me. Why do you use me so cruelly?" A monk, who stood by, exclaimed, "Oh, these wretches! they would be accounted martyrs; and yet if they are handled a little roughly, they squall as if they were murdered!" The son replied, "Do you think we fear pain or death? By no means; for if we had dreaded those things, we should never have exposed our lives to this shameful end." Then he repeated these words several times, "O God, the eternal Father, grant that this sacrifice of our bodies may be acceptable in thy sight, for the sake of thy well-beloved Son." After this he lifted his eyes upwards, and then turning them again to his parent, he said, "Behold, my father, I see the heavens opened, millions of angels surrounding us, rejoicing for the"



sion of the truth, which we have made before the world. Let us likewise rejoice for the glory of God, which appears before our eyes." The father and son were heard conversing with one another in the midst of the flames, even when they burnt at the highest; and Baldwin was observed to encourage the old man, till they both expired.

The mother, *Joanna*, was at first prevailed upon to recant, and she endeavoured also to pervert her younger son Martin; but when she addressed herself to him for that purpose, he answered weeping, "O mother, what have you done! Have you denied the Son of God, who redeemed you? What has he done to you, that you should dishonour and injure him in such a manner! Now is that calamity fallen upon me, which I most dreaded. O my God, why have I lived to hear that which pierces my heart with unutterable grief!" These expressions so affected the mother, that she burst into tears, confessed her weakness, and begged the Divine forgiveness in these words: "O Lord, be merciful unto me, and hide my sin in the merits of thy Son! Grant me strength to abide by my first confession, and confirm me therein to the last breath of my life." And when the monks came to her afterwards, she said, "Depart, ye demons, get ye gone, for you have no share in me! I will subscribe my first confession; and if I cannot do it with ink, it shall be done with my blood."

In the end, this vessel, which had been so weak and brittle, behaved with as much courage as her son, over whom neither threats nor promises could prevail to relax from his principles. When he was going to address the people upon the scaffold, his mother called to him, saying, "Speak up, Martin, that they may know we are no heretics." But the priests would not suffer him to go on; which moved her, whilst they were tying her to the stake, to cry out, "We are Christians; and what we are about to suffer for, is neither theft nor murder, but because we refuse to believe any thing besides the word of God." Thus they passed through the fiery trial with astonishing constancy, recommending their souls to God, about a week after the burning of the father and his other son.

#### *The Martyrdom of ANGELUS MERULA.*

This venerable sufferer was born at Brille, in Holland, in the year 1482. He had his education at Utrecht, and there received episcopal ordination, after which he became so distinguished by his learning, eloquence, and piety, that a nobleman, in admiration of his talents, gave him the living of Heenvliet. Here he discharged his parochial duties, according to the Roman ritual, with indefatigable diligence; but when the principles of the reformers began to excite attention, he made the holy scriptures his study, and, though he did not all at once embrace the Lutheran doctrines, he saw enough to make him disgusted with the corruptions of Popery. He first introduced some alterations in the service of the mass, particularly with regard to the merits and intercession of saints. For these innovations, and the strain of his preaching on justification, he was arrested in the year 1551, and thrown into prison; his books and papers being also seized, a number of articles were extracted from them, to fix upon him the charge of heresy. Among other things, it was stated, that he should have observed it would be better to neglect ten masses than a single sermon; that nothing more is necessary to be believed than what is contained in the word of God; that the only rule of life is the will of God; that they who abandon their temporal calling or to subsist by begging, as the mendicant friars did,

could not properly be said, to be poor in spirit; that the *Salve Regina* is a blasphemous canticle against God and Jesus Christ, inasmuch as it gives that honour to the creature which is only due to the Creator and Redeemer; that the holy scripture teaches us perfectly all things essential to salvation; that Rome is the seat of enormity; that the decretals corrupted the simplicity of the Christian doctrine; and that synods and councils, being composed of all sorts of persons, have no authority over faith." Merula answered these points of accusation with great wisdom and prudence; but on being conveyed to the Hague, a fresh body of articles, consisting of one hundred heads, extracted from his manuscripts, was drawn up against him; and he was required to abjure them, which he refused to do. The states of Holland were much affected by the persecution of the poor old man; but though they admired his learning, probity, and charity, they could not rescue him from the grasp of the Inquisition. The poor were loud in their lamentations, crying out that they were deprived of their father, their patron, their defender, and their consoler under all their miseries. Among other acts of his benevolence, he had founded a hospital for the indigent sick at Brille; so that his virtues interested all ranks, and orders of men in his favour, except the Inquisitors, whose desire to burn the good pastor of Heenvliet became more intense, on account of his popularity. But when they found how difficult it was to carry their object, they had recourse to an expedient equally singular and diabolical. An ecclesiastic, who bore the title of Bishop of Hebron, threw himself, bareheaded, and on his knees, before the prisoner, and with his arms crossed, and tears in his eyes, made him a pathetic discourse, saying, "You are, father, a hundred times more learned than all of us. We are fully satisfied of your upright intentions, and we are convinced with you of the truth of the principal articles of faith; differing only in regard to some customs and ecclesiastical ceremonies, which are things of trivial moment. Submit yourself, therefore, I pray you, to the church and her decisions, in matters of mere ceremony, in order to appease tumults and disorders. You see how the people are infuriated; and would you expose us to the violence and rage of the populace? Preserve your own life for the sake of the poor, who demand your liberation with tears; and save us from the danger with which we are surrounded, which you may easily do by appearing to be our friend. The only thing that we require of you is, to acknowledge that you have undertaken rashly, and unseasonably, the abolition of some customs, which are of no moment in themselves: and in so doing, we engage our souls for your welfare." In pronouncing these ensnaring words, the bishop stretched out one hand to Merula, and laid the other on his bosom. The old man was affected, and consented to do what was solicited with so much apparent sincerity and good will. Shortly afterwards they placed him on a scaffold; but instead of reciting the articles, which he had professed his willingness to subscribe, they read, in a low tone, a confession of those points of faith which he had formerly avowed, but which now he was made to abjure as damnable heresies; promising also to believe in future every thing taught by the Roman church, and to continue in her communion, out of which there was no salvation. The Inquisitors then, with a loud voice, demanded whether he assented to what had been read; to which he, being deaf, replied in the affirmative, not having the least suspicion of the abominable deception that had been practised for his destruction. He was desirous, however, of reading the paper before he signed it; but as

this would have betrayed the fraud, the villains excused themselves, on account of the uproar which prevailed among the people. In consequence of this, a sudden change took place in the popular sentiment, and the compassion that had hitherto been evinced for Merula, was converted into wrath and hatred. Shortly after this, sentence was passed upon the old man, by which his manuscripts were devoted to the fire, his living was taken from him, he was rendered incapable of exercising the sacerdotal functions, he was enjoined to read his abjuration in the pulpit of Heenvliet; and lastly, he was condemned to end his days in perpetual confinement, and to pay the charges of the process. Merula, on being made acquainted with the whole conduct of the Inquisitors, was deeply afflicted, and exclaimed, "O my God! is it possible that these calumniators should have cheated me in so shocking a manner? oh, that I should so weakly deny the truth, with one foot in the grave, and already half-dead? No, my God, never had I any thought of this kind; no intention so infamous ever entered my mind, and the people are deceived as well as myself."—Though the affliction of Merula produced a severe illness, his persecutors hurried him away from the Hague to Delft, where he wrote a narrative of the conduct of his enemies, and a reply to their iniquitous sentence.

In 1555, the Inquisitors conveyed their victim from Holland to Louvain, where they kept him upon bread and water; but all their efforts to bring him to another submission proving ineffectual, they treated him with such barbarity, that even some members of the university exclaimed against their conduct. Tapper, the Inquisitor general, however, was unmoved by these reproaches, and being resolved to bring the old man to the stake, he caused him to be removed to the Abbey of Hainault, and there he remained another year, confined in a frightful dungeon under ground. At length he was taken by the royal mandate to Mons, where a tribunal was erected to try him as a relapsed heretic; and, in the month of June, 1557, he received judgment to be burned alive. The inquisitors fearing that the States of Holland, whose rights had been invaded in the person of Merula, would interpose to save his life, determined to prevent them, by hastening the execution, which was fixed for the 27th of July. At ten in the morning, the nephew of Merula, who had not seen his uncle for a long time, arrived just as the procession was leaving the prison. The aged sufferer, who walked, supported by his staff, was so much altered through a close confinement and ill usage, that his relative scarcely recollected him. Merula was greatly rejoiced at the interview, and said, after embracing him, "My son, you see the hour is come, wherein I am called by my God to seal the truth, which I have preached, with my blood. Since our separation I have been removed to different places, and suffered many hardships; but I am now fully prepared to be offered as a sacrifice for the sake of Jesus Christ, and I am impatient to be with God. Robbers and murderers are treated better than I have been; of which you will inform our friends and countrymen. You are now my heir, and I recommend to you the care of the hospital at Brille, in which I hope the poor will not be disturbed; and that the fiscal of the States will be more just than the inquisitors." The martyr now took an affectionate leave of his distressed nephew, and went forwards to the stake between a monk and the executioner. On coming to the place of his release, he desired leave to offer up his devotions, which was granted; and kneeling down, he made a long and affecting prayer, thanking God for his mercies, and supplicating his grace to endure the last trial with fortitude. While thus engaged, he

fell, which the spectators imagined was occurred by faintness, or the fear of death: but on lifting him up, it was found that life had fled, and that Heaven had snatched the prey from the inquisitors. The multitude were astonished; a general feeling of indignation burst forth in exclamations on all sides; the very executioner refused to proceed; but the persecutors, enraged at their disappointment, and insensible of shame, caused the body to be burned to ashes.

#### *Suffering of JOHN VAN KUICK, and remarkable Death of TORRIGIANO.*

Such was the inveterate enmity of the Romish persecutors, that they spared men of no profession; and though the members of that communion were remarkably attached to the fine arts, which they made subservient to the interests of their church, and the maintenance of superstition, they had no mercy upon those ingenious men, who thought proper to think for themselves in matters of faith.

Among the sufferers of this description was *John Van Kuick*, a native of Dordt, in Holland. He was originally a painter on glass, but quitted that branch of the profession for oil colours. His excellence lay in painting history, and he produced some exquisite performances, chiefly of subjects taken from the scripture. But this could not screen him from the vengeance of the Jesuits, to whom he bore no good will, and at length they contrived to get him imprisoned on a charge of heresy. John Van Boudewyns, the chief magistrate of the city, laboured hard to obtain the release of an artist, whose talents he admired, and whose virtues he esteemed. But Boudewyns himself was an object of dislike to the Jesuits; and when the prisoner, out of gratitude, painted a picture representing the Judgment of Solomon, which he sent to his friend, the malignant persecutors redoubled their exertions, and even made this praiseworthy act the subject of another charge. Poor Van Kuick was, therefore, again brought to the bar, where he received sentence of death, and was burned alive at Dordt, in the year 1572.

The fate of this ingenious man naturally brings to recollection the catastrophe of another artist, of still greater celebrity, who, though not a martyr for his religious principles, fell a victim to Romish superstition and tyranny. This was *Torrighiano*, the sculptor, of Florence, who, being at Seville in the year 1522, undertook to carve a Madonna and Child, for a Spanish grandee. It was to be executed after the model of one which the artist had already made; and promise was given him of a reward proportioned to the merit of his work. His employer was one of the first noblemen of the court, and *Torrighiano*, who conceived highly of his generosity, and well knew what his own talents could perform, was determined to outdo his former work. He had passed a great part of his life in travelling from kingdom to kingdom in search of employment; and flattering himself with the hope that he had now at last found a resting-place after all his labours, the ingenious artist, with much pains and application, completed his engagement, and presented to his employer a matchless piece of sculpture. The grandee surveyed the striking performance with great delight and reverence; applauded *Torrighiano* to the skies, and, impatient to possess himself of the enchanting idol, forthwith sent to demand it; at the same time, to set off his generosity, he loaded two lacqueys with the money to defray the purchase. The bulk, at least, was promising; but when *Torrighiano* turned out the bags, and found the sum much better than a parcel of blank money, amounting to the paltry sum of thirty ducats, he was so enraged,

disappearance of his hopes, and just resentment for what he considered an insult to his merit, so transported him, that, snatching up his mallet in a rage, and not regarding the sacred character of the image he had made, he broke it in pieces, and dismissed the lacqueys, with their load of farthings, to tell the tale. They executed their errand too well. The grandee, in his turn, fired with revenge, and assuming horror at the sacrilegious act, presented himself before the court of Inquisition, and impeached the unhappy artist at that terrible tribunal. It was in vain that poor Torrigiano urged the right of an author over his own creation. Reason pleaded on his side, but Superstition sat in judgment; the decree was death, with torture. The holy office, however, lost its victim; for Torrigiano expired under the horrors, not under the hands, of the executioner. This relation we have here given, as another instance of the persecuting spirit of the Roman church.

#### *Martyrdom of ANNA VAN HOVE.*

The persecution in the Netherlands continued to rage, with more or less violence, till the sixteenth century. The last person that suffered was a poor servant-woman named *Anna Van Hove*. In the year 1595, being then forty years of age, she was apprehended at Brussels, and thrown into prison, for absenting herself from mass, reading the scriptures, and maintaining doctrines adverse to those of the Roman Catholic church. Her accusers were persons of the worst character, and her most inveterate enemies were the Jesuits. After endeavouring to operate upon her fears, and to wrest from her a confession of her errors, and the names of other Protestants, she received the dreadful sentence to be buried alive. At the time appointed for the execution of this abominable refinement of cruelty, she was led, amidst an immense crowd of people, and with a long train of ecclesiastics, out of the city, to a place where the excavation had been dug for her reception. On the arrival of the procession at the grave, renewed efforts were made to shake her resolution; and the Jesuits told her, that if she would consent to be reconciled to the church from which she had receded, absolution should immediately be pronounced, and her pardon be procured. To all this she gave a firm refusal, and was then laid at her length in the grave. The executioner, by the command of the priests, threw some earth upon her feet, and the offer of her life was repeated, but still without effect; for the only answer she made to them was this: "They who seek to save their lives here, by denying the truth, shall lose their souls eternally." The earth was then slowly heaped on her till it reached her neck, when the promise of pardon was once more made, and being rejected, her mouth was finally closed, the grave filled up, and life extinguished by the stamping of the feet of the executioner.

#### *History of JANE, QUEEN OF NAVARRE*

We have now to present to our Protestant readers, the extraordinary and edifying history of a royal martyr, for such undoubtedly was *Jane de Albret*, queen of Navarre, who, though she did not perish in the massacre of Paris, fell a victim to the same malignant spirit, and was as effectually murdered as if she had suffered at the stake or on the scaffold. She had been carefully educated in the protestant faith by her accomplished mother, queen Margaret; and she adhered steadfastly to that communion all her life. When very young, she married Anthony of Bourbon, the son of Charles duke of

Vendome, by whom she had Henry the Fourth, who became king of France in right of his father, and of Navarre by that of his mother.

This Anthony, king of Navarre, in the minority of Charles the Ninth, of France, being the first prince of the blood, was entitled to the guardianship of the kingdom; but the queen mother, and family of Guise, aiming to get the crown into their own hands, endeavoured by all means to detach him from the Protestant interest, that so, by weakening it, they might carry every thing according to their own pleasure. For this purpose, that faction employed the ambassador of Spain, the cardinal of Tournon, Escars, and other flatterers, who persuaded him, that by observing a neutrality, and causing his son, prince Henry, to go once to mass, the king of Spain would give him the throne of Sardinia in lieu of that of Navarre, which had lately been taken from him. The pope also confirmed him in this hope, though he was only depriving him thereby of the means of recovering the kingdom of Navarre, which had been seized by the Spanish troops. The weak monarch, overcome by these arts, estranged himself by degrees from the Protestants; and he also endeavoured to persuade his queen to be reconciled to the church of Rome, and bring up her children in the same profession. But she, being better grounded in the truth, than so easily to renounce it for worldly considerations, rejected all his solicitations: upon which a breach ensued between them, which his popish advisers contrived to widen. They even went so far as to persuade the king, that heresy was a sufficient cause for dissolving a marriage, and that therefore he might lawfully be divorced from his wife. They also suggested, that notwithstanding the proposed separation, he should retain to himself possession of all the dominions and territories belonging to his abdicated queen, of which she, upon account of her heresy, would be deprived as unworthy of them; and they added, that he should marry Mary queen of Scots, whose dowry, they said, was the kingdom of England, of which the pope would gladly strip Elizabeth, as undeserving of it on account of her birth and heresy. But as the king of Navarre would not consent to a divorce, it remained that he should accept the condition for being made sovereign of Sardinia, to effect which these politicians left no methods untried; and at length they succeeded so well in imposing upon him, as to set him at variance with the prince of Condé, the great Coligni, and other Protestant chiefs. Meanwhile, the queen, being displeased with his conduct, retired to Podium, in the country of Bearne, where she held her court. But it pleased Providence, that soon after the siege of Orleans, the king of Navarre received a wound in the shoulder, of which he languished about three weeks, and then died. Upon this, the Romish faction resolved to seize the queen, together with her son Henry, and her daughter Catherine, and throw them into one of the prisons of the Spanish Inquisition. They entertained no doubt but that Philip the Second of Spain would approve of the measure, as being favourable to the popish religion, of which he boasted himself the principal support. But another inducement to engage the monarch in this nefarious design, was the prospect of securing the entire possession of the kingdom of Navarre, by getting rid of its lawful princes. They flattered themselves also, that the project might be easily accomplished by the Spanish soldiers who lay at Barcelona, and could soon cross the mountains into Navarre, without being suspected. One Dominic, a captain, born in the territories of Bearne, was pitched upon to go to the court of Spain, to communicate these designs to the king, and to receive his

instructions. But it so happened, that this man fell sick on the road, and was attended by a physician named Annas Hespilus, who, having learnt the object of his journey, lost no time in giving notice to the queen of Navarre of the plot, by which means he saved her from ruin, as well as her children. Not long after this, during the third civil war in France on account of religion, the queen having raised a considerable body of forces, led them to Rochelle, taking with her the prince her son, and also her daughter Catherine. From this place she wrote letters to the king of France, the queen mother, the duke of Anjou, and the cardinal of Bourbon. To the king she represented, that in the common cause of religion, in regard of the duty which she owed him, and her alliance to the prince of Condé, she could not but abhor the bloody counsels of the Guisean faction, and especially the ambition of the cardinal of Lorraine. She warned the duke of Anjou against being deceived by that perfidious minister; and in her letter to the cardinal of Bourbon, she complained bitterly of the treachery that had been practised by his brother prelate. But these circumstances having no effect, the war proceeded, till, in the unfortunate battle of Bassac, the Protestants were defeated, and the prince of Condé was slain. When this fatal news came to Rochelle, the queen of Navarre hastened away to the Protestant army, where, before a great assembly of nobles and soldiers, she made a speech to confirm their minds; applauding the virtue and constancy of the prince of Condé, who had faithfully exerted himself, even to death, in the defence of so good a cause; exhorting the survivors to imitate his example, and to persevere in maintaining the truth of Christ, and the liberties of their country. "For," added she, "the good cause is not dead with the prince, neither ought worthy men to yield to despondency in such cases; God having so provided for his service, that he gave Condé companions while he lived, who may succeed him, now he is no more. I have brought with me," said she, "my only son, Henry, who, as he is the heir of Condé's name, so is he also of his virtues." After this address, and holding a private conference with the nobles, she returned to Rochelle to raise new supplies.

In the mean time, a commission was granted by the French court to Torride, governor of Quercy, to summon the queen of Navarre, and the prince her son, to abandon the Protestants; and, in case of refusal, he was to invade the countries of Bearne, Foix, and Navarre; in which he succeeded so far as to reduce the whole, except the city of Navarre, though he laid close siege to the place. Upon this, the queen and the princes sent the count of Montgomery to engage him; who, with no more than five hundred horse, and four thousand foot, obliged Torride to break up hastily, and retire to Orthes. Hither the count pursued him with such activity, that in a short time he compelled the garrison to surrender; after which all the other places that had been taken were recovered. The peace that ensued did not abate the malice of the popish party; who now sought to accomplish that by policy, which they could not effect by force. For this purpose Biron was sent to Rochelle, in the name of the king of France, to treat with the queen of Navarre, for a marriage between her son Henry and his sister the lady Margaret. To bring this important negotiation to a conclusion, the queen was entreated to come to court; but she answered, "That the affair was of such a magnitude as to render it necessary for her to take time to deliberate; and that though she acknowledged the honour and advantage of the alliance, she was, for the present, in some doubt how to act, on account of the near relation

between the lady and her son; besides the difference between them in the article of religion. Wherefore (said she) I will consult with my divines; and what I find may conduce to the glory of God, and the good of the kingdom, I shall readily embrace, being desirous to comply, as far as conscience will permit, with the pleasure of the king and queen of France, to whom I owe all due deference."

There were two special matters to be settled between the parties, in respect of the place and manner of the celebration of the marriage. The queen objected to its being performed at Paris, because she had much dread of a place, the inhabitants of which were bigots to the Roman faith, and bitter enemies to the Protestants. The king, on the contrary, said, that it would be a certain sign of a firm and lasting peace, to have the marriage celebrated in the metropolis of the kingdom, for the satisfaction of all his subjects. The other difficulty was about the manner of the ceremony: the queen, from her attachment to the reformed religion, disliking the popish ritual, and the opposite side having an insuperable aversion to that of the Protestants. To remove this obstacle, time was taken for consideration. The queen of Navarre consulted her ministers, some of whom insisted upon the necessity of adhering to the simplicity of the word of God, and therefore utterly condemned a compliance with the idolatrous customs of the church of Rome. There were others, however, of a more enlarged spirit, who took the rite of marriage merely in a civil light, and therefore were of opinion, that in a concern which affected the peace of the kingdom, the manner of celebrating the marriage was a matter of indifference. The queen and the nobles of Navarre assented to this judgment, and so the affair proceeded to a conclusion of the articles, and the settlement of the dowry.

Amidst these concerns, the zeal of her majesty for the Protestant religion, was manifested in sending pastors of that persuasion into the province of Cantabria, and causing the New Testament, Catechism, and Prayers, to be translated into the language of that country. These works she had printed at Rochelle, in a beautiful letter, and then dispersed copies all through the province.

At length the earnest solicitation of the king of France prevailed with the queen, in the month of March, 1572, to go from Rochelle to Blois, where the court was then held, and where she was received with great splendour, but so little sincerity, that the bigoted monarch said privately to his mother, "Have I not acquitted myself well? Let me alone, and I will bring them all into the net." In the course of the following month, the articles of marriage were ratified, and at the beginning of May the queen went to Paris. The old dowager mother, in the mean time, who hated Jane as a heretic, but had no colourable pretext to despatch her with the rest of the Protestants that were devoted to destruction, and fearing her resentment, in case she should survive them, had recourse to one Rene, an Italian, who was skilled in the art of poisoning. This wretch undertook the diabolical commission, and discharged it effectually, by selling the queen of Navarre certain perfumes, which threw her into a fever four days afterwards. Finding how strong the disease was upon her, and apprehending that it would end in her death, she prepared herself to receive from the hand of God, her merciful Father, the stroke which she acknowledged to be of his appointment. Calling her son Henry to her bedside, she commanded him, above all things, carefully to serve God according to the confession of faith in which he had been educated, and not to suffer himself to be diverted from it by the pleasures and allurements of the world.



charged him to see, that the institutions concerning religion, which she had published, in the principality of Bearn, and the Lower Navarre, were inviolably observed. She exhorted him to purge his family, and to exclude from thence all evil counsellors, who thought ill of God; as also flatterers, the abusers of princes; and likewise all other vicious persons. She recommended to his special affection and care, his sister Catherine, enjoining him to treat her gently, and cause her to be brought up in the town of Bearn, and in the same school of piety where he had himself been trained, bidding him also to marry her, when she should be of a proper age, to a prince of equal dignity, and of the Protestant religion. After settling her temporal affairs, the good queen requested that she might be attended by persons who would minister to her spiritual comfort. Accordingly, a Protestant divine came to her, and in his discourse shewed her from scripture, that Christians ought in all things to submit to the will of God, as to the Father of their spirits, that they might live; and that though by reason of the sharpness of his chastisements, they may seem to our flesh as if they were inflicted for no other end but our destruction, yet that we ought to consider that the just God can do nothing but what is equitable; and that being withal a merciful parent, he cannot in his corrections intend any thing but good for his afflicted children. In reply, the queen said, "I take all this as sent from the hand of God, my most merciful Father. Nor have I during this extremity been afraid to die, much less have I murmured against God for inflicting this chastisement upon me, knowing that whatsoever he does is so ordered by him, that in the end it shall turn to my everlasting good."

The minister then observed, "That the causes of sicknesses and diseases must be sought beyond the course of physis, which always looks to the corruption of the humours, or a disorganization of parts in the body, but that though it is not amiss to have respect to those things as secondary, yet that we ought to ascend higher, even to God himself, who disposes of all creatures as seemeth good in his sight. He wounds and he heals, he kills and makes alive. Therefore we ought to direct our prayers to him, for comfort in all our sorrows and sufferings, and in the end to expect from him full deliverance, since it is easy with him to restore our health, if it is agreeable to his will."

To this speech the queen replied, "That she depended wholly on the providence of God, knowing that all things are wisely disposed of by him, therefore she besought him to vouchsafe her all such graces as he saw necessary for her salvation. As for this life, (said she,) I am in a good measure weaned from it, through the afflictions which have followed me from my youth to the present hour, but especially because I cannot live without offending my God; with whom I desire to be with all my heart."

Hereupon the minister remarked, "That long life, how full soever it may be of troubles, is to be esteemed among the blessings of God, seeing his promise implies as much, and not only so, but because our lives may in many ways promote his glory; and that long life is not only an honour, but a pledge of the favour of God, even as it is an honour and token of special regard, to a person whom a prince long employs in his service, having had experience of his fidelity many years." The minister then earnestly desired the queen to pray, "that if it was the will of God, he would employ her yet longer in his service, for the further spreading of his gospel, and that he would grant her such a recovery of health, such a state of body, that with renewed strength she might be enabled to pursue her course better than she

had ever done before." To this she answered, "That, as to what concerned herself, her life was not dear unto her; since, so long as she continued in this frail body, she was still prone and apt to sin against God; only, (she said,) she had a concern for her children, as they must, in the event of her death, be left destitute of parental care in their early years. Yet," observed she, "I doubt not, though God may see fit to take me from them, he will himself be a father to them, and a protector over them, as I have ever experienced him to be to me, in my greatest afflictions; and therefore I commit them wholly to his government and care."

The minister then blessed God for working in her mind this assurance of faith, and resignation to the divine will; "entreating her still to persevere therein, as that course which would seal her in the truth of the promises." "And thus," said she, "did the patriarchs, in times past, commit the care of their posterity into the hands of God, as appears by the several blessings of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob." Upon this, the minister remarked "that yet it was very requisite she should make choice of such persons as, from the purity of their principles, and the holiness of their lives, might continue to nourish, in the young princes, the seeds of piety that had been sown in them by her great pains and labour; seeing it was to be hoped, that the example of her faith, and constancy in the service of God, in which she had gone before them, would operate as a perpetual inducement to them to follow her steps." She then declared, "that death was not terrible to her, because it was the way to pass to her eternal rest." The minister here observed, "that Christians had little cause to fear death, since our Saviour says, 'He that liveth and believeth in me, shall never die, for,' added he, 'to speak properly, death is no death to true believers, but a sweet sleep, being often so called in the scriptures, and therefore Christ for their sakes hath disarmed and triumphed over the king of terrors, in his own person, so that now we may cry out with the apostle, 'O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?' After this, the minister admonished her to make confession of her sins before God, shewing, 'that bodily diseases tend to the dissolution of nature, and that death is the wages of sin;' further observing, 'that by this her chastisement, she might bear what she had deserved, if God should enter into judgment with her, not only in regard of the fall of our first parents, in which guilt she was involved as well as others, but also by her own personal transgressions, seeing that the best in the world are in themselves but poor, miserable, and wretched sinners; so that if the Almighty should punish us according to our demerits, we could expect nothing but eternal misery.'

At these words, the queen, with her hands and eyes raised up to heaven, began to acknowledge "that the sins she had committed against the Lord were innumerable, but yet that she hoped that God, for the sake of Christ, in whom she put her whole trust, would be merciful to her." Hence the minister took occasion to open at large upon what ground she was to expect the mercy of God in Christ; adding, "That the whole have no need of a physician, but such as are sick; and that Christ said, he came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance; and that he is ready to fill the hungry with good things, while he sends the rich empty away. Of these things, (said he,) you ought so much the rather to be persuaded in your conscience, by how much the more the Spirit of God witnesseth with your spirit that you are the child of God, and enables you to cry, Abba Father! for what is faith, but a firm assurance of the good will of God manifested towards us in his blessed Son."



The minister, fearing lest by his long discourse he should be troublesome to her, or too much exhaust her spirits, would have ceased; which she taking notice of, earnestly requested him to continue speaking about those matters of life and salvation; adding, "That now she felt the want of such consolation, for that, since her coming to Paris, she had been somewhat remiss in hearing such exhortations from the word of God, and therefore (said she) I am the more glad to receive comfort thence, in this my great extremity." Upon which the minister endeavoured to set before her the "happiness of heaven, and what those joys are that the saints will possess in the divine presence, which the scriptures represent as being such that neither eye hath seen, nor ear heard, nor can the heart of man conceive them." It is (said he) as if a king, intending greatly to honour some noble personage, should bring him to his court, and there shew him his state and attendance, his treasures and his jewels. In like manner the Lord will one day reveal to his people his magnificence and glory, with all the riches of his kingdom, after he has gathered them home to himself, arraying and adorning them with light, incorruption, and immortality. Therefore, (added he,) since this happiness is so great, your Highness ought to be the less solicitous about leaving this transitory life, knowing that you are about to exchange an earthly kingdom for a heavenly inheritance; those temporal things which consume and perish in the using, to enjoy those which are incorruptible and everlasting; for your faith being firmly fixed upon the Lord Jesus Christ, you may be certain of obtaining eternal salvation through his merits." He then proceeded to put these questions, "Do you verily believe that Jesus Christ came into the world to save you? And do you expect the full forgiveness of your sins by the shedding of his blood for you?"—"Yes," replied she, "I do; believing that he is my only Saviour and Mediator; and I look for salvation from nothing else, knowing that he hath abundantly satisfied for the sins of his people, and therefore I am assured that God, for his sake, according to his gracious promise in him, will have mercy upon me."

During the whole of her sickness, she ceased not such edifying discourses, sometimes intermixing them with most affecting aspirations to God, as a testimony of the hope and desire she had of enjoying him; often uttering these words, "O my God, in thy due time deliver me from this body of death, and from the miseries of this present life, that I may no more offend thee; and that I may attain that felicity which thou in thy word hast promised to bestow upon me." Neither did she manifest her pious affections by words only, but by her serene and cheerful countenance, so far as the strength of her disease would allow, thereby giving a full evidence to all who beheld her, that no apprehensions of death could shake the steadfastness of her faith.

It was observed, that though the Lord exercised her much with the feeling of her inward disease, yet that not a word fell from her at any time, bordering upon discontent or impatience; nay, scarcely did she ever utter so much as a groan.

When she saw the ladies and gentlemen in attendance, weeping about her bed, she would blame them, saying, "I pray you do not grieve for me, since God by this sickness calls me hence to the enjoyment of a better life, and I am now entering the desired haven towards which this frail vessel of mine has been so long steering."

In the end, perceiving her strength decaying fast, she gave orders for the drawing up of her will, thus taking care to arrange all her temporal as well as her spiritual concerns.

On the eighth of June, the day before she left the world, she called for a minister, whom she desired to discourse with her on the temptations with which Satan is wont to assault the people of God in their last conflict. The minister answered, "Indeed, this is the hour in which the enemy of all the faithful is most active, that he may, if possible, deprive them of the comfort of their salvation, not sparing especially at that time to set upon them with might and cunning; but yet even then the Lord is not wanting to them, filling their hearts with such joy and comfort of the Holy Ghost, as shall make them in the end more than conquerors. Satan's first engine, by which he would drive them to despair, is the presentation before their eyes of their manifold sins and pollutions, with which they have been any way defiled throughout the whole of their lives. Next, he brings to their view the divine justice, before which none is able to stand, unless pure and spotless; whence he infers that such miserable sinners cannot look for any thing but eternal death and condemnation. Against these assaults we must, as David did, set the infinite multitudes of God's compassions, which surpass those of our sins. And as for the justice of God, we must confess that no creature that is polluted can bear to be strictly examined by it; but then we are to encourage ourselves in this, that the Almighty will never enter into judgment with those who truly believe in his Son, and that, on the contrary, he imputes to them the righteousness and obedience wrought out by him in his life and death; so that we stand by virtue thereof clear before God, though not for our own deserts and worthiness. Were we to appear indeed before the tribunal of justice to receive what we have merited, we should have good reason to be overwhelmed in despair; but on turning our eyes to the Lord Jesus Christ, who assumed the human nature, to bear himself the punishment due to our sins, the law of God, so far from terrifying us, rather affords us comfort, since we know that our debt is completely cancelled, and we are acquitted. God the Father, therefore, having received full and perfect satisfaction in the sacrifice of his Son, whom he hath ordained to be our surety, we thence gather assurance that he will no more demand it at our hands. To this purpose, those passages of scripture are to be well observed, that Christ hath borne our sins, and carried our sorrows; that the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and that by his stripes we are healed; that all we like sheep have gone astray, but that the Lord hath laid on him our iniquity; that Christ the Lamb of God is our pacificator, and the propitiation for our sins. On these considerations, the justice of God need not appal those who believe in Christ, of whose redemption they are made partakers, seeing that He who knew no sin was made an oblation for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him. I grant, (said the minister,) that this blessedness does not belong to all indifferently, but only to such as, believing in the Son of God, wholly cast themselves upon the merit of his death and passion, which is sufficient for their salvation." He then asked the queen, "Whether she placed her whole trust and confidence in Christ crucified, who died for our sins, and rose again for our justification?" To which she answered, "That she expected neither salvation, nor righteousness, nor life, from any but her Saviour Jesus Christ, being assured that his merits alone abundantly sufficed for the satisfaction of all her sins, although innumerable." "This being your faith, (replied the minister,) you cannot come into condemnation, but are passed from death unto life; nor need you be afraid of the seat of divine justice, since it is turned into a throne of grace and mercy to you; wherefore the hour of death is not

exceedingly welcome to you, as being a sweet passage unto a far better life and state, when all tears shall be wiped from your eyes. I beseech you, therefore, madam, think often of that text, 'Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord, for they rest from their labours, and their works follow them.' Now the time approaches when you shall enjoy the beatific vision, the society of your Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, the fellowship of the blessed angels, and celestial spirits, with that of the holy patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and martyrs, partaking with them the same fidelity and glory." He also added, "Madam, if it should please God, by this your sickness, to put an end to this weary pilgrimage, and call you home to himself, are you willing to obey?" To which she answered, "With all my heart." "Then (said he) open the eyes of your faith, and behold Jesus your Redeemer, sitting at the right hand of his Father, reaching out his hand to receive you to himself: are you willing to go to him?" "Yes, I assure you, (said she,) much more willing than to linger here below in this world, where I see nothing but vanity." He then asked her, whether they should pray with her, which upon her desire they performed; the pious queen manifesting her ardent affection through the whole service. Not long after, came the admiral Coligni, and a minister with him, to whose discourse the queen attended for a considerable time. When that divine had finished, he also prayed with her, and she requested that the two ministers would continue all night. They complied, and spent the greatest part of the time in reading and prayer, during which exercises she paid the most fervent attention, and never betrayed the least symptom of impatience. It was also worthy of observation, that whereas, immediately before her illness, she had shewn how much she was concerned to provide most magnificently for her son's marriage, according as the nature of so grand an alliance required, yet, that as soon as this sickness seized her, she seemed to have such a total neglect and forgetfulness of such matters, that she never discovered so much as one thought about them. The night being thus spent by the queen, who persevered in the expression of such like affections and ardour of faith, the next morning, between eight and nine of the clock, she departed this life, to take possession of a better, sweetly yielding up her spirit into the hands of God, June 9, 1572, and in the 44th year of her age. The king of France pretended to be greatly afflicted for her death, and went into mourning, in which the whole court followed him, lest, as may well be supposed, any show of indifference, at such a catastrophe, might have put the Protestants on their guard, and made them take measures for their safety. As to the good queen, though taken off by poison, she seemed to be mercifully housed from the storm which burst forth upon the professors of the reformed faith on the 24th of August following, when one hundred thousand persons perished by the hands of the papists.

Bishop Burnet, in speaking of this excellent princess, says, "If Jane of Navarre had had a larger sphere, she would have been a perfect pattern. Nothing was ever suggested to lessen her, but that which was her true glory, her receiving the Reformation. She both received it, and brought her subjects to it. She not only reformed her court, but her whole principality, to such a degree, that the golden age seemed to have returned under her, or rather Christianity appeared again with the purity and lustre of its first beginnings. Nor is there one single abatement to be made her, only her principality was narrow. Her dominion was so little extended, that, though she had the rank and dignity of a queen, it looked rather like the shadow than the reality

of sovereignty; or rather, it was sovereignty in miniature; though the colours were bright, it was of the smallest form.'

*Memoir of GASPARD COLIGNY DE CHATILLON, Admiral of France.*

This illustrious sufferer for the Protestant faith, was the son of Gaspard Coligny de Chatillon, marshal of France, by Louisa de Montmorency, and was born February 16, 1516. At an early period of life he entered upon the military profession, and distinguished himself greatly on many occasions during the reign of Francis the First, particularly at the battle of Cerissoles, in 1543. For his gallant services, Henry the Second made him colonel-general of the French infantry, and in 1550, employed him as his ambassador to negotiate the terms of peace with England. After discharging this commission with honour, he accompanied the same monarch into Germany, and in 1552 was rewarded with the high office of admiral of France, a distinction that he well merited by his victories over the Spaniards, and especially by the defence of St. Quentin, into which place he threw himself, and exhibited prodigies of valour; but the town being forced, he was there made prisoner of war. After the death of the king, Coligni put himself at the head of the Protestants against the family of Guise, who not only aimed at the sovereignty in France, but were resolved upon exterminating all those who professed the reformed religion. Condé, the colleague of the admiral, was a man of inflexible firmness, but more ambitious and enterprising than his associate, whose temper was calm and his spirit humble. An historian of that period, who was far from being partial to Coligni, says, that he was more dangerous after a defeat, than his enemies after a victory; besides being adorned with as many virtues as such tempestuous times and the violence of party would allow. The first pitched battle fought between the two parties, was that of Dreux in 1502; and though the admiral lost it, he saved his army. Shortly afterwards, the duke of Guise was assassinated by Poltrot at the siege of Orleans; an act of treachery more abhorrent to the principles of Coligni, than to those of his opponents, and yet they had the boldness to charge him with being privy to it; in consequence of which, he condescended to take an oath of his innocence. For a short time after this, the din of arms was silenced; but it was only to break out again with additional fury in 1507, when Condé and Coligni were again constrained to take the field against the enemies who had sworn their destruction. The first pitched battle fought after this renewal of hostilities was that of Dreux, which however gave no material advantage to either side. That of Jarnac followed in 1509, and was fatal to the Protestants by the loss of Condé, who at the beginning of the action fell, and was mangled by the Catholics with savage ferocity. Coligni had now to support the whole cause, but was again defeated by superior numbers at Montcontour in Poitou; yet without sustaining any diminution of his military glory, or being depressed in his spirits. A series of bloody conflicts ensued till the year 1571, when a peace was concluded, and the Admiral was invited to court by Charles IX. who loaded him with the most flattering expressions of favour, and ordered him to be paid one hundred thousand francs, as a reparation for the losses which he had sustained. Sagacious as Coligni was in war, he suffered himself to be deceived by this exuberance of kindness; and was completely thrown off his guard, though he could not but know that he was surrounded by enemies. A captain of the Protestants, who came to take leave of the Admiral,

on being about to retire into the country, was asked the reason of his leaving the capital at such a time. "It is (said the soldier) because they shew us too many favours here, and I had rather escape with the fools, than stay to be murdered with those who are too wise to take care of themselves." Soon after this, the admiral had another warning, of a different kind, and yet without effect, for as he was going to the Louvre, a musket was levelled at him from a window, by which he was dangerously wounded. The assassin was Maurevert, who had been employed for the purpose by the Duke of Guise, and that too with the approbation of Charles IX.

At this time the preparations were going on for the marriage of the young king of Navarre, and the sister of the French monarch, which brought together a crowded court, where the Protestants as well as the Catholics were numerous. This furnished the king, the duke of Guise, and the queen dowager, Catherine de Medicis, with an horrible opportunity of accomplishing an object which they had long meditated; that of extirpating heresy by a general massacre. They began their murderous work by poisoning the queen of Navarre, and making this attempt on the life of Coligni, who, however, at that time escaped with two severe wounds in both arms; and such was the dissimulation of the king, that he visited the admiral, expressed great indignation at what had occurred, and gave him the tender appellation of father. Yet at the very moment when he acted this hypocritical part, he was meditating a general carnage of all the Protestants throughout his dominions. This tragedy began, as already hath been stated, on the 24th of August, 1572, being the day of St. Bartholomew. The duke of Guise marched with a strong escort to the house of the admiral; where a crew of assassins entered sword in hand; and then Besme, a German, who was their leader, and had married a natural daughter of the cardinal of Lorraine, proceeded to the room of the venerable Coligni. The good old man was sitting in an elbow chair, not having the power to defend himself by reason of his wounds. As soon as the admiral saw Besme, he perceived his errand, and said, "Young man, thou shouldest have respect to my gray hairs: but do what thou wilt; thou canst only shorten my life by a few years." The miscreant, without any reply, stabbed him in several places, and then threw him alive out of the window into the court-yard of the house, where the Duke of Guise stood waiting the event. Coligni fell at the feet of his implacable enemy, but expired almost instantly. Besme having trampled on the corpse, said to his companions, "This is a good beginning; now let us go, and continue our work!" The body of Coligni was exposed for three days to the fury of the populace, and was then hung up by the feet on the gallows of Montfaucon: but Montmorenci, feeling for a noble relative, had it taken down, in order to be interred in the chapel of the family at Chantilli. Catherine de Medicis, however, obtained the head of the admiral, and having caused it to be embalmed, sent it as a votive offering to Rome, where the Pope and Cardinals went in procession to the church of St. Mark, to return thanks to the Almighty for the great blessing that had been conferred on the holy see by the massacre of Paris. In this dreadful slaughter there perished more than one hundred thousand persons, among whom were ten thousand lords, gentlemen, presidents, counsellors, physicians, and other people of eminence for their rank, talent, or wealth. Mothers, maidens, and children were all involved in the destruction, and the gates and entrances of the palace were besmeared with blood. To return to the admiral: he was in the habit of keeping a journal, which, after his death,

was put into the hands of Charles IX. In this was remarked a piece of advice which he gave that prince, to take care of what he did in assigning the appanage, lest, by so doing, he should lower his authority, and increase that of the nobles. Catherine caused this article to be read to the duke of Alençon, whom she knew to be afflicted at the death of the admiral. "There is your good friend," observed the queen, "see what advice he gave the king!" "I cannot say," returned the duke, "whether he was very fond of me; but this I know, that such counsel could only have been given by a man of strict fidelity to his majesty, and one who was zealous for the good of his country." It may be worth while here to give the character of this great man, as it has been drawn by a Catholic historian of celebrity. "Coligni," observes the abbé Mably, "lost four battles, and yet was always the terror of his victors, whom he seemed in fact to have vanquished, instead of being overcome. It is not easy to say what Guise would have been, in the disasters that befell Coligni; but we may boldly conjecture that the latter would have appeared still greater, if fortune had favoured him as much. He was seen carried in a litter, and we may add, in the very jaws of death, to order and conduct the longest and most difficult marches, traversing France in the midst of his enemies, rendering, by his counsels, the youthful courage of the prince of Navarre more formidable, and training him to those great qualities which were to make him a good king, generous, popular, and capable of managing the affairs of Europe, after having made him a hero, sagacious, terrible, and clement in the conduct of war. The friendly understanding he kept up between the French and Germans in his army, whom the interests of religion alone were ineffectual to unite; the prudence with which he contrived to draw succours from England, where all was far from being quiet; his art in giving a spur to the tardiness of the Protestant princes on the continent, who, not having so much genius as himself, were more inclined to despair of the cause of the reformed party in France, and therefore deferred sending auxiliaries thither,—were masterpieces of policy. Coligni was an honest man; while Guise wore only the mask of virtue. The latter had qualities that made him popular; but the former was more esteemed both by enemies and friends. He was a lover of order, and of his country. Hearty alike in the cause of Protestantism and of the commonwealth, he was never able, by too great austerity, to make his doctrine tally with the duties of a subject. With the qualities of a hero, he was endowed with a gentle disposition. Had he been less of the great man, he would have been a fanatic; but as it was, he proved an apostle and a zealot."

The admiral had a younger brother, named Francis, who was lord of Anelot, and colonel-general of the French infantry. He appeared with distinction in the military service during the wars of Italy, but being of a studious and inquisitive disposition, he formed an acquaintance, for the sake of knowledge, with some learned Protestants, whose conversation effected a change in his opinions, and he proved the instrument of converting his brother. In 1557, he threw himself into Saint Quintin, and was there taken together with the admiral; but Anelot escaped five or six days afterwards, and in 1558 served at the siege of Calais. The cardinal de Granville about this time informed the cardinal of Lorraine that Anelot was a heretic, in consequence of which the king sent for him, and, in the presence of the last-mentioned prelate, reproached him bitterly for his ingratitude and apostasy. The articles charged against him were having promulgated openly the new doctrines; frequent unlawful assemblies of religion; neglected the mass.

sending to the admiral his brother, when in confinement, some Protestant books of devotion. D'Andelot replied to these articles, that he was sensible of the obligations under which he lay to the king, for whom he was ready to sacrifice his life and estate; but that he would not compromise his principles, to secure his favour, or that of any man. He disavowed having propagated any new doctrines: but he did not deny that he had attended the preaching of the reformed ministers, and he also admitted that he had not for some time been at mass, observing, at the same time, that he never intended to do so any more. In regard to his brother, he confessed that he had sent him a book of devotion, thinking that he stood in need of such consolation, while detained in prison for the service of his majesty. This last stroke gave such offence to the king, that he threw himself into a violent passion, and would have slain D'Andelot on the spot, had he not been restrained by his attendants. The intrepid Protestant, by the royal orders, was then conducted under an escort of archers to Melun; where he was visited by a doctor of the Sorbonne, who persuaded him to go to mass, but without insisting upon his making an abjuration. He consented, and thereby gained his liberty; but he repented the act all the rest of his life. In the civil wars that followed, he took an active part, and was present at the battle of Jarnac, which decided the contest, March 13, 1589. D'Andelot did not long survive that calamity, being poisoned on the 27th of May, at Xaintes.

## HISTORY OF THE SYRIAN CHRISTIANS IN INDIA.

WHEN the Portuguese adventurer, Vasco de Gama, arrived at Cochin, on the coast of Malabar, in the year 1503, he was surprised at observing Christian churches, and a sovereign prince of that persuasion. At first the Portuguese were pleased with the unexpected spectacle, but in a short time they were offended at the purity and simplicity of the worship which these eastern Christians practised. "Your churches (said the new-comers) belong to the Pope."—"Who is the pope?" replied the astonished believers; we never heard of such a person before." The European priests were much shocked at this ignorance; but they were yet more alarmed, on finding that the Hindoo Christians maintained the order and discipline of a regular church, under episcopal jurisdiction, and that for the space of thirteen hundred years past, they had enjoyed a succession of bishops appointed by the patriarch of Antioch. "We," said these believers on the coast of Malabar, "we are of the true faith, whatever you from the west may be; for we came from the place where the followers of the crucified Saviour were first called Christians."

At first the Portuguese ecclesiastics were unable to contend with a people who professed to be followers of the cross according to the gospel; but as soon as they gained a footing on the coast, a fearful change took place; the churches being invaded, and some of the clergy doomed to death as heretics. John Albuquerque, of the order of St. Francis, was the first archbishop of Goa, and being zealously bent upon the scheme of establishing the papal power in that part of the world, he erected a college in 1540 at Cranganor, for the education of the children of the Syrian Christians in the Latin language and ceremonies. But the Jesuits were more sagacious, and saw that it would be useless to attempt bringing over these people, without first acquiring a knowledge of their language. They therefore

erected another college at the same place, where they undertook to teach the children of the natives in the Syriac tongue, with a view to their being ultimately employed in the ministry. But even this did not answer, for the eastern Christians, old and young, were firmly attached to their ancient faith and worship; besides which, they could not be persuaded to renounce their obedience to the patriarch of Antioch, and profess submission to the pope of Rome. These Christians of St. Thomas (as they were called from an old tradition, that this apostle first planted the gospel in that part of the world) had also an insuperable aversion to the adoration of images, and the worship of saints and angels; but they were quite shocked at hearing the Virgin Mary called the mother of God. They admitted only two sacraments, had no idea of confirmation or extreme unction, and held auricular confession in abomination. In addition to these fundamental articles, which placed a complete bar between them and the church of Rome, these Christians honoured a married clergy, and paid to the wives of priests particular respect, both in church and in private company. They had likewise their liturgy in the vulgar tongue, and, as far as their means extended, they encouraged the study of the scriptures among all ranks of people.

Such was the state of these Christians of Malabar, when Alexis Meneses, of the order of St. Austin, became archbishop of Goa, after the death of Albuquerque, on the nomination of Philip the Second, king of Spain. There was at this time one Mar Joseph at the head of the Christians of St. Thomas; and, as he had received his orders from the patriarch of Babylon, the Portuguese thought that, by seizing him, the people, being without a pastor, would be the more easily brought over to the Roman church. Accordingly, Meneses and the viceroy of Goa caused the Syriac bishop to be arrested and sent to Portugal, where he had art enough to impose upon the ecclesiastics, and to persuade them that he was perfectly orthodox. In the mean time, however, another bishop had been put into his place, named Mar Abraham, who, to secure himself in the seat, went to Rome, where he professed his entire submission to the Pope, made an abjuration of all his real and supposed errors, and, as a special mark of favour, was reordained; after which he was consecrated a bishop, and his holiness gave him bulls for the government of the Eastern church of Syria, adding thereto letters of recommendation to the viceroy, which, however, profited him but little; for he no sooner reached India, than Meneses caused him to be arrested and thrown into prison. Mar Abraham soon afterwards effected his escape, and retired into the interior among the people of his own persuasion, who received him gladly on his renouncing the papal supremacy, and declaring that he acknowledged no other head than the patriarch of Antioch.

As to the other Syriac prelate, Mar Joseph, he no sooner returned from Europe than he fell back to his old principles, and when accused of apostacy, he denied it, saying that he had an inward assurance of the truth of the religion which he had received from his ancestors. Upon this, the inquisitors of Goa caused him to be seized, and sent to Rome, where he died in close confinement. Meneses now visited Cochin, where he convened a synod in one of the churches of a town called Diamper, and which was attended by one hundred and fifty of the native priests, though all of them acted upon compulsion, the place being surrounded by three thousand men armed with swords and muskets.

This assembly began its sitting on the 20th of June, 1599, and lasted six days; during which the Eastern clergy were accused of having wives; owning but the "two sacra-



sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper; rejecting saint worship and images, denying transubstantiation, and disbelieving purgatory." Meneses called upon them to abjure these heresies, and, at the same time, condemned all the Syriac books on religious subjects that could be found, not excepting the sacred scriptures, to be burned; in order, as he said, that no pretended apostolical monuments should remain. In fine, this bigot compelled all the Christians, whether priests or laymen, to be re-baptized: but no menaces could induce them to pray in Latin; on which the Pope made a compromise with them, and Meneses having purged their Syriac liturgy of its errors, confirmed the use of it in the churches on the sea-coast. But though the Romanists were successful in this quarter, they failed completely in the interior, where the Christians declared eternal war against the idolatry of that church, and the tyranny of the Inquisition. They hid their manuscripts, and then fled to the mountains, where they sought, and obtained, that protection from the native princes, who were idolaters, which they could not receive from the people who pretended to be of the same faith with themselves. Meneses, after exercising the greatest cruelties upon these harmless Christians, returned to Goa, and from thence to Portugal, where he was nominated to the archbishopric of Braga. He died at Madrid, in 1617. Let us here copy what a learned Romish ecclesiastic has written upon this subject. Father Simon, of the Oratory, in his curious account of the "Belief and Customs of the Eastern Nations," says, "From this history it may be gathered, that the Portuguese have used great violence towards the Nestorians in matters of religion; that the missionaries, being men unacquainted with the theology of the East, have disturbed and molested them for ceremonies of little or no importance, and that they have thereby occasioned the temporizing of the bishops of that persuasion, by introducing novelties into their churches, which they were constrained to accept by violence. And therefore it was that the same Mar Abraham, having been obliged by the Pope's brief, and more by the fear that he had of the viceroy, who gave him a passport, to repair to a council, where he abjured all these errors, and made a profession of the Roman Catholic faith; but no sooner did he return back to his own church, than he taught Nestorianism as before; and even wrote to his patriarch, that the Portuguese had forced him to be present at the synod of Goa. The sequel of the history discovers more plainly the violence used by the Portuguese towards the Nestorians, to bring them to a union with the church of Rome, and to oblige them to subscribe the confession of faith of Pope Pius the Fourth, which happened in the time of Alexis de Meneses, archbishop of Goa, who went into the Indies with a brief of Clement VIII. to inform against Mar Abraham. In that whole relation, there appears great zeal in the Nestorian Christians of that country, for the defence of their faith, which they pretended to retain, as being once delivered unto them by St. Thomas; insomuch that they put their hands before their eyes at the mass of the Latins, when the priest elevated the host to be adored by those who were present. Above all, they shewed themselves zealous for their own patriarch, and when asked whether the Pope was not the head of the church, made answer, that he might be head of the church of Rome, otherwise called the church of St. Peter, but not of the church of St. Thomas, as being independent one of the other; which distinction they obstinately maintained. They moreover as resolutely withstood the sacrament of Confirmation, which archbishop Meneses would have administered unto them; and they accused him of envy and ambition, alleging,

that he endeavoured to overturn the religion of St. Thomas, to make them embrace that of Rome, in order that, by this artifice, he might remain master of all the churches of the Indies. Therefore, they said, that, though the archbishop calumniated the eastern patriarchs, they would themselves persevere in submission and obedience to their own spiritual pastor, and would never forsake the religion in which they had been brought up, to embrace that of Rome.

"Notwithstanding all these oppositions on the part of the Nestorians, the same archbishop Meneses still continued to tell them that their patriarch was a heretic, and excommunicated, on which account they ought not to pray for him. This he did so vigorously, sparing neither pains nor money, that at length he in a great measure succeeded. Sometimes he used violence, and was therefore often in danger of his life; for under the pretext that he had full power from the Pope, he exercised his jurisdiction in all places, without any regard to the native authorities, or inquiring whether they acknowledged his spiritual character. In this manner did the envoy of the Pope plant the Roman religion in that country, and spared no means to accomplish his design. He gave orders in despite of the diocesan bishops, and made those whom he ordained, first abjure the errors of Nestorius. Besides the confession of faith, they who entered into the ministry were obliged to swear obedience to the Pope, and to acknowledge no other bishops but such as were sent by him."

Although, by these violent measures, and other acts, Popery was established along the coast, a witnessing remnant of the ancient Syrian church was preserved, which held in abhorrence the corruptions of Antichrist; and continued to profess the truth, though in poverty and obscurity. In the year 1806, the late Dr. Claudius Buchanan visited the descendants of these confessors; and the account which he gives of them in his journal, is so interesting, that some extracts will not be unacceptable to the reader.

"The first view of the Christian churches in this sequestered region of Hindoostan, connected with the idea of their tranquil duration for so many ages, cannot fail to excite pleasing emotions in the mind of the beholder. The form of the oldest buildings is not unlike that of some of the old parish churches in England; the style of building in both being of Saracenic origin. They have sloping roofs, pointed arch windows, and buttresses supporting the walls. The beams of the roof being exposed to view, are ornamented, and the ceiling of the choir and altar is circular, and fretted. In the cathedral churches, the shrines of the deceased bishops are placed on each side of the altar. Most of the churches are built of a reddish stone, squared and polished at the quarry, and are of durable construction. The bells of the churches are cast in the foundries of the country; some of them are of large dimensions, and have inscriptions in Syriac and Malay-alim. In approaching a town in the evening, I once heard the sound of the bells among the hills; a circumstance which made me forget for a moment that I was in Hindoostan, and reminded me of another country.

"The first Syrian church which I saw, was at Maveli-car; but the Syrians here are in the vicinity of the Romish Christians; and are not so simple in their manners as those nearer the mountains. They had been often visited by Romish missionaries in former times, and they at first suspected that I belonged to that communion. They had heard of the English, but strangely supposed that they belonged to the church of the Pope in the west. They had been so little accustomed to see a friend, that they could not believe that I was come with any friendly purpose. Added to this, I had seen the



cussions with a most intelligent priest, in regard to the original language of the four gospels, which he maintained to be Syriac, and they suspected, from the complexion of my argument, that I wished to weaken the evidences for their antiquity. Soon, however, the gloom and suspicion subsided; they gave me the right hand of fellowship, in the primitive manner; and one of their number was deputed to accompany me to the churches in the interior.

"When we were approaching the church of Chinganoor, we met one of the Cassanars, or Syrian clergy. He was dressed in a white loose vestment, with a cap of red silk hanging down behind. Being informed who he was, I said to him in the Syriac language, "Peace be unto you." He was surprised at the salutation, but immediately answered, "The God of peace be with you." He accosted the rajah's servants in the language of the country, to know who I was; and immediately returned to the village, to announce our approach. When we arrived, I was received at the door of the church by three kashceeshas, that is, presbyters or priests, who were habited, in like manner, in white vestments. Their names were, Jesu, Zecharias, and Urias, which they wrote down in my journal, each of them adding to his name the title of kashceesha. There were also present two shumshanas, or deacons. The elder priest was a very intelligent man, of reverend appearance, having a long white beard, and of an affable and engaging deportment. The three principal Christians, or lay elders, belonging to the church, were named Abraham, Thoma, and Alexandros. After some conversation with my attendants, they received me with confidence and affection; and the people of the neighbouring villages came round me, women as well as men. The sight of the women assured me that I was once more in a Christian country. For the Hindoo women, and the Mahomedan women, and, in short, all who are not Christians, are accounted by the men an inferior race; and in general are confined to the house for life, like irrational creatures. In every countenance now before me, I thought I could discover the intelligence of Christianity. But, at the same time, I perceived, all around, symptoms of poverty and political depression. In the churches, and in the people, there was an air of fallen greatness. I said to the senior priest, "You appear to me like a people who have known better days."—"It is even so," said he, "we are in a degenerate state, compared with our forefathers." He noticed that there were two causes of their present decay. "About three hundred years ago, an enemy came from the west, bearing the name of Christ, but armed with the Inquisition, and compelled us to seek the protection of the native princes; and the native princes have kept us in a state of depression ever since. They indeed recognize our ancient personal privileges, for we rank in general next to the Nacis, the nobility of the country; but they have encroached by degrees upon our property, till we have been reduced to the humble state in which you find us. The glory of our church has passed away, but we hope your nation will revive it again." I observed that "the glory of a church could never die, if it preserved the Bible."—"We have preserved the Bible," said he, "the Hindoo princes never touched our liberty of conscience. We were formerly on a footing with them in political power, and they respect our religion. We have also converts from time to time; but in this Christian duty we are not so active as we once were; besides, it is not so creditable now to become a Christian, in our low estate." He then pointed out to me a Namboory Bramin, (that is, a Bramin of the highest cast,) who had lately become a Christian, and as-

sumed the white vestment of a Syrian priest. "The learning, too, of the Bible," added he, "is in a low state amongst us. Our copies are few in number; and that number is diminished instead of increasing; and the writing out a whole copy of the sacred scriptures is a great labour, where there is no profit and little piety." I then produced a printed copy of the Syriac New Testament. There was not one of them who had ever seen a printed copy before. They admired it much; and every priest, as it came into his hands, began to read a portion, which he did fluently, while the women came round to hear. I asked the old priest whether I should send them some copies from Europe. "They would be worth their weight in silver," said he. He then asked me whether the Old Testament was printed in Syriac as well as the New. I told him it was, but I had not a copy. They professed an earnest desire to obtain some copies of the whole Syriac Bible; and asked whether it would be practicable to obtain one copy for every church. "I must confess to you," said Zecharias, "that we have very few copies of the prophetic scriptures in the church. Our church languishes for want of the scriptures. But," he added, "the language that is most in use among the people, is the Malayalam, (or Malabar,) the vernacular language of the country. The Syriac is now the only learned language, and that of the church; but we generally expound the scriptures to the people in the vernacular tongue." I then entered on the subject of the translation of the scriptures. He said, "A version could be made with critical accuracy; for there were many of the Syrian clergy who were perfect masters of both languages, having spoken them from their infancy. But," said he, "our bishop will rejoice to see you, and to discourse with you on this and other subjects." I told them, that if a translation could be prepared, I should be able to get it printed, and to distribute copies among their fifty-five churches, at a small price. "That, indeed, would give joy," said old Abraham. There was here a murmur of satisfaction among the people. "If I understand you right," said I, "the greatest blessing the English church can bestow upon you, is the Bible." "It is so," said he. "And what is the next greatest?" said I. "Some freedom, and personal consequence as a people." By which he meant political liberty. "We are here in bondage, like Israel in Egypt." I observed, that the English nation would doubtless recognize a nation of fellow Christians; and would be happy to interest itself in their behalf, as far as our political relation with the princes of the country would permit. They wished to know what were the principles of the English government, civil and religious. I answered, that our government might be said to be founded generally on the principles of the Bible. "Ah!" said old Zecharias, "that must be a glorious government, which is founded on the principles of the Bible." The priests then desired I would give them some account of the history of the English nation, and of our secession from their enemy the church of Rome. And, in return, I requested they would give me some account of their history.

Dr. Buchanan, after this, attended divine service on the Sunday; and says, "Their liturgy is that which was formerly used in the churches of the patriarch of Antioch. During the prayers, there were intervals of silence; the priests praying in a low voice, and every man praying for himself. These silent intervals add much to the solemnity and appearance of devotion. They use incense in the churches; it grows in the woods around them; and contributes much, they say, to health, and to the warmth and comfort of the church, during the cold and rainy seasons of the year. At

the conclusion of the service, a ceremony takes place which pleased much. The priest, or bishop if present, comes forward, and all the people pass by him as they go out, receiving his benediction. If any man has been guilty of immorality, he does not receive the blessing; and this, in their primitive and patriarchal state, is accounted a severe punishment. Instruction by preaching, is little in use among them now. Many of the old men lamented the decay of piety and religious knowledge; and spoke with pleasure of the record of ancient times. They have some ceremonies nearly allied to those of the Greek church; but here, as in all churches in a state of decline, there is too much formality in the worship. They have, however, the Bible, and a scriptural liturgy: and these will save a church in the worst of times. These may preserve the spark and life of religion, though the flame be out. And as there were but few copies of the Bible among the Syrians, (for every copy was transcribed with the pen,) it is highly probable that, if they had not enjoyed the advantage of daily prayers, and daily portions of scripture in their liturgy, there would have been, in the revolution of ages, no vestige of Christianity left among them. The doctrines of the Syrian Christians are few in number, but pure, and agree in essential points with those of the church of England; so that, although the body of the church appears to be ignorant, and formal, and dead, there are individuals who are alive to righteousness, who are distinguished from the rest by their purity of life, and are sometimes censured for too rigid a piety.

The following are the chief doctrines of this ancient church: 1. They hold the doctrine of a VICARIOUS ATONEMENT for the sins of men, by the blood and merits of Christ, and of the justification of the soul before God, "by faith alone," in that atonement. 2. They maintain the REGENERATION, or new birth of the soul, to righteousness, by the influence of the Spirit of God, which change is called in their books, from the Greek, the META-NOVA, or change of mind. 3. In regard to the TRINITY, the creed of the Syrian Christians accords with that of St. Athanasius, but without the damnatory clauses. In a written and official communication to Colonel Macauley, the English president of Travancore, the metropolitan states it to be as follows: "We believe in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, three Persons in one God, neither confounding the persons, nor dividing the substance; one in three, and three in one. The Father generated, the Son generated, and the Holy Ghost proceeding. None is before or after the other; in majesty, honour, might, and power, coequal; Unity in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity." He then proceeds to disclaim the different errors of Arius, Sabellius, Macedonius, Manes, Marcianus, Julianus, Nestorius, and the Chalcedonians; and concludes, "that in the appointed time, through the disposition of the Father and the Holy Ghost, the Son appeared on earth for the salvation of mankind; that he was born of the Virgin Mary, through the means of the Holy Ghost, and was incarnate God and man."

Of his introduction to Mar Dionysius, the metropolitan of the Syrian church, our countryman gives the following interesting particulars. "The Bishop resides in a building attached to the church. I was much struck with his first appearance. He was dressed in a vestment of dark red silk; a large golden cross hung from his neck, and his venerable beard reached below his girdle. Such, thought I, was the appearance of Chrysostom in the fourth century. On public occasions, he wears the episcopal mitre; a muslin robe is thrown over his under garment, and in his hand he bears

the crosier or pastoral staff. He is a man of highly respectable character in his church, eminent for his piety, and for the attention he devotes to his sacred functions. I found him to be far superior in learning to any of his clergy whom I had yet seen. He told me, that all my conversations with his priests since my arrival in the country, had been communicated to him. 'You have come,' said he, 'to visit a declining church, and I am now an old man; but the hopes of seeing better days, cheer my old age, though I may not live to see them.'"

Though these Christians cherished a truly benevolent spirit towards their visitor, they received his overtures for a junction between the two churches with a well-founded reluctance. The treatment their ancestors had experienced from the Romish emissaries, naturally made them abhorrent of every thing connected with that communion. "The English," said the Syrian clergy to Dr. Buchanan, "may be a warlike and great people; but their church, by your own account, is but of a recent origin. Whence do you derive your ordination?" "From Rome." "You derive it from the church which is our ancient enemy, and with which we would never unite." "They acknowledged, indeed, that there ought to be salvation in every church, where 'the name of Christ was named;' but in the question of a UNION, it was to be considered that they had existed a pure church of Christ from the earliest ages; that if there was such a thing in the world as ordination by the laying on of hands, in succession from the apostles, it was probable that they possessed it; and that there was no record of history or tradition to impeach their claim." I observed, that there was reason to believe, that the same ordination had descended from the apostles to the church of Rome. 'It might be so; but that church had departed from the faith.' I answered, that the impurity of the channel had not corrupted the ordinance itself, or invalidated the legitimacy of the imposition of hands, any more than the wickedness of a high-priest in Israel could disqualify his successors. The church of England assumed, that she derived apostolical ordination through the church of Rome, as she might have derived it through the church of Antioch. I did not consider that the church of England was entitled to reckon her ordination to be higher or more sacred than that of the Syrian church. In a subsequent conversation with the bishop, the latter expressed a wish to see such a union accomplished; provided he was not called upon to compromise any thing of the dignity and purity of his own church."

After this, Dr. Buchanan visited Diamper, which was formerly the residence of a Christian king, named Belsarate. Here it was that archbishop Meneses held his famous synod in 1509, when he burned the Syriac and Chaldaic books. The tradition still goes, that while the flames ascended, he went round the church in procession, chanting a song of triumph.

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#### POPISH CONSPIRACIES AGAINST QUEEN ELIZABETH.

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THE brutal inhumanity with which the unfortunate Anne Boleyn was treated by the popish party, could hardly fail to make an impression on the mind of her daughter Elizabeth; who was besides very carefully brought up in the principles of the Protestant religion, to which she evinced, throughout the reign of her accomplished brother, so sincere and ardent an attachment, that there was reason to believe she would become a sufferer under the iron sceptre of the bigoted

Mary. Accordingly, she was at first thrown into the Tower, where she endured many hardships; but, after a short confinement, she was removed to Woodstock; and though somewhat better used, yet few persons entertained any hopes of her deliverance. While the flames of persecution were blazing in every direction, the most artful attempts were made to entrap her into some expressions that might furnish matter of accusation against her; but young as she was, Elizabeth had sufficient command of her temper to avoid falling into the snare. The Romish clergy, and especially the leading bishops, foreseeing the danger their religion would be exposed to, in the event of her succession, made it their constant object to accomplish her destruction. They said, it was of no use to cut off the twigs, unless they plucked up heresy by the roots, and that the interests of their church required the sacrifice of one who might, in the end, prove its utter ruin in this kingdom. The Protestants were not ignorant of these machinations, and trembled for the consequences; but, in this instance, Providence gave a remarkable evidence of divine interposition, in controlling the wrath of men, and turning human policy into the means of advancing higher purposes. Philip the Second, of Spain, the husband of Mary, was as great a bigot in religion as his wife: but while she seemed bent upon taking away the life of Elizabeth, for the sake of the church; the king saw that in so doing he should be a loser, and France a gainer, since, in such a case, Mary of Scotland, who had married the eldest son of Henry the Second, would be the next in succession to the crown of England. Such an aggregation of power was a serious object of apprehension to the wily Spaniard, especially as he had no prospect of issue by his queen, who was in a sickly state. Philip, therefore, instead of consenting to the sanguinary proposal of the priests to cut off Elizabeth, exerted himself effectually in saving her life; for which, indeed, he had another inducement, hoping that, if Mary died, he might prevail upon the young princess to give him her hand out of gratitude. Thus did that Wisdom, which is inscrutable in its plans, and the adaptation of its instruments, restrain the violence of the English Romanists, and cause even Spanish pride and zeal to become subservient to the cause of moderation, for the sake of a political object.

Another circumstance worthy of remembrance, is that of the death of Mary, which happened on the 17th of November, 1558, when her husband was out of the kingdom; and thus the Romanists, who were dreadfully alarmed at the event, were prevented from making any head against the accession of Elizabeth, though they were aware that a material alteration would take place in the ecclesiastical establishment, from her known bias to the Reformation.

She was at Hatfield when she heard of her sister's death, and instantly hastened up to London, where she was received with universal acclamations. On her entrance into the Tower in state, according to ancient custom, she could not refrain from noticing the difference between her present and former visit, when she was brought in as a prisoner. Not to alarm the partisans of the Catholic persuasion too much, before her power should be completely established, she retained eleven of her sister's counsellors; but, in order to balance their authority, she added to the number eight who were attached to the Protestant interest, namely, the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Bedford, sir Thomas Parry, sir Edward Rogers, sir Ambrose Cave, sir Francis Knolles, sir Nicholas Bacon, and sir William Cecil. With these counsellors, but particularly the last, she frequently deliberated concerning the means of restoring the Protestant religion; and by his advice, her first measure was, to

recall home all the exiles who had fled from her sister's tyranny, and give liberty to all prisoners who were then under confinement, on account of their religious sentiments. She next published a proclamation, by which she forbade all preaching without a special license; a measure that carried an appearance of intolerance equal to that of the Romanists; but it was a politic step, and one rendered necessary at such a critical juncture, when numbers of the people fluctuated between two religions. At the same time that she laid this injunction against indiscriminate preaching, she issued another, prohibiting the elevation of the host; and when parliament met, these acts of the prerogative received a legal sanction. As a proof what a deep root the Reformation had taken, notwithstanding the fiery trial to which it had recently been exposed, it is upon record, that out of above nine thousand beneficed clergy then in the kingdom, only fourteen bishops, twelve archdeacons, fifteen heads of colleges, and about eighty parish priests, chose to quit their preferments, rather than give up their religion. Such was the contrast between the conduct of the Popish and Protestant divines; besides which, it is to be observed, that none of those who continued to resist the royal proceedings, not even such of the bishops as were bold enough to threaten the queen with excommunication, were put to death or brought to trial for their contumacy.

The Pope, when he heard of the queen's accession, behaved in a very imperious manner, telling sir Edward Cairne, the ambassador, that England was a fief of the apostolic see, and that Elizabeth should submit her title to his decision. At last, perceiving that his blustering made no impression, he became somewhat more moderate, dropped his civil sovereignty, and only insisted that there should be no innovations in religion. Sir Edward replied, that he had no instructions from his court on the subject; and that the only way his holiness could give satisfaction to his royal mistress, and bring her to compliance, would be by declaring the lawfulness of her mother's marriage with Henry the Eighth. This was a bitter pill to the pope and the conclave of cardinals, who found themselves so much grieved by it, that, to avoid the dilemma, it was resolved rather to run the risk of a schism, than commit so shocking an act of inconsistency. While the court of Rome was in this state, the intelligence arrived, that a revolution in the church of England had already commenced, under the royal and parliamentary authority; which so provoked the pope, that he ordered Cairne not to quit Rome without leave. His object in this was to prevent the ambassador from giving information of the practices then carrying on by the French and the court of Rome against the queen. But Cairne had already penetrated into these designs, of which he sent an account to his government; and accordingly, soon after, the queen of Scots, swayed by the ambition of her husband, and instigated by the Pope, set up a claim to the British crown, and assumed the title and arms of England. These pretensions could only be supported by impugning the legitimacy of queen Elizabeth; who had too much of her father's temper to brook such an insult. The news, therefore, instead of deterring, made her more eager in promoting the great work of the Reformation, which now went forward with vigour; the oath of supremacy was strictly enforced; and a visitation appointed to remove all carved images, and other relics of superstition, out of the churches. These proceedings could not but create a lively sensation among the Romanists abroad, as well as at home; and when it was seen that there was no likelihood of hindering the settlement of the Protestant religion in England, the emperor, and other

potentates, solicited the queen to deal favourably with the Catholic bishops, and to allow them and their clergy some churches in all the cities and great towns of her kingdom. At another period, such an act of indulgence might have been advisable; but the recommendation came with a bad grace from princes who would not even suffer the professors of the reformed religion to worship God according to their own principles, even in private houses.

The reply of the queen was, that though the Catholic bishops had disobeyed the laws, and disturbed the quiet of the kingdom; though they refused compliance with that doctrine, which in the reign of her father and brother they had publicly recommended and maintained; notwithstanding this inconsistency and misbehaviour, yet, in regard to those princes, she was willing to treat them gently, if it could be done without disgusting the rest of her subjects. But to grant them churches to officiate in their worship, and keep up a distinct communion, were things which the public interest, her own honour and conscience, could not allow; neither was there any reason for such an indulgence; for there was no new faith propagated in England; no religion set up, but that which was commanded by our Saviour, practised by the primitive church, and unanimously approved by the fathers of the best antiquity. Besides, to assign churches to different ceremonies and persuasions, is the direct way to perplex good people, and make them unresolved; to encourage faction, to break religion into sects and parties, and embroil both church and state. Now, such a toleration would be both unwarrantable in itself, and pernicious in the precedent; and, which is more, would be neither convenient nor safe for those who should enjoy it. And, therefore, though out of her own clemency, and especially at the request of crowned heads, she was willing to connive a little, in order to reclaim those prelates to a better temper, yet she was resolved not to be so kind as to feed their disease and cherish their obstinacy.

It is obvious that the true nature of religious liberty was not sufficiently understood on either side in that age; on which account, the reasoning contained in this declaration was perfectly just, for the indulgence demanded would certainly have divided the people, and entangled the government. The queen might easily have retorted upon the royal remonstrants, the inconsistency of their own conduct, and especially in not having interposed during the late reign, to save the Protestant bishops and clergy from the stake, when those martyrs only craved permission to serve God according to their consciences in private.

Soon after this, Pope Paul the Fourth died, and was succeeded by John, cardinal de Medici, who took the name of Pius the Fourth. This pontiff, not being of quite so haughty a temper as his predecessor, sent over Parpalia, abbot of St. Savionis, with the following letter to the queen of England: "Dearest daughter in Christ: Health and apostolical benediction. How much the salvation of your soul, the honour of your reign, and the interest of your kingdom, is desired by us, is known to God, the searcher of hearts: and may be understood in some measure by the instructions which our nuncio, Vincentio Parpalia, a person of fidelity, and not unknown to your majesty, has orders to lay before you. We earnestly entreat your highness, dearest daughter, that you would be no longer governed by unhappy advisers; by men who love nothing but their own interest and pleasures: We entreat you, therefore, to give the fear of God the principal sway in your councils; to know the time of your visitation; and to resign to the admonitions of us your spiritual father. Your majesty may promise yourself any reasonable length of compliance which lies within the compass of our

station; not only with reference to your spiritual advantage, but likewise for the service and security of your royal dignity; and that, when you return to the communion of the church, as we hope you will, you shall be received with the same marks of affection and regard, as the father in the gospel entertained his son with at his coming home. Though our satisfaction will be much greater than that mentioned in the parable; for there the joy was only for the recovery of a single person, whereas your highness's return will draw the happiness of your subjects along with you, and give a strong occasion of pleasure to the universal church. And besides, Heaven itself will be, as it were, transported with the news, and you will make an addition to the joys of the blessed. Such a glorious recollection will raise your character, prove serviceable to your memory, and give you a much higher crown than that which you wear already. But concerning this affair, our agent Vincentio shall discourse with your highness more at large, and give you further proof of our paternal affection. Dated at Rome, May the 5th, 1560."

It is confidently said that his Holiness went so far as to promise that he would confirm the English liturgy, grant the cup to the laity, and reverse the sentence of the court of Rome against the marriage of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn, on condition that the queen would acknowledge the papal supremacy. If, however, the Pope really did make such overtures, the English council had spirit enough to treat them with contempt, and the Reformation went on with a steady pace. Still the Pope was not to be diverted from his purpose, but resolved to send another nuncio to England; and when told that it would be in vain, and only an undervaluing of his dignity, he said that "he would humble himself even to heresy itself, if he could but succeed."

Accordingly, he sent over Martinengo, in the capacity of legate, but when that prelate reached Flanders, he received the queen's commands not to cross the sea on any account. The emperor of Germany and the king of Spain interceded on behalf of the nuncio, and begged that he might be heard; but the queen was firm, and replied, that she could not treat with the bishop of Rome in any capacity, as his authority in England had been annihilated by act of parliament.

Upon this, the court of Rome had recourse to its old arts, and endeavoured to stir up a rebellion against the English government. A legate was also sent over to Ireland for the same purpose; but the wisdom and energy of the measures adopted by the council of Elizabeth, rendered these efforts abortive.

Pope Pius V. who succeeded to the pontifical chair in 1566, exerted himself very actively in the attempt to recover England by the ruin of the Protestant interest. Among other artifices now adopted for this purpose, one was, that of sending over missionaries, who were to assume the character of Puritans, that, by sowing divisions among the people, the nation at large might be brought to embrace the church of Rome, as the centre of unity. Accordingly, one Thomas Heath, a Jesuit, and brother to the deprived archbishop of York, came into the kingdom, and after preaching about the country in the habit of a poor minister, applied to the dean of Rochester for preferment. The dean, to try his talent, gave him a turn in the cathedral. In his sermon, he refined a little upon the church of England, and warped considerably towards nonconformity, on this text, "Prayer was made without ceasing unto God for St. Peter." From this passage he took occasion to observe that the apostolical prayers were not such as those of the English liturgy. As it happened, a letter fell out of his pocket in the pulpit.



which was picked up by the sexton, and delivered to the bishop. It was superscribed to the preacher, by the name of Thomas Fine, from one Malt, a noted Jesuit at Madrid: and the purport of it was to instruct him in the management of his mission. Upon this discovery, he was taken up and examined. At first he would own nothing more than that he had been a Jesuit, but was now of another persuasion; that he was not entirely of the sentiment of the episcopal party, but was for carrying the Reformation to a state of greater perfection. After this, upon searching his room, they found a license from the Jesuits, and a bull from Pope Pius V. In these there was a discretionary power allowed for preaching what doctrine his superiors thought fit; which latitude was granted, to create differences among Protestants. Accordingly, in his trunk were found several books against infant baptism, and other controverted subjects. For this practice he was sentenced to the pillory and perpetual imprisonment, but death relieved him some months afterwards.

About the same time, the duke of Alva, who was then destroying the Protestants in the Low Countries with fire and sword, sent over an agent to the English court, under the pretence of settling some differences respecting commerce; but in reality to foment an insurrection amongst the disaffected Romanists. Accordingly, the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, relying upon the promised succours from Flanders, and believing that the people were generally disposed to rise against government, excited a revolt in the northern counties. The principal incendiary in this commotion was one Nicholas Morton, who had been sent over on purpose by the Pope, with instructions to proclaim the queen a heretic, and as having, on that account, forfeited her dominions.

The rebels soon increased to a formidable number; and, when ranged in military order, published a declaration, "that they had taken the field only to restore the religion of their ancestors,—to remove evil counsellors,—to release the duke of Norfolk, (who was then in custody for high treason,) and to recommend that nobleman, as well as other persons of quality, to the queen's favour. But that, as for her majesty, they were, and resolved to be ever, her most obedient subjects, and would never attempt any thing against her."

Besides this manifesto, they sent circular letters to the Roman Catholics, to exert themselves and join their standard. Thus the insurrection went on, and the rebels made their first advance into Durham; where they broke open the churches, and, after tearing in pieces the English bible and prayer book, celebrated the service of the mass. They had the five wounds of Christ represented on some of their colours, and a chalice on others. Richard Norton, a gentleman of ancient family, carried the standard with a cross on it; and thus they came to Clifford moor, not far from Wetherby. There they mustered their forces, which were found to consist of not more than six hundred horse and four thousand foot. When they understood that the queen of Scots was conveyed from Tutbury to Coventry, and that the royal army was very near them, they retrograded to Raby Castle, belonging to the earl of Westmoreland; from whence they proceeded to Barnard castle, which they captured; but on the advance of the earl of Sussex, they retreated to Auckland, next to Hexham, and afterwards to Haworth castle. Here the two earls abandoned their partisans, and escaped into Scotland, after which the deluded insurgents were soon dispersed, and several of them suffered the penalty of the law. The earl of Westmoreland got over into Flanders, where he commanded a regiment in the Spanish service, but died in great penury in 1584. The earl of Northumberland,

who is honoured by some of the Catholic historians with the title of martyr, led a wretched life for some time in Scotland; but at length he was given up to the English government, and had his head taken off at York.

The Pope now promulgated his bull of excommunication against queen Elizabeth, in which all her subjects were absolved from their oath of allegiance, and all other engagements whatsoever. Of this famous instrument the following is a correct translation, and it exhibits a complete view of the despotic and bloody character of the church of Rome.

"Pius, Bishop, Servant to the Servants of God, for a memorial of the matter.

"He that reigns above, to whom all power in heaven and earth is given, has consigned his one Holy Catholic Church, out of which there is no salvation, to the sole government of St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and his successor the Bishop of Rome. This Successor he has constituted supreme over all nations and kingdoms, to root out and to pull down, to destroy, to build, and to plant; to the end that the faithful, being incorporated by mutual charity, may be preserved in the unity of the Spirit, and presented unblemished and acceptable to their Saviour. The goodness of God having pleased to set us at the helm, and intrust us with the presidency in his Church, we have omitted no opportunities, but exerted ourselves to the utmost, that unity and catholic religion might be inviolably maintained, which God, for the trial of integrity, and for the punishment of misbehaviour, has suffered to labour under so great a calamity. But now the ungodly are grown up to such a degree of power, that there is no part of Christendom in which they have not endeavoured to scatter their infection, and poison with their heterodoxies; that vessel of iniquity, the pretended Queen Elizabeth of England, being particularly active, and affording shelter and sanctuary to the most criminal of this kind. This woman having seized the crown, and, by a monstrous usurpation, challenging the authority and jurisdiction of Supreme Head of the Church of England, has brought the kingdom, lately recovered to the Catholic faith, to a lamentable condition. And thus having by force prohibited the profession of the true religion, formerly suppressed by that revoler King Henry VIII.; and, with the assistance of this sec, restored by lawful Queen Mary of famous memory, she has given into the misbelief of the Heretics; dismissed the nobility from the council board, and furnishing it with people who have neither truth nor principles to recommend them; has discountenanced the Catholics, and restored the scandalous preachers and ministers of iniquity to their former posts. The sacrifice of the Mass, the stated prayers and fasts, the distinctions of diet, celibacy, and other Catholic ceremonies, are thrown out of use. And instead of these, she has ordered books stuffed with downright heresy to be publicly recommended to the kingdom, and commanded her subjects to comply with ungodly mysteries, practised by herself upon Calvin's directions. She has farther presumed to deprive the Bishops, Rectors of churches, and other Catholic priests, of their preferments and benefices, and barred them the exercise of their functions; disposed of their places to heretics; undertaken the cognizance of ecclesiastical causes; forbidden the prelates, clergy, and laity, to acknowledge the supremacy of the Church of Rome, or to obey the precepts and canonical functions of that communion; brought a great many to a compliance with her scandalous laws, to a renunciation of the Bishop of Rome, to forswear all obedience to him, and by the same solemn engagement of an oath, to acknowledge her sole sovereign both in temporal and spiritual matters;



executing the penalties of her statutes upon those who continue in the unity of the Catholic faith, pay their customary obedience to us, and refuse to submit to her innovations; in which durance, a great many, after a long hardship, have ended their days.

"All these things being so notorious over all Europe, and proved by so much unquestionable evidence, as not to admit of any excuse, apology, or colour of evasion; and, considering that the wicked and intolerable practice has been multiplied in so many instances, that the persecution of the faithful grows worse and worse, and the batteries are played with more force upon religion, and all by the means and instigation of the said Elizabeth; considering that her mind is so far hardened, as not only to despise the wholesome advice and solicitations of Catholic princes for her conversion; but likewise to refuse admitting the nuncio sent to her from this see; these things considered, we are constrained to have recourse to those remedies which justice suggests, being extremely troubled at the necessity of such an application; and that we should be driven to the use of harsh expedients against a lady whose ancestors have been so serviceable to the interests of Christianity.

"In virtue, therefore, of his authority, who has been pleased to advance us to the supreme seat of justice, though far from being proportioned to so great a weight, we, out of the plenitude of our apostolical authority, declare the aforesaid Elizabeth a heretic, and an encourager of heretics; and that those who adhere to her in the practices above-mentioned, lie under the censure of an anathema, and are cut off from the unity of the body of Christ. We, likewise, declare the said Elizabeth deprived of the pretended right to the kingdom above-mentioned, and of all dominion, dignity, and privilege whatsoever: and that all the nobility and subjects of the said realm, who have sworn to her in any manner whatsoever, are for ever absolved from any such oath, and from all obligation of fidelity and allegiance. And, by virtue of these presents, we actually absolve them; and deprive the said Elizabeth of the pretended right to the crown, and all other pre-eminences and privileges above mentioned. We likewise command all the nobility, subjects, and others above mentioned, that they do not presume to obey her orders, commands, or laws for the future. And those who act otherwise are involved in the same sentence of excommunication. And because the conveying this original instrument to all places requisite, may be impracticable, our pleasure is, that a transcript, attested by a public notary, and sealed with the seal of a prelate, or that of his court, shall have the same credit every where, both judicially and extra-judicially, as if the original itself was exhibited. Dated at Rome, at St. Peter's, in the Year of the Incarnation of our Lord One Thousand Five Hundred and Sixty-Nine; and the Fifth year of our Popedom."

In whatever light such a fulmination might now be regarded, it was a matter of serious magnitude at that period, when the minds of thousands in this kingdom were still impressed with a reverential awe of the papal authority. The bull of excommunication, therefore, was made the ground of proceedings, which, but for such an act of impolicy, would hardly have been adopted. Hitherto no person had suffered in England during the present reign on account of his religion; and though the queen had received provocations enough from the Romanists, she did not follow their example, in sending men to the scaffold and the stake for a difference of opinion. But now the case was altered; and the shoals of emissaries that poured into the kingdom in consequence of the papal decree of deposition, rendered some

measures indispensable as the means of self-defence. Accordingly statutes were passed, declaring it to be high treason to call the queen a heretic or an usurper; and the same judgment was denounced against all persons who brought over or published bulls from the Pope, tending to excite sedition and rebellion. The first person who became obnoxious to the law by his zeal for the Pope, was a gentleman named John Felton, who had the temerity to affix the bull of excommunication on the gate of the bishop of London, for which he was hanged, drawn, and quartered, as a traitor, while his own party registered him among their martyrs.

Various engines were now set in motion, to effect the destruction of the queen and the restoration of Popery: one of the most remarkable of these contrivances was the erection of a college at Douay, under the government of William Allen, a divine of Oxford, who, having obtained a large pension from the court of Rome, and as liberal a supply from the king of Spain, opened a school for rebellion; or, in the words of the faction themselves, "to the end that as the papal priests in England were by time extinguished, there might always be a new race to supply their places, and sow the seeds of the Roman religion in England;" and therefore they called these places seminaries, and those who were educated in them seminary priests. The first of these missionaries sent over to England, were Robert Parsons and Edmond Campian, who appeared sometimes in military habits, sometimes in the dress of gentlemen, and at others as clergymen of the establishment. Parsons was the most active of the two in endeavouring to excite an insurrection; but the government was so vigilant, that his labours proved abortive, and he escaped out of the kingdom. Campian had worse luck, being taken and executed in 1581; not on account of his faith, but for endeavouring to raise an insurrection. He might have saved his life by disowning the papal power over this kingdom, but refused, and openly declared, in the presence of his judges, that if the Pope was to invade the land, he would stand by his holiness against the government. Camden, who was the friend of this Jesuit, says, that the necessity of the times forced the queen upon these extremities; that she declared herself always averse to the punishment of people for their conscience; but that when principles and the Catholic religion were made a pretence for plotting and treason, she was obliged to employ the sword of the law for her defence. The same historian adds, that the apprehension of public danger was increased by the numbers of seminary priests who were continually coming over; that these missionaries tampered privately with the people, and endeavoured to disengage them from their allegiance, telling them that excommunicated princes ought to be deposed; that those who professed the Protestant religion had no right either to the title or authority of sovereigns; that the clergy were privileged from the cognizance of secular courts, and not bound by the laws of the state; that the Pope was lord of the universe, and supreme even in temporals; that there was no lawful magistracy in England; and that whatever was done by the Queen's authority, after her excommunication, was altogether void, and of no force.

The attachment of the Irish people to the Pope, and their natural disposition to rebellion, induced his holiness to send over a legate; while, at the same time, a body of Spaniards landed in Kerry. The papal nuncio was Nicholas Sanders, an Oxford divine, who had abandoned his faith and allegiance, to become the agent of the court of Rome. As soon as this man set his foot in Ireland, he consecrated the ground on which the camp was formed, and then issued a letter to the nobility and gentry, as follows:—

"Pardon me, I beseech you, if, upon just cause, I use the same words to your honours which St. Paul wrote to the Galatians, "Who has bewitched you, that ye should not obey the truth?" For, unless ye are bewitched, what makes ye fight for heresy against the true faith of Christ, for the devil against God, for tyrants that seize your estates, take away your lives, and damn your souls; against your own brethren, who run the utmost hazards, spend their treasure and their blood to rescue you from these miseries? What can the meaning be, that you should undergo such fatigues, exhaust your fortunes, and risk soul and body to so remarkable a degree, and all for a wicked woman? a woman blemished in her birth, and disregarding her Christianity! For which reasons the vicar of Christ, her lawful judge, and your's too, has deprived her of the kingdom. All Catholic princes, after intolerable provocations, have abandoned her. Several English lords and gentlemen have drawn their swords against her. Do you not see that she is likely to be left without issue, either to reward her friends, or take revenge upon her enemies? Is she not a scandal to the throne? And, therefore, can those be true friends to the crown, who do not make it their business to displace her? Are you not sensible that the next Catholic heir (for the Pope will take care that there shall be no other) must reckon all those no better than traitors, who spend their estates for a heretic, against his title? How will you justify yourselves to the Pope's lieutenant when he appears amongst you, (as he will do shortly,) at the head of his holiness's forces, and those of other Catholic princes? You will then be charged with abetting heresy, and with supporting an heretical pretended queen against a public sentence of Christ's vicar? Can she, with her chimerical supremacy, take off the Pope's excommunication, and absolve you from his curse? her counterfeited supremacy, I say, which the devil instituted in Paradise, when he made Eve Adam's mistress in God's matters? Is not the adhering to her interest the way to bring a blemish upon yourselves, and stain you with the suspicion of heresy and treason? And, besides, if the Catholic heir lets loose the law upon you, your lives and estates are forfeited, and your families undone for ever."

But though Sanders prevailed with the earl of Desmond to hoist the standard of rebellion in Ireland, the vigorous measures of the lord deputy Grey completely frustrated the attempt, and the unhappy leader soon after perished miserably; as the nuncio also did, being starved or suffocated in the bogs, to which he had fled for refuge.

This was in the year 1583, and within less than a twelvemonth, the Papists formed another plot in England; at the head of which were Francis Throgmorton, whose father was a judge, Thomas lord Paget, and Charles Arundel, Esq. Throgmorton was executed on his own confession of treason, but the others escaped.

Fresh acts were now passed in parliament against the Romish emissaries, who were ordered to depart the kingdom within forty days, and prohibited from returning under the penalty of high treason. So clement was the government of Elizabeth, under these circumstances, that seventy of the most active priests, some of whom had been condemned, and others under prosecution, were actually set at liberty; though for the most part they made a very bad return for the favour they had received.

In 1585, Dr. William Parry, a civilian and member of the house of commons, took occasion to inveigh bitterly against the act then passed for the banishing of the Jesuits, which he pronounced to be a cruel, bloody, desperate bill; and averred that it would be destructive to the kingdom of England.

This strange speech excited great indignation, and some suspicion; in consequence of which the doctor was examined before the privy council, but at that time he made his submission, and was discharged.

Shortly afterwards, he was accused, by some of his confederates, with being concerned in a plot to cut off the queen, for which he was again taken up, and, on his own confession, underwent the penalty of the law. These examples, however, had not the effect of deterring the Romanists from practices to which they were encouraged by the papal mandate; and the execution of which they were persuaded would ensure them a heavenly reward. Some Englishmen in the seminary at Rheims were so bigoted to the papal supremacy, that they actually received the bull of pope Pius the Fifth, excommunicating their queen, as the dictate of the Holy Ghost. Having imbibed this pernicious delusion, it was no wonder that they should consider it as a meritorious act to despatch anathematized princes. This opinion being strongly inculcated by the heads of the college, one John Savage became so infatuated as to undertake the desperate design of killing the queen, in which resolution he was strengthened by the assurances of his tutors and confessors, that if he succeeded, he would gain immortal renown, and that even if he failed, he would be rewarded with the glory of a martyr. At the same time these sanguinary hypocrites published a sort of pastoral letter to the English Catholics, desiring them not to disturb the government, or attempt any thing against their sovereign; but to have recourse to prayers and tears, which were the only justifiable preparations for Christian subjects; and that fasting and devotion were the proper defensives against persecution.

While these men were thus acting a double part, pretending loyalty, to cover their treasonable practices, John Ballard, a priest, was sent over to France to concert an expedition against England; which design was fostered by the Pope, the king of Spain, the house of Guise, and the prince of Parma, who was then governor of the Low Countries. Ballard having succeeded in his mission abroad, returned home under the name of Captain Foscue, and opened the business to Anthony Babington, a young gentleman of good estate in Derbyshire, who was principally led to join in the conspiracy for the purpose of delivering the queen of Scots from her confinement; but by his zeal he only hastened the catastrophe of that unfortunate woman, who became the victim of the nefarious designs of others.

In the mean time, Babington went on with the concern which he had undertaken, and brought over a number of Catholics to the scheme, among whom were Charles Tilney, one of the band of pensioners, and Chidick Tichburne, a gentleman of Hampshire, who were both pitched upon to assassinate the queen; and when they demurred, Ballard and Babington undertook to remove their scruples, by saying "that it was lawful to kill a prince excommunicated by the Pope; and that if justice was violated by the means, the end sanctioned it, as being for the sake of the Catholic religion." Upon these assurances and persuasions, they assented to what was proposed; but Savage and the other conspirators, being ready for any desperate mischief, needed no arguments to induce them to enter upon the sanguinary business. It was about this crisis that sir Francis Walsingham, by his agent, became acquainted with the whole design, and having got, by the same means, the letters of the queen of Scots into his possession, her fate was sealed, and she suffered soon after. On the 13th of September, 1586, seven of the traitors were arraigned, and confessed their guilt; namely, Ballard, Babington, Savage, Barnwell,

Tichburne, Tilney, and Abington; and though the rest persisted in their innocence, the proofs were too strong to be doubted; in consequence of which, fourteen persons were put to death, and one hung himself in prison.

The defeat of this enterprise rather hastened than retarded the project of an invasion, upon which the Romanists placed their main hopes. Even the astrologers were drawn into the service, and the almanacks contained predictions that the year 1588 would be marked by a wonderful event. To fulfil the prophecy, the Pope and cardinals, with the whole body of the clergy, urged the king of Spain to facilitate the expedition which he had been so long preparing for the reduction of England. They said, that, since Providence had blessed his arms with the conquest of Portugal, he was bound to do something by way of return, and that nothing would be more acceptable to God Almighty, or becoming a Christian prince, than to enlarge the pale of the church. They added, that this glorious undertaking could not be executed to more advantage than by subduing England, exterminating heresy, and restoring the Catholic religion. The justice of the war they endeavoured to prove by shewing, that as the queen was excommunicated, it became not only expedient but an act of duty in all crowned heads to deprive her of the dominions which she had now no right to hold; and the possession of which gave her the means of annoying her neighbours.

Thus stimulated by the ecclesiastics, the Spanish monarch, whose inclinations to gain so great a prize equalled the vengeful desire of his instigators, redoubled his diligence, and every part of Europe resounded with the noise of his preparations. The marquis of Santa Croce, a naval officer of great experience, was destined to command the fleet; and in all the ports of Sicily, Naples, Spain, and Portugal, artisans were incessantly employed in building vessels of uncommon size and force; military stores were collected in all quarters; armies were levied, and dispersed along the coast; and every thing threatened the most formidable enterprise that had ever crossed the ocean. The duke of Parma was to conduct the land forces, twenty thousand of whom were on board the fleet, and thirty-four thousand more were assembled in the Netherlands, ready to be transported into England. The most renowned of the nobility and princes of Italy and Spain were ambitious of sharing in the honour of the undertaking, to which the Pope gave his blessing by a solemn consecration of the navy, and designating it the INVINCIBLE ARMADA. A great number of ecclesiastics accompanied the expedition; and, to crown all, so sure were they of carrying their object, all the vessels contained a quantity of racks, wheels, and instruments of torture; it being resolved, for the utter extirpation of heresy, to establish the Inquisition in the country which, by anticipation, was already conquered. When the news reached England that this mighty armament was ready for sailing, terror and consternation seized the inhabitants. A fleet of thirty small ships was all that they had to oppose to this enormous force; notwithstanding which, the government exerted itself with spirit to meet the exigency. All the commercial towns of the kingdom were immediately called upon to furnish vessels, armed, victualled, and manned to act against the enemy. The citizens of London, on this occasion, set a noble example; for, instead of fifteen vessels which they were required to equip, they fitted out double the number; and the gentry and nobility also furnished forty-three ships at their own charges. Lord Howard of Effingham was the admiral, under whom served Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, all of them celebrated for their skill and valour. The principal division was stationed at Plymouth; and a smaller squadron,

consisting of forty vessels, commanded by lord Seymour, lay off Dunkirk, to keep the duke of Parma in check. An army of twenty thousand men was disposed in different bodies along the southern shore of the kingdom; and another of twenty-two thousand foot and one thousand horse was stationed at Tilbury, to cover the capital; while the main force of thirty-four thousand foot and two thousand horse, commanded by lord Hunsdon, constituted the reserve. In the midst of all this danger the queen appeared undismayed, issued her orders with firmness, animated her people to resistance, and appeared on horseback at Tilbury, where she addressed the soldiers in these words:—"My loving people, we have been persuaded by some that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery; but I assure you, I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear; I have always so behaved myself, that, under God, I have placed my chief strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good will of my subjects. And therefore I am come amongst you at this time; not as for my recreation or sport, but, being resolved, in the midst and heat of the battle, to live or die amongst you all; to lay down, for my God, and for my kingdom, and for my people, my honour, and my blood, even in the dust. I know I have but the body of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart of a king, and of a king of England too; and think foul scorn, that Parma, or Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realms. To which, rather than any dishonour should grow by me, I myself will take up arms; I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. I know already, by your forwardness, that you have deserved rewards and crowns; and do assure you, on the word of a prince, that they shall be duly paid you. In the mean time, my lieutenant-general shall be in my stead, than whom never prince commanded a more noble and worthy subject; not doubting, by your obedience to my general, by your concord in the camp, and your valour in the field, we shall shortly have a famous victory over these enemies of my God, of my kingdom, and of my people."

On hearing this animating address, a spirit of enthusiasm seized the soldiers, and they asked one another whether it were possible that Englishmen could abandon the glorious cause in which they had embarked, or could by any danger be induced to relinquish the defence of so glorious a heroine? The Armada was ready for sailing at the beginning of May 1588, but its departure was retarded by the death of the marquis de Santa Croce, and that of the vice-admiral the duke of Paliano. The command of the expedition was therefore given to the duke of Medina Sidonia, a man totally ignorant of nautical affairs: which promotion in some degree served to frustrate the design, but it was injured by other accidents. Upon leaving the port of Lisbon, the fleet encountered a violent tempest, which damaged several of the vessels, and compelled the whole to put back to refit. After some delay, they put to sea again, and on the passage took a fishing boat, the master of which informed them that the English, hearing of the dispersion of the Armada by the storm, had laid up their own fleet, and dismissed the seamen. Encouraged by this false intelligence, the Spanish admiral, instead of sailing directly to the coast of Flanders, to receive the troops stationed there, as he had been instructed, determined to steer for Plymouth, and destroy the shipping in that harbour, which resolution saved England. The *Lizard* was the land made by the Armada about sunset; and as the Spaniards mistook it for

the Ram-head near Plymouth, they stood off to sea, with the intention of returning on the next morning. At this time they were descried by Fleming, a Scotch adventurer, who immediately informed the English admiral of their approach; which was another circumstance that contributed to the national safety. Lord Effingham had just time to clear the port when he saw the Spanish Armada coming full sail towards him, disposed in the form of a crescent, and stretching to the distance of seven miles from the extremity of one division to that of the other. The noble admiral gave orders not to come to close action with the Spaniards, for he suspected that the size of their ships and the number of their men would be a disadvantage to the English; but to cannonade them at a distance, and to wait the opportunity which winds, currents, and various other accidents, would afford, of intercepting and annoying them, when detached from each other. Nor was it long before the event answered his expectation; and evinced the wisdom of his directions. A great ship of Biscay, having on board a considerable treasure, took fire; and while all hands were employed in extinguishing the flames, she fell behind, as also did another galleon by springing her mainmast; so that both vessels were easily taken by sir Francis Drake. As the Armada advanced up the channel, the English hung upon its rear, and kept skirmishing with such ships as came in their way. Each trial abated the confidence of the Spaniards, and added courage to their opponents; for the latter, finding that the unwieldy size of the invaders rendered them in fact less formidable than was at first imagined, attacked them in every direction. Their extraordinary bulk indeed only exposed them the more to the fire of the enemy; while their own shot, owing to the elevation of their cannon, passed over the heads of the English.

The alarm being now general, the nobility and gentry hastened out with their vessels from every harbour, and reinforced the admiral: which increased the English fleet to one hundred and forty-four sail, of different dimensions. The Armada on reaching Calais roads cast anchor, expecting to be joined there by the duke of Parma. Effingham at this time practised a successful stratagem, by sending among the Spaniards some small vessels filled with combustibles, which kind of fireships made them cut their cables and put out to sea, in such disorder, that the English, taking advantage of the confusion, fell upon them, and destroyed or captured about twelve of the largest size. All this while the duke of Parma remained in harbour, being afraid to encounter the English ships; so that the Spanish admiral, perceiving that he had no chance of success, prepared to return homewards; but as the wind was contrary, he resolved to sail north about, and reach Spain by the western ocean. In pursuing this course he was followed by the English fleet for some time; and had not their ammunition fallen short, very few of the Spaniards would have escaped. So desperate was the situation of the duke of Medina, that at one time he was about to surrender at discretion; when he was dissuaded from it by the advice of his confessor. In the end, the invaders suffered still more from the elements than from the enemy they had come to destroy; for, after passing the Orkneys, a furious tempest came on, by which many of the ships were driven on the Western isles of Scotland, or the coast of Ireland, so that not above one half of this mighty navy returned to Spain, where the seamen and soldiers gave a dreadful account of their sufferings. Thus terminated an enterprise that had taken up three years in preparation, exhausted the Spanish treasury, and was intended to have destroyed the civil liberties as well as the reformed religion in England.

This disgrace exasperated the Spaniards so much, that in 1504 they employed one Roderigo Lopez, a Jewish physician, to poison the queen; and about the same time Stephen Ferreira Gama, and Emanuel Loaisio, two natives of Portugal, undertook for the same government the base work of assassination, in case the former attempt should fail. Such, however, was the vigilance of the English ministers, who had agents and spies in every court, that the whole scheme was discovered, and the three miscreants were executed; together with one Cullen, an Irishman, who came over from Flanders for the same purpose. Not long after this, Edmund York and Richard Williams were hired by the Spaniards to cut off the queen; but Providence again frustrated the diabolical design, and these wretches, on their own confession, suffered the just vengeance of the law. These executions had the desired effect, and no more conspiracies of the same tendency were heard of, during the remainder of this long and glorious reign. We have thought it necessary to give the narrative of them in this work, as exhibiting the true spirit of Popery, which, when in power, tyrannizes over consciences; and when divested of it, becomes restless, seditious, and capable of any vile practices to gain an ascendancy. The principle of persecution is the same in both cases; for had the Romanists carried their object in overturning the Protestant establishment by destroying the queen, it is obvious that scenes equally sanguinary with those which marked the preceding reign, would have taken place.

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#### HISTORY OF THE GUNPOWDER TREASON.

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ON the death of queen Elizabeth, the Romanists formed great expectations from her successor, James the Sixth of Scotland, thinking that, out of reverence to the memory of his mother, who was considered as a martyr to the Catholic faith, he would, at least, manifest a spirit of indulgence to the professors of the same religion. But whatever might be the private inclinations of the king himself, he had it not in his power to relax the severity of the penal laws in England, which the Papists had, in fact, brought upon themselves by their repeated attempts to embroil the nation in rebellion, and to bring it under a foreign yoke. Exasperated at their disappointment, this restless party now began to form new conspiracies against the Protestant government. At the head of this cabal was Robert Catesby, a gentleman of good estate in Northamptonshire, who had already expended two thousand pounds in several voyages to Spain, for the purpose of negotiating another invasion of England, to overturn the established church and constitution. In this design, however, he failed, for the court of Madrid was too much depressed by the disgrace of the former expedition, to undertake a new one. Catesby, being thus defeated in his foreign hopes, resolved to go another way to work, and by a stretch of malevolence which exceeded all that was ever heard of before in the records of human depravity, conceived the diabolical idea of destroying at a blow, by springing a mine, the three states of the realm, namely, the king, lords, and commons, in parliament assembled. While his mind laboured with this infernal thought, Thomas Percy, a gentleman pensioner, and nearly related to the earl of Northumberland, hinted to him, in a fit of passion, the design of assassinating the king. Catesby, perceiving that this was a man fit for his purpose, opened his own scheme to him without reserve; and Percy not only caught at it eagerly, but declared that it was the noblest and most extensive plan that could be



devised. The matter was next imparted to Thomas and Robert Winter, of Haddington in Worcestershire, with whom were soon associated John and Christopher Wright, sir Everard Digby, John Grant, Francis Tresham, Ambrose Rookwood, Robert Keys, Thomas Bates, and Guido or Guy Fawkes, a gentleman who owned the manor of Lambeth, and had a house there called Vauxhall. These were all persons of property and experience in life; yet Dr. Milner, the Catholic historian, and a prelate of that communion, says they were "rash youths, comparatively of small consequence, and looked upon as apostates and outcasts." This declaration, if true, would be of little consequence, when offered as a palliative of the guilt it is meant to cover; since these persons acted under the influence of their religious principles, which taught them that it was meritorious to root out heresy by any means. But in truth, the conspirators were neither immature in years, nor insignificant in personal consequence. Most of them had seen much of the world, abroad and at home; and, instead of being considered as outcasts and apostates, they were supported and encouraged by their spiritual superiors, who blessed the design, and did all they could to further the execution. The place of meeting was a house behind St. Clement's church in the Strand, where an oath was administered to each conspirator by father Gerrard, a Jesuit, to the following effect: "You shall swear by the Blessed Trinity, and by the Sacrament you now purpose to receive, never to disclose, either directly or indirectly, by word or circumstance, the matter which shall be proposed to you to keep secret, nor desist from the execution thereof, until the rest shall give you leave."

These consultations were held in the spring and summer of 1604; at the close of which year they began their operations. Their first object was to procure a place where they could most securely form the intended mine beneath the parliament house; and this concern was intrusted to Percy, who, from his situation at court, was most likely to remain unsuspected. Percy accordingly hired the lower part of a house, occupied by one Whinyard, keeper of the old palace; the cellars of which premises were immediately contiguous to the vaults under the house of lords. Having thus far succeeded, the conspirators began their preparations, but none of them was seen except Percy the principal, and Fawkes, who passed as his servant. To avoid all suspicion, baked meats were carried into the house from time to time; and the implements for the work were conveyed thither so privately as to pass unobserved. On the 11th of December they began to dig in the cellar through the wall of partition, which was three yards thick; and by Candlemas-day, 1605, they had proceeded so far as to be able to hear a noise on the other side. They were so much alarmed, that, laying aside their tools, they took up their fire-arms; but while expecting an enemy, their fears were dissipated by the agreeable intelligence which Fawkes brought them, that the noise proceeded from the clearing of the neighbouring cellar, where a quantity of coals had been deposited, and that the place was now to be let. This news gave them great satisfaction, because it afforded them the very object for which they had been so long labouring. Percy, therefore, took the cellar immediately, and bought the remainder of the coals, to which Fawkes added a quantity of wood brought from Lambeth, under the pretext that it would be wanted for the winter. Hither also, at different times, he conveyed as much gunpowder as filled two hogsheads and thirty-two small barrels, all which had been purchased in Holland. Over these were laid coals, stones, iron bars, chained bolts, and fagots. While things were in this state of forwardness, a

prorogation of parliament took place till the 5th of November; in consequence of which the conspirators dispersed for the present, to prepare their instruments in other directions. Fawkes went over to Flanders, to bring sir William Stanley and Mr. Hugh Owen, two zealous papists, into the confederacy, in which he completely succeeded, and both engaged to appear in arms with a respectable force as soon as the blow should be struck. At the same time Catesby and Percy went among their Catholic friends in the country, to procure coadjutors, and secure the means for a general insurrection. Every thing being adjusted, and the fatal day drawing near, they returned, as well as Fawkes, to London, where the business went on with fresh vigour; the priests on their part being equally active, and offering up masses for the prosperity of the design.

In these prostituted religious offices they used the following ambiguous prayer, "Prosper, O Lord, their pains that labour in thy cause day and night. Let heresy vanish away like smoke, and let the memory of the wicked perish with a crack, like the ruin and fall of a broken house."

In the event of success, it was resolved to throw the odium of the deed upon the Puritans, who were at that time very much discontented with the government, on account of the rigorous measures that had been adopted against them, so different from what they had been led to expect at the opening of the new reign. The next object to which the conspirators directed their attention, was to get the political power into their own hands, after the destruction of the king and heir apparent. For this purpose, Percy and another undertook to seize prince Charles, then duke of York, and either despatch him instantly or take him abroad. But the grand intention of the insurgents was to proclaim the infant princess Elizabeth as queen; thinking that it would be much easier to bring her up in the Catholic persuasion than her brother. She was at this time living with lady Harrington, near Dunchurch in Warwickshire; and the conspirators, for the more effectual attainment of their object, determined to have a grand hunting match in that neighbourhood, under which cover a numerous band of recusants proposed to enter the park, and carry off the princess while the domestics were unprepared for resistance. As the time drew near for the perpetration of this enormous villany, a few of the confederates began to feel a degree of uneasiness, not about the wickedness itself, but in a sympathetic concern for such of their own party as were likely to fall victims on this occasion. As there were several Catholics in parliament, these persons doubted whether it would be just to involve friends and enemies in the same calamity. To solve this knotty question, the Jesuits were consulted, and they, with their accustomed dexterity, determined that a great end sanctified the means; and that where a general good was to be accomplished, the sacrifice of innocent individuals, if it could not be avoided without endangering the design, was perfectly lawful. Henry Garnet, the provincial of the order, who had grown gray in the service, approved of this infamous doctrine, and instead of dehorting the assassins from their purpose, he received their confessions, gave them absolution, and prayed for their success.

The ties of blood, however, could not be deadened by casuistry; and some of these deluded men, as they approached the yawning gulf, felt anxious to save their particular connexions. More than one letter of warning was sent, to prevent persons from attending the opening of parliament; but only one of these monitory epistles seems to have excited notice, or to have produced any effect. Lord Montague, a Catholic peer, married the sister of Tresham; and his own



sister was the wife of Thomas Habington, Esq. of Hendlip in Worcestershire, who had a full knowledge of the conspiracy. This nobleman, therefore, very naturally became an object of concern to one, if not both, of his relatives; the consequence of which was, that he received, about ten days before the opening of the session, an anonymous letter, as follows: "My lord,—Out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation. Therefore I would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift off your attendance at this parliament; for God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time. And think not slightly of this advertisement, but retire yourself into your country, where you may expect the event in safety. For though there be no appearance of any stir, yet, I say, they shall receive a terrible blow this parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm; for the danger is past so soon as you have burnt this letter: and I hope God will give you grace to make good use of it; to whose holy protection I commend you."

Lord Monteagle at first thought that some person meant either to play a joke with him, or, by practising upon his fears, keep him from the discharge of his public duty. After considering the letter more attentively, however, he deemed it prudent to take the opinion of the secretary of state, lord Salisbury. The statesman, with all his sagacity, was at first disposed to treat it as a whimsical thing of no moment; but the lord chamberlain, the earl of Suffolk, looked upon it in a different light, and surmised that the words about "punishing the wickedness of the time by a terrible blow, without seeing the danger," meant some secret design; and that, therefore, it would be advisable to lay the letter before the king. In this advice the earls of Northampton and Worcester concurred; but as the sending off an express to his majesty, who was at Royston, would have created alarm, it was resolved to wait till he should come to town. On reading the letter, the king was much struck with the earnestness of the caution to keep away from the parliament, and his constitutional timidity made him apprehend that some dreadful evil was intended. It is also said that he mentioned an explosion by gunpowder as the thing probably meant; and therefore ordered a search to be made about the house of parliament.

There is reason, however, to believe that the earl of Suffolk anticipated the sovereign in this idea; though it is very likely that when once started, the latter, remembering the fate of his father, might be very powerfully affected by the suggestion. Let all this be as it may, on the afternoon of the 4th of November, the lord chamberlain, accompanied by lord Monteagle, went to make an inspection of the parliament house. On going to examine the cellar, the earl was surprised to see so much wood, and inquired of Whinyard, to whom it belonged. Being told that the premises had been let to one Mr. Percy, a gentleman pensioner, the chamberlain observed, it was singular he should want so much fuel; but lord Monteagle recollected, at the same time, that this man had recently expressed towards him extraordinary professions of friendship, which would have made it likely that the letter came from him, if he had not been in the north of England. When the report was made to the king, he was far from satisfied, but ordered that another inspection should be made. Accordingly, sir Thomas Knevet, steward of Westminster, went at midnight, and, under the pretext of searching for some stolen tapestry hangings, was about to enter the cellar, when he met Fawkes coming out, booted and spurred.

On seizing and searching him, a tinder-box and three matches were found in his pockets; but no questions were asked till the wood was removed, when the discovery of the barrels of powder made his guilty design so apparent, that he said, "had he known what would have happened, he would have blown up himself with the house, rather than a discovery should have taken place; which last was owing to the devil, for that the Almighty would have concealed what he had directed." The next day, the miscreant, though still bold and undaunted, acted with more reserve; and declared to the council, on being pressed to name his accomplices, that "he was ready to die, but that he would rather suffer ten thousand deaths than willingly accuse his master or any other person." By repeated examinations, however, and assurances that his master was taken, he at length acknowledged, that "whilst he was abroad, Percy kept the keys of the cellar; that he had been in it since the depositing of the powder there, and that he was one of the principal actors in the meditated tragedy."

In the mean time, the rest of the conspirators who were about town, on learning the fate of their enterprise, seized what horses they could, and hastened down to Dunchurch, where Digby, with the other band, was to have performed their part. But the detection of the plot put a stop to the hunting scene, and the whole party fled to Holbeach, the seat of sir Stephen Lyttleton, in Staffordshire, whither they were followed by sir Richard Walsh, the high sheriff of Worcestershire, who commanded them to surrender. But the place being strong, they prepared for defending themselves, when another disaster befell them, for in drying their powder, it exploded, by which some of them were so dreadfully burned as to be rendered incapable of managing their weapons. Their case was now desperate, and as no means of escape could be devised, those of them who had strength resolved to sell their lives dearly, by cutting their way through the besiegers. In the attempt, Catesby, Percy, and the two Wrights, were killed; but Thomas Winter, Digby, Rookwood, and Bates, were taken. Tresham was afterwards apprehended in London, and sent to the Tower, where he died of the strangury; but not till he had made an ample disclosure of the plot. Robert Winter, Lyttleton, and a Jesuit named Oldcorn, were taken in the woods; but some of the conspirators effected their passage to the sea-side, and got over to Calais, where one of them said he should have endured his exile gloriously, had the design taken effect; which impudent speech gave such offence to the honest governor De Vic, that, had it not been for fear of his own court, he would have thrown the wretch into the sea. On the 27th of January the trials of the prisoners took place, when eight of them were convicted; but one only out of the number pleaded guilty. This was Digby, who, with Robert Winter, Grant, and Bates, suffered in St. Paul's church-yard on the 30th of the same month. Thomas Winter, Keys, Rookwood, and Fawkes, were executed in Old Palace Yard on the day following; Lyttleton and Oldcorn, with some others, were hung at Worcester. Henry Garnet was tried on the 25th of March, for his knowledge and concealment of the conspiracy, administering an oath of secrecy to the plotters, persuading them of the lawfulness of the treason, and praying for its success. In his defence, he endeavoured to justify his conduct by pleading the obligation of his order, as a priest, to maintain inviolable whatever was imparted to him under the seal of confession. At his execution, however, which was deferred till the 3d of May, he owned his error, and earnestly warned all the members of his church against such practices, as being a course which God would never prosper

In the same altered disposition of mind, when some zealot told him that he would be a martyr, he shrunk back, and, conscious of the glaring absurdity of the ascription, cried out, "I a martyr! O what a martyr!" Yet this father Garnet has been commended by no less a man than Dr. Milner, the present champion of Popery, for his fortitude in keeping a secret, which, but for the interposition of divine Providence, would have sent some hundreds instantaneously into eternity, and plunged the whole nation into the horrors of civil war! This is a proof that Popery remains ever the same in spirit, and only wants power to commit the same atrocities as marked its progress in former ages. The same Dr. Milner has carried his temerity still farther than this, by endeavouring to shift the odium of the conspiracy from his own community to the Protestants, by boldly asserting that the whole was a political artifice of the secretary lord Salisbury, to furnish a pretext for enforcing the penal statutes against the innocent Catholics.

But if this were really the case, for which not the shadow of a proof can be adduced, how is the cause of Popery subserved by the circumstance? That there was a conspiracy cannot be denied, and that the Romanists only suffered for it is equally true; but, more than this, it is a well-known fact that the names of the Jesuits, who on this occasion forfeited their lives to the offended laws of their country, were held in great reverence abroad, and their pictures set up in the monasteries and colleges, as of persons who had distinguished themselves honourably for the benefit of the church. If these men fell into a snare laid for them by a wily politician, the bait was one which accorded with their own public principles; otherwise it would have been in vain for Cecil, or any other Protestant statesman, to have succeeded in drawing them into a scheme of this tendency. Let the point therefore, turn which way it will, the Gunpowder Treason affords a clear evidence that Popery is adverse to Christian charity, and repugnant to the civil and religious liberties of mankind.

It merits notice in this place, that the very instrument pitched upon by these conspirators as the fittest they could select to complete their design of forming a Roman Catholic government, proved in the course of years the means under Providence of securing the Protestant religion and constitution. The princess Elizabeth, upon whose minority, education, and marriage, the Papists fixed their hopes, married the Elector Palatine, one of the firmest defenders of the reformed faith in Germany; and though the alliance in some respects was unfortunate, it was exceedingly fruitful; and the youngest branch of this family, Sophia, became the mother of the Elector of Hanover; who, by virtue of the act of settlement, succeeded to the throne of Great Britain on the demise of queen Anne.

#### *The remarkable History of JOHN MOLLE.*

THIS confessor was born at South Molton in Devonshire, and, after receiving a liberal education in his own country, went to France, where he attained so perfect a knowledge of the language, that he made a dictionary of it for his own use. While abroad, he also gained much dangerous experience, for the ship in which he was, sprung a leak, whereby he and all the company would have perished, had not a Dutch vessel, bound for Guernsey, taken them on board, which was scarcely accomplished when the other sunk. At another time, while treasurer to the English army in Flanders, under sir Thomas Shirley, he was wounded at the battle of Cambray, and taken prisoner; but obtained his liberty by

paying a ransom. On his return to England, he was appointed by Thomas, earl of Exeter, one of his examiners in the office of president of the North; and so highly did that nobleman esteem Mr. Molle, that he intrusted him with the tutorship of his grandson, the lord Roos; which charge he undertook with great reluctance, and under the express condition that, in travelling, he should not pass the Alps. But when they reached the continent, a vagary seized the young lord that he must go to Rome; and though Mr. Molle did what he could to dissuade him from his rash purpose, all his arguments and remonstrances were thrown away. In this dilemma, what could the good man do? To leave his pupil, would have been a desertion of his trust; and to go along with him, was to endanger his own life. In this difficulty, the sense of duty prevailed against his judgment, and prizing his fidelity beyond his own security, he unwillingly prepared to attend the obstinate youth.

Now, at what rate soever they rode to Rome, the fame of their coming went thither before them; so that they no sooner had entered their inn, than the officers were there, who asked for Mr. Molle, took and carried him to the Inquisition, where he remained a prisoner, whilst lord Roos was daily feasted, favoured, and entertained. Thus the conscientious tutor at once lost the comfort of his wife, children, friends, country, and liberty; being kept in most strict restraint: "to all which (says Dr. Fuller in his Church History) may be added, the vexatious visits of importunate priests and Jesuits, daily hacking at the root of his constancy with their objections, till, finding their tools blunted, they at last left him to his own conscience. However, such was his glorious fortitude, that whilst he looked forward on his course, and upwards to his crown, neither frights nor flattery could make any impression on him; insomuch that it is questionable whether his friends did more pity his misery, or admire his patience."

The principal occasion of this long and strict imprisonment is said to have been his translating Du Plessis' Book on "the Visibility of the Church," out of French into English; but Fuller insinuates that the cruel treatment which Mr. Molle received was owing to some base contrivances of the Popish faction. In vain did his friends in England, though great and numerous, endeavour to procure his enlargement, by exchange for one or more recusants who were prisoners here; for the inquisitors rejected every overture of this kind, lest the sufferer should give to the world an account of their cruel practices.

In all the time of his confinement he never heard from one friend, nor any from him, either by word or letter. How great his sufferings were, is only known to God who permitted, to his foes who inflicted, and to himself who endured them; no friend being allowed to speak to him alone. The only Englishman ever permitted to see him was Mr. Walter Strickland, of Boynton House in Yorkshire, who with great difficulty procured that favour by means of an Irish friar, the same person standing by all the time to witness their discourse.

Here he remained thirty years in restraint, and died a prisoner in the eighty-first year of his age, a constant confessor of Christ's cause. The time of his dissolution is supposed to have been about 1638, and as he died unreconciled to the church of Rome, his body was deemed unworthy of Christian burial. Mr. Molle left behind him a widow with several children; and one of his sons, Henry Molle, master of arts, became orator of the university of Cambridge.

Among the epistles of the pious bishop Hall, is the following, thus inscribed:—

"TO MR. JOHN MOLLE, of a long time now prisoner under the Inquisition at Rome. Exciting him to his wonted constancy; and encouraging him to martyrdom.

"What passage can these lines hope to find into that your strait and curious thralldom? Yet, who would not adventure the loss of this pains for him which is ready to lose himself for Christ? What do we not owe to you, which have thus given yourself for the common faith? Blessed be the name of that God, who hath singled you out for his champion, and made you invincible. How famous are your bonds! how glorious your constancy! Oh, that out of your close obscurity you could but see the honour of your suffering; the affections of God's saints; and, in some, a holy envy at your distressed happiness.

"Those walls cannot hide you. No man is attended with so many eyes from earth and heaven. The church, your mother, beholds you, not with more compassion than joy; neither can it be said, how she at once pities your misery and rejoices in your patience. The blessed angels look upon you with gratulation and applause: the adversaries, with an angry sorrow, to see themselves overcome by their captive; their obstinate cruelty overmatched with humble resolution and faithful perseverance. Your Saviour sees you from above; not as a mere spectator, but as a patient with you, in you, for you: yea, as an agent in your endurance and victory; giving new courage with the one hand, and holding out a crown with the other. Whom would not these sights encourage? Who now can pity your solitariness? The hearts of all good men are with you. Neither can that place be but full of angels, which is the continual object of so many prayers: yea, the God of heaven was never so near you, as now you are removed from men. Let me speak a bold, but true word: It is as possible for him to be absent from his heaven; as from the prisons of his saints. The glorified spirits above, sing to him: the persecuted souls below, suffer for him, and cry to him: he is magnified in both; present with both; the faith of the one is as pleasing to him as the triumph of the other.

"Nothing obligeth us men so much, as smarting for us. Words of defence are worthy of thanks; but pain is esteemed above recompense. How do we kiss the wounds which are taken for our sakes; and profess that we would hate ourselves, if we did not love those that dare bleed for us? How much more shall the God of mercies be sensible of your sorrows, and crown your patience! to whom you may truly sing that ditty of the prophet, 'Surely for thy sake am I slain continually, and am counted as a sheep for the slaughter!'

"What need I to stir up your constancy, which hath already amazed and wearied your persecutors? No suspicion shall drive me hereto; but rather the thirst of your praise. He that exhorts to persist in well doing, while he persuades, commendeth. Whither should I rather send you, than to the sight of your own Christian fortitude, which neither prayers nor threats have been able to shake. Here stand, on the one hand, liberty, promotion, pleasure, life, and, which easily exceeds all these, the dear respect of wife and children, whom your only resolution shall make widow and orphans: these, with smiles, and vows, and tears, seem to importune you: on the other hand, bondage, solitude, horror, death, and the most lingering of all miseries, ruin of posterity; these, with frowns and menaces, labour to affright you: betwixt both, you have stood unmoved; fixing your eyes either right forward upon the cause of your suffering, or upwards upon the crown of your reward.

"It is a happy thing, when our own actions may be either examples or arguments of good. These blessed proceedings call you on to your perfection; the reward of good beginnings prosecuted, is doubled; neglected, is lost. How vain are those temptations, which would make you a loser of all this praise, this recompense! Go on, therefore, happily: keep your eyes where they are; and your heart cannot be but where it is, and where it ought. Look still for what you suffer: and for whom, for truth; for Christ.

"What can be so precious as truth? Not life itself. All earthly things are not so vile to life, as life to truth: life is momentary; truth eternal; life is our's, the truth God's. O happy purchase, to give our life for the truth! What can we suffer too much for Christ? He hath given our life to us: he hath given his own life for us. What great thing is it, if he require what he hath given us; if ours, for his? Yea, rather, if he call for what he hath lent us? Yet not to be-reave, but to change it; giving us gold for clay, glory for our corruption. Behold that Saviour of your's weeping, and bleeding, and dying for you; alas! our souls are too strait for his sorrows: we can be made but pain for him; he was made sin for us: we sustain for him but the impotent anger of men; he struggled with the infinite wrath of his Father for us. Oh, who can endure enough for him, that hath passed through death and hell for his soul? Think this, and you shall resolve, with David, 'I will be yet more vile for the Lord.'

"The worst of the despight of men, is but death; and that, if they inflict not, a disease will; or if not that, age. There is no imposition of that, which would not be; but a hastening of that, which will be;—a hastening to your gain.

"For, behold, their violence shall turn your necessity into virtue and profit. Nature hath made you mortal; none but an enemy can make you a martyr. You must die, though they will not: you cannot die for Christ, but by them. How could they else devise to make you happy? since the giver of both lives hath said, 'He that shall lose his life for my sake, shall save it.' Lo, this alone is lost with keeping, and gained by loss.

"Say you were freed upon the safest conditions, and returning; as how welcome should that news be, more to yours, than to yourself! Perhaps death may meet you in the way; perhaps overtake you at home: neither place nor time can promise immunity from the common destiny of men. Those that may abridge your hours, cannot lengthen them; and, while they last, cannot secure them from vexation: yea, themselves shall follow you into their dust, and cannot avoid what they can inflict: death shall equally tyrannize by them, and over them. So their favours are but fruitless, their malice gainful: for it shall change your prison into heaven, your fetters into a crown, your jailors to angels, your misery into glory.

"Look up to your future estate, and rejoice in the present. Behold the tree of life, the hidden manna, the sceptre of power, the morning star, the white garment, the new name, the crown, and throne of heaven, are addressed for you. Overcome, and enjoy them. O glorious condition of martyrs! whom conformity in death hath made like their Saviour in blessedness; whose honour is to attend him for ever, whom they have joyed to imitate. 'What are these, which are arrayed in long white robes; and whence came they? These are (says that heavenly Elder) they which came out of great tribulation; and washed their robes, and have made their robes white in the blood of the Lamb. Therefore they are in the presence of the throne of God; and serve him day and night in his temple; and he that sitteth on the throne will dwell among them, and govern

them, and lead them unto the living fountains of water; and God shall wipe all tears from their eyes.'

"All the elect have seals in their foreheads; but martyrs have palms in their hands. All the elect have white robes: martyrs, both white and long; white, for their glory; long, for the largeness of their glory; once red with their own blood, now white with the blood of the Lamb: there is nothing in our blood but weak obedience; nothing but merit in the Lamb's blood. Behold, his merit makes our obedience glorious. You do but sprinkle his feet with your blood: lo, he washes your long white robes with his. Every drop of your blood is answered with a stream of his; and every drop of his is worth rivers of ours. 'Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints:' precious in prevention; precious in acceptance; precious in remuneration. Oh, give willingly that which you cannot keep, that you may receive what you cannot lose. The way is steep; but now you breathe towards the top. Let not the want of some few steps lose you an eternal rest. Put to the strength of your own faith. The prayers of God's saints shall further your pace; and that gracious hand that sustains heaven and earth, shall uphold, and secretly draw you up to your glory. Go on to credit the gospel with your perseverance; and shew the false-hearted clients of that Roman court, that the Truth yields real and hearty professors; such as dare no less smart, than speak, for her.

"Without the walls of your restraint, where can you look beside encouragements of suffering? Behold, in this, how much you are happier than your many predecessors: those have found friends, or wives, or children, the most dangerous of all tempters; suggestions of weakness, when they come masked with love, are more powerful to hurt: but you, all your many friends, in the valour of their Christian love, wish rather a blessed martyr, than a living and prosperous revolter. Yea, your dear wife, worthy of this honour to be the wife of a martyr, prefers your faith to her affection; and, in a courage beyond her sex, contemns the worst misery of your loss: professing she would redeem your life with her's, but that she would not redeem it with your yieldance; and while she looks upon those many pawns of your chaste love, your hopeful children, wishes rather to see them fatherless, than their father unfaithful. The greatest part of your sufferings are hers; she bears them with a cheerful resolution: she divides with you in your sorrows, in your patience; she shall not be divided in your glory. For us, we shall accompany you with our prayers; and follow you with our thankful commemorations; vowing to write your name in red letters, in the kalendars of our hearts; and to register it, in the monuments of perpetual records, as an example to all posterity. 'The memorial of the just shall be blessed.'

#### *Singular Judgment upon a Persecutor.*

THE excellent writer of the above letter, in an account of his travels through Flanders, written to sir Thomas Chaloner, gives the following narrative of a circumstance that happened at Limburg:—"One thing I may not omit, without sinful oversight; a short, but memorable story, which the greffier of that town, though of different religion, reported to more ears than ours. When the last inquisition tyrannized in those parts, and helped to spend the fagots of Ardenne; one of the rest, a confident confessor, being led to his stake, sung psalms along the way, in a heavenly courage and victorious triumph. The cruel officer envying his last mirth, and grieving to see him merrier than his tormentors, commanded him silence: he sings still, as desirous

to improve his last breath to the last; the view of his approaching glory bred his joy; his joy breaks forth into a cheerful confession. The enraged sheriff causes his tongue, drawn forth to the length, to be cut off near the roots. Bloody wretch! it had been good music to have heard his shrieks; but to hear his music was torment. The poor martyr dies in silence, rests in peace. Not many months after, our butcherly officer hath a son born with his tongue hanging down upon his chin, like a deer after long chase, which never could be gathered up within the bounds of his lips. Oh the divine hand, full of justice, full of revenge! Go now, Lipsius, and write the new miracles of this goddess; and confirm superstition by strange events. Judge, you that have seen, if ever the chapel of Halle or Zichem have yielded ought more notable."

Justus Lipsius, to whom the good prelate here alludes, was a remarkable character. He was educated a Roman Catholic, but, on becoming a professor at Jena, he professed Lutheranism. Afterwards, returning to Brabant, he again became a Romanist; but when he accepted a professor's chair at Leyden, he turned Calvinist. Lastly, he settled at Louvain, where he adopted popery in its most bigoted form. This is obvious from his credulous and absurd account of the blessed Virgin, in his "Diva Virgo Hallensis;" and "Diva Sicheimensis;" in both which he relates the most extravagant stories. He even went so far as to dedicate a silver pen to the holy virgin of Halle, on which occasion he wrote some verses which are very remarkable, both on account of the eulogies he bestows on himself, and of the worship he pays to the object of his idolatry. By his last will, he left his gown, lined with fur, to the image of the same saint. With these superstitions he joined an inconsistency of a more serious nature; for while at Leyden, in an outward profession of the reformed religion, he gave his approbation of the persecuting principles which were executed throughout Europe against the Protestants, maintaining that no state ought to suffer a plurality of religions, nor shew any mercy towards those who disturbed the established worship, but pursue them with fire and sword; it being better that one member should perish, rather than the whole body be ruined. This versatile character died at Louvain, in 1606, in his 59th year.

#### *Memoir of CYRIL LUCAR, Patriarch of Constantinople.*

THIS celebrated prelate was a native of Candia, at the time when that island was under the dominion of the Venetian republic. He received his education at Venice and Padua, where he had Maximus Margunius, who was afterwards bishop of Cerigo, for his tutor. Cyril, on completing his studies in Italy, travelled through several other parts of Europe, which confirmed him in the dislike he had originally taken to the tenets and practices of Popery. After his return home, he was admitted to the priesthood, and made prior of a convent by Meletius Pegasus, patriarch of Alexandria, who, in 1600, sent him to Sigismund king of Poland; which prince, in his zeal for the Romish faith, had issued an edict interdicting the profession of the Greek religion in his dominions. In the same spirit, Sigismund wrote to Meletius, to persuade him to acknowledge the papal supremacy; which letter the patriarch answered with profound respect, and desired his majesty to bestow his favour upon Cyril, as a person whose learning and integrity rendered him worthy of all honour. In this journey, Cyril, agreeable to his instructions, formed an intimacy with the most eminent Protestant divines, though the intercourse between them was conducted secretly.



for fear of giving offence to the Romanists. It is certain that Cyril was at this time much suspected by the Jesuits of entertaining a design to unite the Greek and reformed churches; and we are told, that, to ward off the blow which was meditated against him on that account, he presented to the archbishop of Leopolis a confession containing principles exactly conformable to the creed of the council of Trent.

The story rests on the authority of a Jesuit, but, if it be true, Cyril redeemed this step of human infirmity with undaunted resolution in the future course of his life.

His activity in business, and extensive knowledge, could not fail to give him distinction; and, accordingly, on the death of Meletius, he was chosen to the vacant see of Alexandria, where he continued above nineteen years.

In 1621, on the death of Timotheus, patriarch of Constantinople, Cyril was called from Alexandria, to fill that dignified but extremely dangerous station; for it happened at a period when the Jesuits, by the permission of the Grand Seigneur, were numerous and powerful in the heart of the Turkish empire. These fathers well knew the zeal of Cyril, and his enmity to their order; whence they were sensible that he would not only oppose the encroachments of Popery, but endeavour to purge out what corruptions had already made their way into his church. And now began, with this new honour, the most laborious and troublesome part of his whole life, owing to the implacable bitterness of the Roman bigots, who were so exasperated against him, that they resolved, by all imaginable ways, either to bring him to submission, or to effect his ruin. With this view, knowing the jealousy of the Turkish government, they began by raising reports that the new patriarch intended to subvert the national religion. The intimacy that subsisted between Cyril and the English and Dutch ambassadors, heightened the malice of the incendiaries, and was converted by them into an article of accusation against him, as one who made his ecclesiastical profession a cover for political purposes. The influence possessed by the French at that court, gave such an advantage to the enemies of Cyril, that they were emboldened to set up a rival in opposition to him. This person was Gregory, bishop of Amasia, one of those time-serving ecclesiastics who were capable of any meanness to gratify their avarice and ambition. Gregory had already subscribed his belief in all the articles of the Romish faith, and made a formal declaration of his obedience to the Pope. Such was the tool employed by the Jesuits on this occasion; but Cyril, aware of the conspiracy, called a council of four archbishops and a number of other prelates; who, after investigating the business thoroughly, instead of deposing the patriarch, excommunicated his adversary. This censure provoked the Jesuits to such a degree, that they accused Cyril of a design to deliver up one of the islands of the Archipelago to the grand duke of Tuscany. Improbable as this tale was, yet, when backed by a bribe, it had the desired effect; Cyril being banished to Rhodes, and the usurper Gregory placed in the see of Constantinople.

The sum of twenty thousand dollars was the price agreed upon in this infamous bargain; but when it came to be paid, the Greeks refused to raise the money; and no supplies coming from Rome, Gregory, after sitting ten weeks in the patriarchal chair, was turned out to make room for Anthimus, archbishop of Adrianople, who was known to be both rich and covetous. The news of this change was received with such joy by Pope Urban the Eighth, that he sent a letter to the new patriarch, complimenting him on his advancement, and calling his predecessor, Cyril, the son of darkness and champion of hell. This triumph, however, did not last

long; for sir Thomas Roe, the English ambassador, having received orders from king James the First to favour the oppressed Greeks, and oppose the insidious arts of the French and Jesuits, now happily interposed, and countermined both so effectually, that the exiled prelate obtained his liberty, and was restored to his seat.

New designs were now carried on at Rome with greater subtilty, and endeavours were used to corrupt the patriarch; for which purpose, at the beginning of 1624, three agents arrived at Constantinople, whose business it was to gain the confidence of Cyril, and by that means involve him in fresh troubles with the Turkish government.

On the failure of this project, the Pope sent over an anti-patriarch, but bearing the title of Apostolical Suffragan, who was accompanied with another emissary, called a Treasurer, and both had discretionary power to act as they thought fit, for promoting the interests of the Roman church. In furtherance of the same object, titular bishops were nominated for Smyrna, Naxia, and other places. The papal suffragan was received with great pomp by the French ambassador, who conducted him to Scio, where he fixed his principal residence; but within a short time his behaviour proved so overbearing, that even the Greeks who were inclined to favour the papal supremacy, were alarmed at his arrogance. They even went so far as to make their complaints to the vizier, stating the danger that was likely to result from these foreign intruders; in consequence of which the suffragan was forced to fly, and the titular bishops were committed to prison.

Though the Jesuits were extremely mortified by these disappointments, they did not give over their practices; knowing, from the character of the Turkish government, that it would never be difficult to find some cause to excite its apprehensions. Nor were they wrong in their estimate, for in the summer of 1627, a ship arrived from England, on board of which was a Greek named Nicodemo Mataxara, who, having learned the art of printing, had brought with him, to Constantinople, a press and types, in order to the publishing of books for the benefit of his ignorant countrymen. The design was truly excellent; but it was dangerous, and the great difficulty was, how to get the luggage ashore, without attracting the notice of the Turks. Upon an application to our ambassador, he readily consented to claim the articles as his own, and by that means the whole came safely to his house, from whence they were easily transferred to a proper place for carrying on the work. But though the concern was managed with great address, it could not escape the lynx-eyed Jesuits, who had set up a school in their convent, where they taught the children of the poor Greeks gratuitously, and thereby often made converts of the parents. Having gained information of what was going on, they first tried to prevail upon Mataxara to commit the direction of the press wholly into their hands; and, on his refusal, they threatened his life, as a heretic. This put the poor man into such a fright, that he earnestly requested the English minister to allow him to remain during the night at his house, being apprehensive that if he continued in his own lodgings he should have his throat cut. The patriarch, who was a zealous friend to the press, caused a little book of his own to be printed, concerning the faith and worship of the Greek church, which work, when completed, he dedicated to our king Charles the First. This was looked upon as such a bold defiance, that the indefatigable zealots of the church of Rome now determined to destroy the author, as well as the printer and the press. Accordingly, having procured another book written by Cyril, in defence of the Divinity of



Christ; they selected some passages out of it, which, by construction, were made to militate against the character of Mahomet, and laid the same before the vizier; whose prejudices they further alarmed, by saying that the patriarch had employed Mataxara, who was a soldier, to stir up the Greeks to mutiny. The Turkish minister, upon receiving this accusation, without making any inquiry, despatched a company of janizaries to seize the printer. Fortunately, Mataxara happened to be at Goleta at the time, and on his return home passed through the soldiers, to the ambassador's house, without being discovered; while the janizaries, having ransacked the place, carried off all the goods. The next day the book was examined, and the passages translated by two interpreters, in the presence of the vizier and several persons of distinction; among whom was Cyril, whose innocence appeared so clear, that he was dismissed. On the following day, sir Thomas Roe demanded an audience of the vizier, with whom he expostulated so earnestly, that the Turk acknowledged his error in suffering himself to be so egregiously imposed upon, and promised not only to restore all the goods, but to do justice upon the calumniators. Accordingly, some of the Jesuits were thrown into prison, and would have been strangled, had not the English ambassador interceded in their behalf.

Soon after this, sir Thomas Roe was superseded by sir Peter Wych, who, following the example of his predecessor, took the Greek church under his protection, by which means it enjoyed a comparative degree of tranquillity for a few years.

During this interval, the Dutch ambassador having obtained a copy of the Confession of Faith, in Latin, which Cyril had begun to print in Greek, at the time when the press was broke up, caused it to be published at Geneva about the year 1630. This excited as much alarm at Rome as if an army had been on the march towards that capital.

A countryman of the author, one Johannes Matthæus Caryophilus, then an ecclesiastic at Rome, was employed to answer the book, which task he performed in a work entitled "*Censura Confessionis Fidei, seu potius perfidæ Calvinianæ, quæ nomine Cyrilli Patriarchæ Constantinopolitani circumferatur.*" This piece appeared first in Latin, and afterwards in Greek, one edition being printed at Rome in 1631, and the other in the year following, by command of Pope Urban, to whom both were dedicated.

Cyril, finding that his Confession made so great a noise, translated it himself into Greek, and caused it to be printed at Geneva in 1633; so that now no doubt remained as to the author; though, even before this, he never made any scruple in owning it, whenever questioned on the subject.

An instance of this frankness occurred at the beginning of 1632, when Cyril, on visiting the new French ambassador, was shewn, after dinner, the Confession, and asked whether he was really the author of it, and would persist in the principles there laid down? The patriarch, taking the book into his hand, and looking over it, replied, that truly it was his Confession; but before they demanded whether he would stand to it, they ought first to shew and convince him wherein he had erred. He said, that it was now more than five hundred years since the Greek church had ceased to have any connexion with that of Rome; and that, therefore, as he had nothing to do with the Pope, he was not bound to render him any account of his faith. He added, further, that "he had above one hundred bishops, besides other ecclesiastics, under his jurisdiction, to whom, if it were necessary, he should be always ready to give satisfaction in a general synod, referring all to the word of God and the ancient fathers of the primitive church."

The ambassador answered, that Cyril lay under the suspicion of being a Calvinist, which was a sect held in abhorrence by the king of France; whose protection the patriarch would do well to secure by joining in communion with the church of Rome. The honest prelate then said, "As in the particulars of my belief, and the eternal salvation of my soul, I shall neither follow the king of France nor any other person in the world; so shall I never do any thing but what my conscience dictates to be right."

Not long after this, the intrigues against him were renewed, and a conspiracy was formed for the purpose of getting him deposed; but, by the help of friends in the Ottoman court, this design was then frustrated. In 1634, however, the enemies of the patriarch succeeded, by advancing the sum of sixty thousand dollars, to procure his banishment to Tenedos; when his place was conferred, by the government, on Anastasius Pattelari of Candia, who lost it again in a few weeks, and Cyril was restored. The next year fresh troubles arose through the artifices of the Jesuits; who, by paying fifty thousand dollars, prevailed on the government to send Cyril to Rhodes, where a plot was formed to seize and carry him to Italy, that he might be thrown into the Inquisition. But the pacha, who commanded the garrison, being made acquainted with the conspiracy, frustrated it by causing the object of it to be removed to another place of greater security. At the end of eighteen months, he was again restored to the patriarchal chair; but in 1638, his implacable persecutors took advantage of the war which then broke out between the Turks and Persians, to represent Cyril as a man who had such great power over the professors of his religion, that it would be dangerous to suffer him to be at large, while the imperial city was left defenceless in the absence of the army. Thus instigated, the sultan sent orders for his immediate confinement and execution, pursuant to which he was first transported to one of the castles upon the Bosphorus; from whence, in the evening of the 27th of June, he was taken, and put into a boat, under the pretence of conveying him to a vessel lying at Santo Stefano, for transportation. Cyril, as soon as they put off from the shore, seeing that his fate was determined, fell upon his knees, and with great earnestness prepared himself for death. After some revilings, the soldiers threw the bowstring round his neck, and soon despatched him; then stripped the body, and threw it into the sea. The next day some fishermen took it up, and buried it on the shore, where it lay for some time; but it soon appeared that the malice of his enemies was not yet satisfied; for they got an order from the government to have the body dug up again and thrown into the sea. This was done; but, once more, the piety of friendship was successful in recovering the mortal remains of the martyr from the watery element, and depositing the same privately in one of the untenanted islands that lie over against the bay of Nicomedia. The memory of Cyril Lucar ought to be endeared to all Protestants, for his noble opposition to the tyranny of popery; and, among Englishmen, he will ever be esteemed for his attachment to our nation, which he evinced by the invaluable present of the manuscript Greek Bible, which is in the Royal Library.

#### HISTORY OF THE IRISH MASSACRE.

IN the year 1601, that great divine, James Usher, afterwards archbishop of Armagh, preached a sermon before the viceroy and lords of the council at Dublin, from Ezekiel iv. 6. "And thou shalt bear the iniquity of the house of Judah forty days: I have appointed thee each day for a year." In

discussing this prophetic passage, he hazarded the following bold conjecture respecting the state of Ireland, "From this year I reckon forty years, when the Papists, whom you now embrace, shall be your ruin, and you shall bear their iniquity." This observation, at the time, was regarded as the zealous effusion of a young man who was offended at the latitude of indulgence which the government, for pecuniary considerations, had been lately induced to extend towards the professors of the Roman Catholic religion. The remark of the preacher, however, was treasured up in the memory of some serious Protestants, and they lived to see the fulfilment of the prophecy. A swarm of ecclesiastics, taking advantage of the laxity of discipline in the state, and the want of power in the established church, poured into that kingdom during the reign of Charles the First, chiefly from Spain and the Low Countries, clothed with plenary authority by the Pope, and bearing the titles of archbishops, bishops, deans, vicars general, and archdeacons; who had under them parochial priests, and, for their assistants, itinerant missionaries in abundance. A college was also erected for the education of youth at Dublin; and monasteries and convents were built in several parts of the island. Synodical assemblies of the Popish clergy were openly held in defiance of the laws, and sentences of excommunication were publicly pronounced against such persons as did not pay a strict obedience to the rules and orders of the hierarchy. The disturbed state of England greatly elevated the hopes of the Irish malcontents, who were urged on to rebellion with promises of money, arms, and troops from France, by that politic minister the cardinal Richelieu.

Thus encouraged, and animated by a deadly hatred to the Protestant religion, the Romanists associated all over the kingdom, binding themselves by solemn vows at the altar to exterminate heresy, and root out the English entirely from what they denominated the Land of Saints. When every thing was organized, the conspirators resolved upon a simultaneous rising throughout Ireland, for a general massacre of the Protestants. The feast of St. Ignatius, October 23, 1641, was very appropriately selected for this diabolical purpose, he being the founder and patron of the order of Jesuits, to which society most of the ecclesiastics then belonged.

To carry this infamous scheme effectually into execution, the Papists put on the appearance of uncommon benevolence, and treated their intended victims with more than ordinary respect and kindness, that they might be taken by surprise, and wholly unprepared for defence.

So well had the managers of this infamous business conducted their operations, that no suspicion was entertained any where of the plot; which was to begin at Dublin by the seizure of the city and castle. Within a few hours of the time, however, when the insurrection in the capital was to break out, a discovery took place, through the conscientious scruple of one Owen O'Connelly, who felt such a compunction at the barbarity about to be perpetrated, that he voluntarily made a disclosure of the conspiracy to the government, by which means the lords justices were enabled to adopt measures for their security, and the preservation of the city. For this service O'Connelly was rewarded by the English parliament with an immediate present of five hundred pounds, and a pension of two hundred pounds a year for his life. In consequence of the information given by this man, lord Macguire, the leader of the party, and his accomplices, were apprehended the same evening; and in their houses were found muskets, swords, hatchets, pikes, pole-axes, hammers, and quantities of other weapons and ammunition.

Thus the metropolis was happily preserved, but the bloody

part of the tragedy could not be prevented. At an early hour on the day appointed, the conspirators rose in arms all over the kingdom, when every Protestant that came in their way was immediately murdered. No respect was paid to age, sex, or condition of life. The wife weeping over her butchered husband, and embracing her helpless children, was pierced with them, and perished. The old, the young, the vigorous, and infirm, all underwent the same fate, and were blended in one common slaughter. In vain did the unarmed and helpless seek safety in flight from the murderers; for destruction being every where let loose, to escape one band was only to fall upon the weapons of another, who roamed like wild beasts after their prey in all directions. In vain was recourse had to the ties of blood, to old companions, and former friends; for all such connexions were dissolved, and death was dealt by the hand from which protection was implored and expected. Without the least provocation, and even without opposition, the astonished English, while living in profound tranquillity, and, as they fondly imagined, in full security, were massacred in cold blood by their nearest neighbours, with whom they had long cultivated a continued intercourse of kindness and good offices. Not content with inflicting death on the objects of their vengeance, these monsters in human form vied with each other in contriving new tortures, that dissolution might be rendered more tedious to the sufferer, whose mind, as well as body, the persecutors were pleased with lacerating. Depraved nature, acting under the influence of a perverted faith, cannot possibly reach to a greater pitch of cruelty than what was displayed by these merciless barbarians. Even the weaker sex, in whom tenderness of heart is always to be looked for, here laid aside the softness of humanity, and strove to emulate their callous partners and relatives in the wanton shedding of innocent blood. Nay, the very children, catching the accursed example of brutality from their savage parents, took a delight in mangling the bodies of the Protestant infants, as they lay by the side or in the arms of their murdered mothers.

So completely had the Irish, at this period, cast aside all feeling, that even their avarice could not lay a restraint upon their ferocity; for the very cattle which they took from the English were gashed, houghed, and left in the fields to perish by slow and lingering torments. The dwellings of the Protestant settlers were every where levelled with the ground; and when the wretched owners barricaded their mansions for security, and made preparations for defence, the assailants applied fire to the doors and windows, by which means all the inmates were destroyed with the buildings.

This bloody tragedy increased every day; for the ignorant and bigoted people were goaded on to the work of death by the Jesuits, priests, and friars, who recommended, in their discourses and prayers, diligent exertion in the great cause, which they said was of so sacred a nature, as to carry a blessing along with it here and hereafter. They every where declared to the Catholic community, that the Protestants were heretics, and ought not to be suffered to live any longer among them; adding withal, that it was no more a sin to destroy an Englishman than to kill a dog; and that the relieving or protecting those who were inimical to the holy church, was an unpardonable crime.

The Papists having laid siege to the town and castle of Longford, promised the inhabitants, who were Protestants, that, on surrendering, they should obtain quarter. As resistance would have been useless, the terms were accepted, and the place was given up; when, instead of fulfilling the conditions, a massacre instantly commenced by the Roman Catholic priest, who ripped up the body of the English

minister; after which his followers murdered all the rest; some were hung, others stabbed, several were shot, and great numbers had their brains beat out with battle-axes and hammers.

The garrison of Sligo experienced similar treatment, for though they gave up that strong post on an assurance of life and liberty, instead of being conveyed safely, according to promise, over the Carlow mountains, they were taken to Roscommon, and thrown into a loathsome prison, with scarcely any food to subsist upon. In a short time, however, the Papists, with a jolly party of friars, having assembled to celebrate their victory, caused the captives to be taken from their dungeon, and cast into the river. After this exploit, the same friars went in procession, with holy water, which they threw into the stream, by way of purifying it from the stain it had contracted in receiving the dead bodies of heretics.

In the barony of Tyrawley, the Romanists, at the instigation of their priests, compelled above forty English Protestants, among whom were some women and children, to perish by the sword, or to drown themselves in the sea. Those who chose the latter death were accordingly forced to the brink by the pikes of their persecutors; and, wading up to their chins, sunk beneath the watery element, and many of them with their infants in their arms.

In the castle of Lispool, upwards of one hundred and fifty men, women, and children, were all burnt together; and in that of Moneah, not less than one hundred persons were put to the sword. Great numbers were also murdered in the fortress of Tullah, which surrendered to Macguire on terms of safety; but as soon as the perjured villain got possession of the place, he ordered his followers to butcher the defenceless Protestants; which was done immediately before his eyes, and with peculiar circumstances of cruelty.

In other places, the improvements of the ordinary means of destroying life were such as would have put to shame the ingenuity of diabolical malignity. Some were laid across the axle-tree of a carriage, their legs reaching the ground on one side, and their hands and arms on the other, in which position they were scourged unmercifully with thongs; while ferocious dogs were set on, to tear in pieces the upper parts of their bodies. Many were fastened to the tails of wild horses, after which the animals were let loose and driven into a full gallop, dragging the poor wretches along in agony over the stones till they expired. Others again were suspended by the middle over a slow fire, and so roasted gradually to death. Several women, of all ages, were put to the most excruciating torments; particularly by cutting off their breasts with shears, after which they were left to perish through loss of blood. In some instances, females, far advanced in pregnancy, were hung up naked on the branches of trees, their bodies cut open, and the infants thrown to the dogs or swine. Cases actually occurred where the inhuman persecutors forced the husband to be the spectator of the sufferings of his wife in this manner, before he was put to death himself. At the town of Lissenkeath, they hung up above a hundred Scottish Protestants, shewing them no more mercy than they did the English. Macguire, on going to the castle of the same place to speak with the governor, caused the records of the county, which were there deposited, to be taken out and burnt. He then demanded one thousand pounds of the governor, whom he also compelled to attend mass; notwithstanding which he hung up the wife and children of the pusillanimous man before his face; and, at the same time, massacred at least one hundred of the inhabitants.

Upwards of one thousand men, women, and children, were driven by companies to Portendown bridge, which was broken in the middle, and there forced to throw themselves into the water; while those who attempted to swim to the shore were shot, or knocked on the head.

In the same part of the country, four thousand persons at least were drowned in different places. After stripping the unfortunate sufferers, their inhuman persecutors drove them, like so many beasts, to the spot fixed upon for their destruction; and if any of them, through fatigue or fear, slackened their pace, the merciless butchers pricked them forwards with swords and pikes. One hundred and forty English, after being driven along, quite naked, for many miles in the most severe weather, were all murdered on the same spot; some being hanged, others burnt, some shot, and many of them buried alive; nay, such was the infernal malice of their tormentors, that they would not allow them time to say their prayers. There were some companies, who were taken under the pretext of giving them safe-conduct; but when they had proceeded a little way, the treacherous Papists collected them all together, and slaughtered them in the most inhuman manner.

At Portendown bridge, besides those already mentioned, one hundred and fifteen Protestants were forced into the river and drowned, by the orders of sir Phelim O'Neil. Among the sufferers was a stout Scotch woman, named Campbell, who seized one of the chiefs of the persecutors in her arms, and dragged him into the water, by which means they were both drowned together.

In Killoman they massacred forty-eight families, among whom twenty-two persons were burnt in one house; the rest were either hung, shot, or drowned. At Kilmore, which consisted of about two hundred families, the whole fell victims to papistical rage. Some of them were set in the stocks, till they confessed where their money was concealed; after which they were put to death. The whole county was one common scene of slaughter, and many thousands perished in a short time by sword, famine, fire, or other means. The infuriated zealots, in some instances, shewed so much favour as to despatch their victims immediately, but would never allow them to offer up their devotions. Many were imprisoned in filthy dungeons, with heavy irons on their legs, in which condition they were starved to death. At Cashel, they put all the Protestants they could find into a miserable prison, where they lay several weeks; and though at last some of them were released, it was only to undergo fresh tortures; several being hanged, and others buried in the earth, with only their heads above the ground, in which condition they were cruelly derided and pelted by their ferocious oppressors. In the county of Antrim, the inhuman Papists murdered nine hundred and fifty-four Protestants in the course of one morning; and afterwards, about twelve hundred more in different places.

At a town called Lisalgary, they forced twenty-four persons into a barn, and then setting fire to it, burned them together, counterfeiting, on the outside, their shrieks and lamentations, by way of mocking their torments.

Among other numerous acts of barbarity, they took two children, belonging to an English woman, and dashed out their brains before her eyes; after which, in mercy they threw the mother into a river, where she was drowned. Another English woman they beat with such savage barbarity, that she had scarcely a whole bone left; and then cast her into a ditch, with her daughter, about six years old, whose body they first ripped up with their swords, and so left them to perish together.

At one place they obliged a man to attend mass, and afterwards put him to death: another was sawn asunder, while doing which they cut the throat of his wife before his face, dashed out the brains of their infant, and threw the body to the swine, to be devoured.

In the county of Mayo, about sixty Protestants, fifteen of whom were ministers, surrendered, upon condition that they should be conducted in safety to Galway, by one Edmund Burke and his soldiers: but, on the way, the perfidious wretch drew his sword as a signal to the rest, who instantly fell upon their captives, and slaughtered the whole company.

It would be endless to enumerate the various instances of barbarity which occurred at this period; or to describe the shocking refinements of cruelty that were practised by these bigots, who uniformly acted under the personal observation, and with the full sanction, of their priests. To aggravate the misery of those who fell into their hands, they generally insulted them in their torments, by telling them that their souls would soon be suffering in a worse place. But it is not to be wondered that they should thus treat innocent Christians, when they felt no scruple in blaspheming against God and his holy word. Wherever they met with the bible, nothing could exceed the pleasure they took in destroying it; and next to this was the gratification they felt in torturing and putting to death the preachers of the gospel. Having seized a minister, they gagged him, then cut a large slit in one of his cheeks, and, laying the leaf of a bible upon it, told him to preach, as he had now a mouth wide enough for the purpose.

At one place, a popish priest, by artful inducements, prevailed on forty Protestants to be reconciled to the church of Rome. After the ceremony, and when the wretched apostates flattered themselves with having, by that act, saved their lives, they were told that they were now in the true faith; and, to prevent them from falling, they must be sent out of the world, which was immediately done by cutting their throats.

Some of the Protestants they dragged by the hair into the church, where they stripped and scourged them in the most severe manner; after which they dismissed them, saying, that if they would come to-morrow, they should be entertained with a similar sermon. This was nothing, however, to what in general occurred, for in some places they plucked out the eyes and cut off the hands of the Protestants, then turned them into the fields, there to wander and perish. Many were stripped naked, and fastened to horses by ropes girded round the middle of their bodies, in which state they were dragged through bogs till they expired. Some were hung by the feet to tenter-hooks driven into posts, and in that dreadful situation were left to linger out a wretched existence in excruciating misery. Others were fastened to the trunk of a tree with a branch at the top, over which was laid one arm, which principally supported the weight of the body, while one of the legs was turned up, and fastened to the trunk. In this painful situation the sufferer remained suspended as long as life lasted, exposed to the inclemency of the weather and the cruel derision of his persecutors.

At a place called Chownes, seventeen men were buried alive; and an Englishman, his wife, five children, and a female servant, were all hung together, and afterwards their bodies were thrown into a ditch.

Several were hung on windmills, and, before they were half dead, the barbarians cut them in pieces with their swords. In some places they hacked men, women, and children in various parts of their bodies, and then left them to

wallow in their blood, and perish where they fell, and from whence they had not the power to crawl. One poor woman they hung on a gibbet, with her child, an infant about a twelvemonth old, which they fastened by the neck with some of the hair of its mother, and in that manner finished its short but miserable existence.

As the river Bann was not fordable, and the bridge was broken down, the Irish forced thither, at different times, a great number of unarmed Protestants, and with pikes and swords violently thrust above one thousand of them into the current, where they perished.

Even the cathedral of Armagh, though originally a Catholic edifice, did not escape the fury of these Vandals, who maliciously set it on fire, by which means a great part of the building was destroyed. To extirpate, if possible, the very race of Protestants who lived in or about Armagh, the Irish first burnt all their houses, and then gathering together some hundreds of the poor people, under the plea of conducting them to Coleraine, they butchered them all by the way.

Dr. Maxwell, the rector of Tyrone, who lived near Armagh, and suffered greatly from the savages, when examined before the king's commissioners, declared upon oath, that the Papists boasted to him of having slain in one place twelve thousand Protestants, all of whom were defenceless, and many actually flying for their lives, when they were waylaid and destroyed.

From all the accounts that were given of these murderous proceedings, the number who were sacrificed to the Papal Moloch could not be less than one hundred and fifty thousand.

At the beginning of the troubles, the Irish, in many places, persuaded their Protestant neighbours to bring their goods and commit them to their care for protection, with a promise to restore them all as soon as the danger should be blown over; but when these hypocrites had, by fair speeches, stript the confiding people of their property, they turned both men, women, and children out of doors naked, with a prohibition for any person to afford them the least help or succour; so that great numbers perished by cold, nakedness, and hunger.

The case of bishop Bedell was so very remarkable, that we shall here give it at some length. This excellent divine was called from the provostship of Trinity College, Dublin, to the united sees of Kilmore and Ardagh, in 1620. Here he considered that the episcopal office made him the shepherd of the inferior pastors, and by consequence of the whole flock; wherefore he resolved to spare himself in nothing by which he might advance the interest of religion among them; and though sensible that, by a faithful discharge of his duties, he should incur the ill-will of some, and meet with opposition from others, he resolved cheerfully to undergo whatever unpleasant things might occur to him on that account. Thus determined, he looked into the state of his diocese, and found in it so many disorders, that there was scarcely a sound part remaining. The revenue was wasted by dilapidations, and all sacred things had been exposed to sale. One of his cathedrals was already levelled to the ground, and there was hardly enough left in both revenues to support a bishop, who was not inclined to supply himself by indirect methods. His clergy were but few, and those so little acquainted with the Irish, that they were almost strangers to the people, who for the most part were barbarians. Here was a melancholy prospect to so good a man, and enough to dishearten him, if he had not possessed an undaunted spirit. After he had recovered somewhat of the spoils made by his predecessor, he set about the reform of abuses; and the first that he undertook was the restriction of pluralities. To accomplish this end, he held a meeting



of the clergy; and, in a discourse, laid before them the nature of the ministerial office. After this, he exhorted them to correct that intolerable corruption of the accumulation of benefices, which, as it brought a heavy scandal on the church, and gave the adversary great advantages, so it very much endangered their own souls, and those of their people. To let them see that he would not recommend what he was not himself ready to practise, he immediately gave up the bishopric of Ardagh, and retained only that of Kilmore. This example made such an impression on the clergy, that they all relinquished their pluralities except one, and even he was so ashamed that he made an exchange, in order to remove to another diocese. The next care of the bishop was to inspect the conduct of his clergy, knowing that the lives of ministers had generally more efficacy than their discourses. When he made his visitations he always preached himself, and administered the sacrament; and the business afterwards was managed with scrupulous exactness and impartiality. The visitations in Ireland had hitherto been matters of great pomp and luxury, which were very grievous to the inferior clergy; for such exorbitant fees were demanded, as proved a severe tax upon their scanty incomes. These excesses our good bishop reformed; taking nothing more than what he was strictly entitled to by law or prescription, applying what was received to the entertainment of his brethren, and the relief of the poor.

Bishop Bedell was a faithful observer of the rules and forms of the church; going constantly to the public worship in his cathedral, and often reading the prayers himself with great reverence and devout affection. He preached commonly twice every Sunday, on the epistle and gospel for the day, and before sermon in the afternoon he catechized the children. From the relation of his most exemplary discharge of the episcopal function, let us turn to view him at the close of life, and mark what occurred to him at the time of the Irish massacre. The great reverence which the Papists themselves had for this good man, appears from the fact, that when there was nothing but fire, blood, and desolation round about him, he remained for some weeks secure in his own house, though not in a condition to make any defence. Several of his flock fled to him for shelter, and he shared with them every thing that he had; but as he hourly expected death, he invited all his sorrowful guests to turn with him unto God, and prepare for the worst by prayer and fasting. The rebels expressed their esteem for him in such a manner, that he had reason to ascribe it wholly to the over-ruling Power which stills the raging of the sea, and the tumults of the people. They seemed, indeed, to be overcome by his exemplary deportment, and the tenderness which he had upon all occasions manifested towards them, insomuch that they frequently declared he should be the last Englishman put out of Ireland. He was the only Protestant, in the whole county of Cavan, that was suffered to continue, for any time, in the undisturbed possession of his dwelling; so that not only his house, but the church and churchyard, were full of people, expecting when those swords that had, according to the prophetic phrase, "drunk up so much blood," should likewise be bathed in their's. In this situation, while they "did eat the bread of sorrow," the bishop encouraged them to put their trust in God, in order to which, he preached to them the first Lord's day after this terrible calamity had brought them about him, on the third Psalm, which was written by David when there was a general insurrection of the people; and he applied it to their present condition. It may naturally be supposed that he had a melancholy auditory; and the whole of them were in tears. Yet, so power-

ful was his address, that he raised their drooping spirits when he spake and expatiated on these words, "But thou, O Lord, art a shield for me, my glory, and the lifter up of my head. I laid me down and slept: I awaked, for the Lord sustained me. I will not be afraid for ten thousands of the people, that have set themselves against me round about." On the next Sunday, hearing of the scoffings as well as cruelties of the Irish, he preached on these words, in the prophecy of Micah; "Rejoice not against me, O mine enemy! when I fall, I shall arise; when I sit in darkness, the Lord shall be a light unto me. I will bear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against him, until he plead my cause, and execute judgment for me. He will bring me forth to the light, and I shall behold his righteousness. Then she that is mine enemy shall see, and shame shall cover her which said unto me, Where is the Lord thy God?" By these means, and through the divine blessing, the afflicted people encouraged themselves in God, and were prepared for all extremities. In the mean time, Dr. Swinney, the popish titular bishop of Kilmore, came to Cavan, and pretended great concern and kindness for Dr. Bedell. Our prelate had converted his brother, who was also a priest, and kept him in his house till he could otherwise provide for him. Dr. Swinney desired likewise to lodge with the bishop, assuring him in the strongest terms of his protection. But this the good prelate declined, in a very civil manner, urging the smallness of his house, the great number of people that had taken shelter with him, the sickness of some of the company, and, above all, the difference in their mode of worship, which could not but be attended with great inconvenience. This had some effect for a time; but, about the middle of December, the rebels, pursuant to the orders they had received from their council of state, as it was called, at Kilkenny, required him to dismiss the people that were with him, which he absolutely refused to do, declaring that he would share the same fate with the rest. Upon this, it was signified to him that they had orders to remove him from the people, to which he answered, in the words of scripture, "Here I am, the Lord do unto me as seemeth good unto him; the will of the Lord be done." Accordingly, on the 18th of the month, they seized him, his two sons, and Mr. Clogy, who had married his step-daughter, and conveyed them to the castle of Cloughbougher, surrounded by a deep water, where they put them all, except the bishop, in irons. The rebels would not suffer them to carry any thing with them, more than what they wore; and the moment the bishop was removed, Dr. Swinney took possession of the house with all that was in it, and said mass in the church on the Sunday following. After some time, the rebels abated of their severity, took the irons off the prisoners, and suffered them to be as much at their ease as they could well be in so wretched a place; for the winter was very rigorous, and, the castle being old and ruinous, they would have been exposed to all the inclemency of the weather, if it had not been for a honest carpenter who mended the roof with a few old boards that were found there, and thus kept out the snow and sleet. The day after their confinement being the Lord's day, the bishop preached to his little flock on the Passion; and on Christmas-day he administered the sacrament to them.

It is very remarkable, that rude and barbarous as the Irish were, they in this instance relaxed from their ferocity, and even furnished the bishop with bread and wine. On the 26th the bishop's eldest son preached, taking the history of St. Stephen for his subject, which was very suitable to the condition of those who were every day in expectation when they should be called to give a similar testimony of their



faith. On the 2d of January, which was the last Sunday of their imprisonment at that place, Mr. Clogy preached; and during all these religious exercises their keepers never gave them any disturbance, often declaring that they had no personal animosity against the bishop, nor any other cause for their severity towards him, than that he was an Englishman. After being confined three weeks, the bishop, his two sons, and Mr. Clogy, were exchanged for two of the O'Rourkes; but, though it had been agreed that they should be safely conducted to Dublin, the rebels would not suffer them to be carried out of the country, and sent them to the house of Dennis Sheridan, a Protestant minister, and a convert from Popery, who, solely on account of his family, was permitted to continue unmolested in his parsonage.

While the bishop remained there, and enjoyed some degree of repose, he every Sunday read the prayers, and sometimes preached, though there were three clergymen in his company. On the 30th of January, being the last Lord's-day in which he had strength enough to address a congregation, he expounded Psalm cxliv. being the first for the morning service; and when he came to the verse, "Send thine hand from above, rid me, and deliver me out of great waters, from the hand of strange children, whose mouth speaketh vanity, and whose right hand is a right hand of falsehood;" he repeated the words again, with so much earnestness, that it appeared how much he was hastening to the Divine presence, and that his heart was crying out, "Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly!" The manner and language of the good prelate affected all his auditors, and melted them into tears; for they looked on this as a presage of his approaching dissolution; and so it proved. The day following he was taken ill, and on the fourth, apprehending a speedy change, he called for his children, and said, "I am going the way of all flesh, I am now ready to be offered up, and the time of my departure is at hand. Knowing, therefore, that I must shortly put off this tabernacle, even as our Lord Jesus Christ hath shewed me, I know also, that if the earthly house of this tabernacle be dissolved, I have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens; a fair mansion in the new Jerusalem which cometh down from my God. Therefore, to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain; which increaseth my desire even now to depart, and to be with Christ, which is far better than to continue here in all the transitory, vain, and false pleasures of this world, of which I have seen an end. Hearken, therefore, unto the last words of your dying father; I am no more in the world, but ye are in the world. I ascend to my Father and your Father, to my God and your God, through the all-sufficient merits of Christ Jesus my Redeemer, who ever lives to make intercession for me, who is a propitiation for my sins, and hath washed me from them all in his own blood; who is worthy to receive glory, and honour, and power, who hath created all things, and for whose sake they are and were created. Let nothing separate you from the love of Christ, neither tribulation, nor distress, nor persecution, nor famine, nor nakedness, nor peril, nor sword; though, for his sake, ye are killed all the day long, and are counted as sheep for the slaughter, yet be not afraid; for if ye suffer for righteousness' sake, happy are ye. Our God will surely visit you in due time, and turn your captivity as the rivers in the south; though now, for a season, ye are in heaviness, through manifold temptations, yet ye shall reap in joy. All your losses shall be recompensed with abundant advantages, for my God will supply all your need, according to his riches in glory, by Jesus Christ, who is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we are able to ask or think."

After this, he blessed his weeping family in these words, "God, of his infinite mercy, bless you all, and present you holy, unblameable, and unreprouvable in his sight, that we may meet together at the right hand of our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, with joy unspeakable and full of glory. Amen." In addition to this, he said, "I have fought a good fight, I have finished the course of my ministry and life together. Though grievous wolves have entered in among us, not sparing the flock, yet I trust that the great Shepherd will save and deliver his chosen out of all places where they have been scattered in this cloudy and dark day; so that they shall be no more a prey to the heathen, neither shall the beast of the land devour them; but they shall dwell safely, and none shall make them afraid. O Lord, I have waited for thy salvation!" He then paused for some time, and said, "I have kept the faith once delivered to the saints, for the which cause I have also suffered these things; but I am not ashamed, for I know in whom I have believed, and I am persuaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed unto him against that day." After this, he spoke very little; for as his sickness increased, his speech faltered, and about midnight, on the 7th of February, he resigned his soul into the hands of his Maker and Redeemer. Though he was turned of seventy, his death was certainly hastened by his late imprisonment, and the weight of sorrows which lay upon his mind. The only care now left for his friends, was to see him buried, according to his desire, near the remains of his beloved wife, who died three years before the rebellion. As the consent of the new bishop was necessary, Mr. Clogy and Mr. Sheridan waited upon him to obtain permission to bury the body of the lamented prelate in the churchyard of Kilmore. On their arrival, they found Dr. Swinney in a state of beastly intoxication, and a melancholy change in that mansion which used to be a house of prayer. The bishop, when awaked out of his drunkenness, objected to their request, and said that the churchyard was holy ground, and should no more be polluted by the bodies of heretics. At last, however, he consented; and on the 9th the funeral was performed. The Irish paid unusual honours to his remains, for the chief of the rebels gathered their forces together, and accompanied the body to the cemetery, where they even desired Mr. Clogy to read the burial service according to the liturgy; but this he declined for fear of provoking the rabble. The troops then discharged a volley over the grave, and some of the party exclaimed in Latin, "*Requiescat in pace ultimus Anglorum.*" "May the last of the English rest in peace." What fell from Edmund Farrell, a popish priest, on this occasion, is too remarkable and well-attested to be omitted, for he was so affected as to cry out, loud enough to be heard by all present, "*O sit anima mea cum Bedello!*" "Would to God my soul were with Bedell's!"

This excellent prelate was no persecutor of Papists, and yet perhaps he was one of the most powerful enemies their church ever had; and if the rest of the bishops in Ireland had followed his example, the Protestant religion would have spread itself over every part of the kingdom. He laboured to convert the better sort of the Romish clergy, and in this he met with great success. He ordered the Common Prayer to be read in the Irish language; and he procured the whole Bible to be translated into the same tongue, for which purpose he was at the pains of studying that very difficult dialect. He caused likewise some of Chrysostom's and Leo's Homilies to be rendered both into English and Irish, that the common people might be convinced, from the authority of the fathers, of their right and duty to read the scriptures. The bishop was very moderate in his sentiments, and though he loved

to bring men into the communion of the established church, he was averse to compulsory measures; it being his opinion that Protestants would agree well enough, if they could be brought to understand each other. Of his charity and prudence he gave a striking proof during his residence at Dublin. There were some Lutherans in that city, who, for not coming to church and taking the sacrament, were proceeded against in the archbishop's court, upon which they desired time to write to their divines in Germany, which was granted; and when their answers came, they contained some exceptions to the doctrine of our articles on the presence of Christ in the Eucharist. To these objections bishop Bedell gave so full and clear a reply, that the Lutheran divines were perfectly satisfied, and advised their countrymen to join in communion with the church; which they accordingly did.

After the death of this exemplary prelate, the Irish rebels went on in their sanguinary course; and, by getting possession of the castle of Newry, where they found a quantity of stores, soon made themselves masters of Dundalk and Ardagh, at which places they murdered all the Protestants. From thence they proceeded to Drogheda, to which they laid siege, but were repulsed. By this time ten thousand troops arrived from Scotland, and, being judiciously distributed, they soon brought matters to a state of comparative tranquillity.

What concern the court of Rome had in these horrible transactions, and how acceptable the massacre was to the Pope, appeared in the bull which his Holiness sent over to encourage the Irish in their work. It was, as usual, in Latin, but the following translation of it was made for the edification of the people:—

“URBAN THE EIGHTH, &c.—Having taken into our serious consideration, the great zeal of the Irish in propagating the apostolic religion, and the piety of the Catholic warriors in the several armies of that kingdom, which, for its singular fervency in the true worship of God, and notable care for the maintenance of the orthodox faith, was called of old, the Land of Saints; and having obtained certain information how, in imitation of their godly and worthy ancestors, the people endeavour, by force of arms, to deliver their enthralled nation from the oppressions and grievous injuries of the heretics, wherewith, for a long period, it hath been heavily afflicted and burdened; and gallantly do all that in them lieth to extirpate and totally root out all those workers of iniquity, who, in the said kingdom of Ireland, have infected, and still strive to infect, the mass of Catholic purity with the pestiferous leaven of their heretical contagion: We, therefore, being willing to cherish them with the gifts of those spiritual graces, whereof by God we are ordained the only dispenser on earth, by the mercy of the Almighty; and trusting in the authority of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and, by virtue of that power, of binding and loosing souls, which God was pleased, without our deserving, to confer upon us; do grant to all and every one of the faithful Christians in the foresaid kingdom of Ireland, now, and for the time, militating and fighting against the heretics and enemies of the Catholic faith; they being truly and sincerely penitent, after confession and the spiritual refreshing of themselves with the sacred communion of the body and blood of Jesus Christ, a full and plenary indulgence, and absolute remission of all their sins; and such as, in the holy time of jubilee, is usual to be granted to those who devoutly visit a certain number of privileged churches, within and without the walls of our city of Rome. By the tenor of which present letters, for once only, and no more, we freely bestow the favour of this absolution upon all and every one of them;

withal desiring heartily all the faithful in Christ, now in arms as aforesaid, to be partakers of this most precious treasure.

“To all and every one of the aforesaid faithful Christians, we grant license, and give power to choose unto themselves, for this effect, any fit confessor, whether a secular priest, or a regular of some order, as likewise any other selected person approved of by the ordinary of the place; who, after a diligent hearing of their confessions, shall have power to liberate and absolve them from excommunication, suspension, and all other ecclesiastical sentences and censures, for what cause, or by whomsoever pronounced or inflicted upon them; as also from all sins, trespasses, transgressions, crimes, and delinquencies, how heinous and atrocious soever they be; not excepting those very enormities in the most peculiar cases, which, by any former constitutions of ourselves, or of our predecessors, were designed to be reserved to the ordinary or to the apostolic see; from all which, the confessor shall hereby have power granted him to absolve the Catholics aforesaid at the bar of conscience, and in that sense only. And, furthermore, we give them power to exchange whatever vow or vows they were formerly bound by, those of religion and chastity excepted, into any other pious and good work or works; imposed, or to be imposed on them, and every one of them, to perform in all the above cases, by a wholesome penance, according to the mind and will of the confessor.

“Therefore, by the tenor of these present letters, and by the virtue of that holy strict obedience wherein all true Christians are bound unto us, we charge and command all and every one of the reverend brethren, archbishops, bishops, and other ecclesiastical persons and ordinaries of places, now resident in Ireland, together with all vicars, substitutes, and officials under them; or where these are wanting, we command all such to whom, in those places, the care of souls is entrusted, that as soon as they shall have received copies of these our letters, they forthwith, without any delay, publish the same, and cause them to be circulated throughout their churches, dioceses, provinces, countries, cities, towns, lands, villages, and all other places whatsoever. And where our letters cannot conveniently be brought, our will and pleasure is, that copies or transcripts, written or printed, and subscribed with the hand of a public notary, and having the seal of some eminent ecclesiastical dignitary affixed thereto, shall be of the same force, power, and authority, and have the like credit given unto them, as would be due to the originals.

“Dated at the Vatican, or St. Peter's Palace, in Rome, the 25th of May, 1643, and the Twentieth Year of our Pontificate.”

## HISTORY OF THE INQUISITION.

In the year 1163, a synod was held at Tours, to put down the heresy, as it was called, of the Albigenses or Waldenses, which then prevailed extensively throughout the country of Thoulouse. This ecclesiastical assembly issued some severe injunctions against those people; and, among the rest, “interdicted every person from holding any dealings with them in buying or selling; that, by being thus deprived of the common assistances of life, they might be compelled to repent of the evil of their way.” Whosoever dared to contravene this order, was to be excommunicated as a partner in guilt: and the consequence of the edict was, that the poor people, against whom it was thundered, dispersed themselves into various kingdoms. Some of them went into Arragon, and enjoyed a little quiet there till the year 1194, when king Ildefonso put forth a sanguinary decree, by which he banished them from his territories, “as enemies of the cross of Christ.”

profaners of the true religion, and public enemies of himself and his realm." He adds, that, "if any, from this day forwards, shall presume to receive into their houses the Waldenses or other heretics, hear their preachings, give them food, or do them the least kind office; he shall incur our indignation, by the forfeiture of all his goods, and be punished as guilty of high treason."

Not long after this, Pope Innocent III. wrote to the prelates in Guienne, and other provinces of France, that they should banish the Waldenses, Puritans, and Paterines, from those parts; to second which mandate, he sent thither two friars named Reyner and Guido, the founders of the order of Hospitallers, whose mission was to convert or punish the heretics. The Pope also commanded the princes and temporal nobility to co-operate with the ecclesiastical authorities in the extirpation of heresy. Finding, however, that the work did not go on as he could wish, and that the number of the heretics rather increased than diminished, his holiness resolved to adopt a new course for the accomplishment of his object, and to found two religious orders, whose sole business should be to contend with the enemies of the faith. Accordingly, he instituted the two communities of Dominicans and Franciscans; the former to labour against heresy in the country of Thoulouse, and the latter in Italy. They were both enjoined to stir up the Catholic princes and people to root out the abettors of erroneous opinions, and to transmit a regular account of their proceedings to Rome, whence they obtained the name of Inquisitors.

It is evident, that the first who bore that designation were the Dominicans, or the friars of the order of Predicants; but it is not so certain in what year the Inquisition itself was first introduced. This famous society derives its appellation from Domingo de Guzman, better known by the name of Dominic, and he is the only saint, in the Roman calendar, in whom not a single speck of goodness can be discovered. To impose privations and misery was the pleasure of his unfeeling heart; and cruelty was, in him, both an appetite and a passion. The few traits of character which can be gleaned from the lying volumes of his biographers, are all of the darkest hue. He never could bear to look a woman in the face, nor would he ever hold any conversation with one: on his preaching excursions, he usually slept in the churches, or upon a grave; he wore an iron chain round his body, and his fastings and flagellations were extravagant. But, if his disciples have preserved few personal facts concerning their master, they have made up for the deficiency in the multitude of his miracles. A few of these we shall here select, not from Protestant authors, but from the Dominican historians themselves; whose narratives the zealous members of the church of Rome believe more implicitly than those of the scripture; and no wonder, as every tale is vouched for by the Inquisition, and cannot be called in question without incurring the charge of heresy. Dominic was born at Caturga in Spain, and his mother, in her pregnancy, is said to have dreamed that she was delivered of a whelp, holding a burning torch in its mouth; and that he set the world on fire. His followers interpret this dream of his doctrine, by which he enlightened mankind: whereas others think, with more reason, that the torch was an emblem of the fire and fagot, by which an infinite multitude of virtuous characters were burnt to ashes. Earthquakes and meteors are said to have announced the birth of this fiery saint; and two or three suns and moons extraordinary were hung out, for an illumination in heaven. The Virgin Mary is said to have acted the part of his nurse, and to have received him in her arms as he sprung to light. While a sucking babe, he

regularly observed fast-days, and would get out of bed and lie on the bare boards, by way of penance. His manhood was no less remarkable; for we are told that he fed multitudes miraculously, and that once, as he was travelling, he fell in with a troop of pilgrims, when the curse which had been inflicted at Babel was suspended for him, so that all in the company were enabled to speak the same language. At another time, he and his companion entered a monastery in a lonely place, to pass the night; but Dominic awoke at matins, and hearing yells and lamentations, instead of prayers, he went out, and discovered that he was got amongst dæmons. Dominic punished them upon the spot with a cruel sermon, and then returned to rest: but in the morning the convent disappeared, and he and his comrade found themselves in a desolate wilderness. He had one day an obstinate battle with the flesh; the quarrel took place in a wood, and finding it necessary to call in assistance, he stripped himself, and commanded a swarm of wasps to discipline him into order. He used to be red hot with divine love; or, as others would say, with passion; sometimes blazing like a meridian sun; at others, glowing like a furnace; now blanching his garments, and imbuing them with a glory like that of our Saviour in the transfiguration; and at another time sweating blood, in imitation of Christ's agony in the garden. These are a scanty sample of the miracles of St. Dominic: but it is proper to mention two more particulars in his marvellous history,—the introduction of the rosary, and the favours which he received from the Virgin. The first he borrowed from the Moors, by whom the string of beads was regarded as a kind of religious calculator, on a mechanical principle. But this devotional arithmetic has its peculiar advantages, for the full rosary consists of one hundred and sixty-five beads, that is, of fifteen decades, with a larger bead at the end of each for the Pater Noster, as the small ones are for the Ave Marias. Now it is evident, that if the Ave Marias be repeated one hundred and fifty times continuously, the words would become unconnected with thought, and soon prove merely confused sounds. By this invention, on the contrary, when a few beads have been dropped, the larger one comes in opportunely to refresh the memory; tending also to satisfy the conscience without fatiguing the mind, the lips and the fingers being all that are necessary for this convenient exercise. It was natural enough that the Virgin should take particular delight in a service so peculiarly devoted to herself. Accordingly, she often appeared to Dominic, wearing a garland of red and white roses, in honour of his admirable invention. A knight, to whom the saint presented a rosary, attained by it such a perfection in piety, that his eyes were opened, and he saw an angel take every bead as he dropped it, and carry it to the queen of heaven, who magnified it, and built, with the whole string, a mansion in Paradise. Again, a young woman, named Alexandra, induced by Dominic's preaching, used the rosary, but her heart yearned too much after the things of the world; and two young lovers of her, fought till both died of their wounds, on which their friends, out of revenge, cut off her head, and threw it into a well. The devil immediately seized her spirit, but, for the sake of the rosary, the Virgin interposed, rescued the soul, and gave it permission to remain with the head at the bottom of the well, till it should have an opportunity of confessing, and being absolved. After some days this circumstance was revealed to Dominic, who went to the well, and told Alexandra to come up; the bloody head obeyed, perched on the well side, confessed its sins, received absolution, and the soul departed in peace to pass a fortnight in purgatory, on its way to heaven. These, however, are trifling miracles. When Dominic, after one of

his interviews with the Virgin, entered Thoulouse, all the bells of the city, untouched by human hands, rang to welcome him; but such was the obstinacy of the heretics, that they neither heeded this, nor regarded his preaching. To punish their incredulity, a dreadful tempest of thunder and lightning arose, and set the whole firmament in a blaze: the earth shook, and the howling of affrighted animals mingled with the shrieks and groans of the terrified multitude. The people crowded to the church where Dominic was preaching, as to an asylum. "Citizens of Thoulouse," said he, "I see before me a hundred and fifty angels, sent by Christ and his mother to punish you. This tempest is come for the purpose." While he spoke, an image of the Virgin raised its arm in a threatening attitude. "Hear me," continued the preacher, "that arm shall not be withdrawn till you appease our Lady by reciting the rosary." New outcries now arose, and the devils yelled aloud, because of the torment which this call inflicted upon them. The terrified Thoulousans prayed and scourged themselves, and told their beads with such good effect, that the storm ceased, and the arm of the image resumed its former station.

Historians are not agreed whether Dominic was nominated immediately by the Pope, or the apostolic legate; but the difference is of no moment, and it is certain that after the Lateran council, in 1216, he was constituted Inquisitor in a formal manner by letters from Rome. On receiving these letters, he declared openly in his sermon, that he was advanced to a new office by the Pope; that he was resolved to defend, with his utmost vigour, the doctrines of the church; and that if the spiritual and ecclesiastical arms were not sufficient, it was his purpose to call in the aid of the secular arm, and even to compel the Catholic princes to make war upon heretics, that they might be entirely destroyed.

In the mean while, the Pope excited, by his letters, all the princes to take up arms against the seceders from the Roman communion; but his principal object was to expel them from Thoulouse, where they were very numerous. He was perpetually pressing Raymond, earl of that country, to banish them from his dominions; and when he could not prevail with him to obey the mandate, he ordered him to be excommunicated.

Raymond stood out bravely for some time, but at last he was so frightened by the effects of the sentence, and the terrible expedition of the crusaders formed against him, that he promised obedience, and sought to be reconciled to the church; but could not obtain his prayer without delivering up to the papal legate seven of his strongest castles, by way of security. This submission did not put an end to the croisade, for the army that had been enrolled under the banner of the Pope, attacked the Albigenses every where, took their towns, filled all places with blood, and put their captives to death in a barbarous manner. Simon, earl of Montfort, who distinguished himself as the leader of this expedition, and was made governor of the whole country, gave abundant proofs of his inhumanity; though the Catholic writers say he was a man who was equally religious and valiant.

At Castres two persons were condemned to the flames; and when one of them offered to recant, a difference arose among the cross-bearers, as the soldiers of the Pope were called, whether the sentence should be carried into effect or not. Some said that he ought not to be put to death; while others observed that his repentance proceeded only from fear, and could not be depended upon. Montfort decided that the man should be burnt; alleging, that if his conversion was real, the fire would expiate his sins; and, if otherwise, he would receive the reward of his insincerity.

It would far exceed the limits of such a narrative as this, to particularize, or even abridge, the enormities that were practised, in this abominable warfare, upon an inoffensive people. While the atrocious proceedings were going on, the Pope called the Lateran council, where Dominic was present, and in which many decrees were made against heretics. To this council repaired the earl of Thoulouse, with his son Raymond, to seek redress; instead of which he was excluded for ever from his dominions. Upon this judgment the earl went into Spain, and his son into Provence; where, with the help of auxiliary forces, he retook the city of Thoulouse, and Montfort was slain. The young earl, having thus recovered a good part of his dominions, abolished the Inquisition; which exasperated pope Honorius III. so much, that he became very eager to extend that formidable engine of persecution all over Europe. The pontiff ordered Raymond to return to his duty, under pain of being deprived of his estates as his father had been; and when the prince disobeyed the injunction, sentence of excommunication was denounced, and another holy war proclaimed, to which was given the name of Penance. The Dominicans were intrusted with this commission; and, accordingly, a vast number assembled at the sound of the ecclesiastical trumpet, each wearing, over a white garment, a black cloak; and pledging themselves on the sacrament to defend the Catholic faith. Louis, king of France, was also prevailed upon to embark in this undertaking; and, with a large army, laid siege to Avignon. The city was bravely defended, and fell at last only through the treachery of the legate, who, in violation of a solemn engagement, caused the inhabitants to be massacred; after which the victors marched against Thoulouse. This city also held out a long time; but Raymond, having no hopes of succour, was obliged to make his submission, and after going through a humiliating penance, received absolution. Encouraged by these successes, the Pope laboured with all his might to confer a greater power on the inquisitors, and to establish for them a tribunal, in which they might exercise absolute jurisdiction over every description of persons, and superior to all temporal authority. But this innovation excited jealousy among the civil magistrates, and apprehensions on the part of the people, who justly feared that an institution of so formidable a nature would be destructive of their rights and liberties. Some opposition, therefore, was made to the new establishment, but the papal power was too high to be resisted; and in 1230, a Dominican, named Raymond, compiled, by the command of Gregory IX. the books of the Decretals, into which he collected all the laws against heretics. To these, Boniface VIII. afterwards added others still more severe; and further additions were made at different times by other Popes, that the inquisitors might be fully armed for the exercise of their office. At the beginning of 1231, some reputed Waldenses were discovered in the city of Rome, of whom the most resolute were burnt alive, and the rest condemned to perpetual imprisonment. In the following year, the Inquisition was introduced into Arragon, under the pretext of examining the charge brought against the bishop, of preaching heterodox opinions; but it is remarkable, that on this occasion the Pope was obliged to call upon the king to protect the Dominican examiner, which shews how little disposed the people were to submit to this new tribunal. The same popular feeling appeared at Thoulouse, where the inquisitors were driven out by violence in 1237; though soon after they returned, and exercised their office with rigour.

In Italy, also, the innovation was not effected easily, for though Rudolph, armed with papal powers, as inquisitor-general, formed an establishment at Viterbo, his conduct



were forcibly expelled from Placentia. The strides of domination, on the part of the church, seem to have alarmed even the crowned heads, for Louis IX. who was afterwards canonized, resisted the introduction of the Inquisition into France, and forbade his subjects, of all descriptions, from obeying a citation to appear before the ecclesiastical courts, under severe penalties. But the monarch did not long remain in this disposition; for the Pope, partly by promises, and partly by threats, prevailed upon him to pay implicit obedience to his decrees, and to burden the people with this repulsive yoke of oppression. The case of the emperor Frederic was more extraordinary, for though he had evinced great zeal in supporting the church against heretics, he at last incurred the suspicion of being one himself, and was actually excommunicated as such by pope Gregory, who charged him with the most flagrant crimes and impious blasphemies. The enraged pontiff, in 1240, convened a council at Rome to depose Frederic, but the latter disconcerted the scheme by capturing a Genoese fleet, on board of which most of the prelates had embarked, with their treasures, for the purpose of attending the synod. This disappointment produced such a depression of spirits, that the Pope fell into a fever, which carried him off in a few days. He was succeeded by Innocent IV. whose elevation gave some prospect of peace, as he had formerly been attached to the interests of the emperor; but it now appeared that he was as arrogant as any of his predecessors; and the terms of reconciliation which he proposed were too imperious to be accepted. Innocent, not deeming himself secure in Italy, removed to Lyons, where he assembled a council, which deposed Frederic, and declared the throne vacant. This measure was regarded with such veneration, and looked upon as so weighty by the German princes, that they instantly proceeded to a new election, and chose first, Henry of Thuringia, and after his death, William, count of Holland, to the imperial seat. Frederic, however, continued to carry on the war in Italy till the end of 1250, when he died of a dysentery. Innocent, on this event, returned to Rome, fully resolved to put the decrees against heresy into active exercise every where; and accordingly, in 1251, he fixed Vivian of Bergamo, and Peter of Verona, two Dominicans, as inquisitors of the faith at Milan, but armed with full power to extend their mission to the neighbouring cities. So odious did these agents of the papal despotism render themselves to the population, that Peter of Verona, in his return from one of his visitations at Como to Milan, was waylaid and assassinated in 1252. The Dominicans venerated him as a martyr, and pope Alexander IV. advanced him to the dignity of a saint. The ministers of the Inquisition in Italy were, from him, called Brothers of Peter the Martyr, and, in the standards of the order, his portrait was exhibited as next to Dominic, the protector of the sacred tribunal. The prelates for some time looked upon these delegates of the Pope with terror and jealousy; on which account it was deemed prudent to allay their apprehensions, and reconcile them to the innovation, by associating the bishop of the diocese with the inquisitor, in the examination of criminals. But this was merely for the sake of form, the bishop having no power whatever, either in suspending or modifying the judgment. A similar mark of empty respect was paid to the civil magistrates, who were allowed to appoint one of their number, subject to the approbation of the holy office, to visit the tribunal, and to receive a portion of the confiscated property of persons condemned for heresy. But this privilege was dearly purchased, by the obligation which the magistrate was under to obey the orders of the inquisitor in every thing, and even to take an oath of secrecy.

The Pope also ordained that the charges of erecting prisons, maintaining officers, and inflicting punishments, should be defrayed by an impost upon the municipality wherever the blessing was instituted.

At length, however, when the Inquisition was thoroughly settled, it became, both in its forms, as well as in its jurisdiction, completely independent of the episcopal and civil authorities; so that neither bishops nor magistrates were, in future, admitted to bear any part in the proceedings. After this manner were courts of Inquisition erected in almost all places where the power of the Pope was acknowledged; but the most terrible effects of the institution were felt in Austria; where, according to a Catholic historian, who was an inquisitor himself, several thousands were burnt for heresy in one year. It is observable, however, that though this formidable instrument of ecclesiastical tyranny was received into Venice, it was under circumstances very different from what took place elsewhere; for, in this jealous republic, the doge had power to nominate secular judges to assist and check the inquisitors in their administration. The ecclesiastics at various times endeavoured to alter this constitution, and to get the whole office into their own hands, but were never able to succeed.

About the year 1300, a violent persecution was raised in Italy against certain persons called Apostolics, from their endeavour to introduce among Christians the simplicity of the primitive times, and more especially the manner of life that distinguished the first disciples of our Saviour. They also made a voluntary renunciation of property, and bound themselves to preach in public the necessity of repentance. In their private assemblies, however, they made no scruple of condemning the corruptions of the church of Rome; and of declaring their belief that the Pope was Antichrist. Gerhard Sagarelli, an Italian, was the founder of the Apostolics; but he soon fell a victim to his zeal, and was burnt alive this very year at Parma.

The sect, however, did not die with their leader; but, on the contrary, appeared more openly in denouncing the abuses of the hierarchy, the downfall of which they even ventured to prognosticate. They were headed by a man named Dulcinius, who, finding that the inquisitors intended to extirpate the community to which he belonged, caused the latter to lay aside the pacific character which had hitherto distinguished the Apostolics, and arm themselves. He proved himself an able general; and, though opposed by a powerful force, under the command of Reynier, bishop of Vercelli, he fought some desperate battles; but at last fell into the hands of the enemy, who, in 1307, put him to death, with his wife Margaret, in a most barbarous manner. Notwithstanding this, the Apostolics still continued their meetings in secret, and subsisted in various countries, till the beginning of the fifteenth century, when one of them, named William, was burnt alive at Lubeck. It should seem that, after this, the members of this sect became incorporated with some other religious societies, or assumed a new appellation. Thus, in proportion as the system of terror prevailed, the odium which it excited caused the spirit of inquiry to spread; and the tempest of persecution only served to scatter the seeds of truth over distant lands. The abominable laws which were now enacted under the authority of the Pope, for the suppression of truth, and the edicts which rendered the most illustrious piety and virtue incapable of saving from death such as had the misfortune to be disagreeable to the inquisitors, raised in many places the indignation of the people against these inhuman judges, whose barbarity was accompanied with superstition and arrogance. One of the most inhuman of



these tyrants, was Conrad of Marpurg, the first German inquisitor, of whom Fleury says, that, under the pretext of heresy, he not only committed to the flames a prodigious number of nobles, divines, monks, and laymen, but, moreover, caused many of them to be put to death on the very day they were accused, without examination or appeal. The barbarities committed by this monster kindled the popular resentment to such a pitch, that at last he was publicly assassinated.

It has been already stated, that the Popes instituted two monastic orders purposely for the extermination of heresy by their instrumentality; but, such is the inscrutable mystery of Providence, the very means adopted to extinguish truth proved the means of propagating it. A schism arose in the fraternity of St. Francis; one body, called the Spirituals, insisting upon a rigid adherence to the rules of their founder, with regard to severity of discipline and voluntary poverty: while the others, taking the name of the "Brethren of the Community," were for a relaxation of those austere injunctions. The latter, being by far the most numerous, exerted themselves to the utmost in opposing the former, whose faction was as yet but weak and in its infancy. Notwithstanding this, the Spirituals cheerfully submitted to these hardships, and seceded from their brethren, considering them as apostates who had deserted the ordinances of their master. Pope Clement V. was very anxious to reconcile these differences, but without effect; and meanwhile the Spirituals of Tuscany elected a president, and removed to the neighbourhood of Avignon. A council was now called at Vienne in Dauphiny, for healing the breach between the contending parties; wherein, by mutual concessions, something like amity was restored among the Franciscans in that country; but in Italy the schism became irreconcilable, and the Spirituals, not deeming themselves safe, crossed over to Sicily, where they met with protection from the king, the nobles, and the bishops. On the death of Clement V. the dissension, which had been allayed in France, broke out again with fresh fury, and the two factions even had recourse to arms, in which the citizens took a part.

Pope John XXII, who was raised to the pontificate in 1317, endeavoured to heal this new disorder, by publishing a bull, in which he abolished the new order of Spirituals called Fraticelli, or Friars Minors; and also the Tertiaries, Beguines, or Beghards, as another division of Franciscan separatists were denominated. At the same time, the Pope called upon his Sicilian majesty to expel the fugitives out of his dominions; and, in a council held at Avignon, his holiness ordered the French Spirituals to comply in every thing with the papal regulations. This they resolutely refused to do, alleging that it was contrary to their vows, and that the Pope had no authority to alter the rule which St. Francis had received from Jesus Christ. Exasperated at this disobedience, John pronounced them heretics, and sent their chief, Bernard Delitiosi, to prison, where he died; while four of his adherents were condemned to the flames at Marseilles, which odious sentence was executed without mercy. This act of inhumanity, instead of terrifying the Spirituals into submission, had a contrary effect. They not only gathered up the reliques of their four brethren, and revered them as those of martyrs, but declared aloud that the Pope had proved himself the genuine antichrist. The latter, in consequence, set the inquisitors actively at work; and these agents of despotism were far from being idle in the exercise of their calling, for they apprehended all the Spirituals they could find, inflicted upon them the most cruel torments, and burnt vast numbers of them in France, Italy, and Germany. The schism, however, in spite of these horrid barbarities, con-

tinued to increase; and, in 1321, a Beguine, or monk of the third order of St. Francis, was apprehended at Narbonne for teaching, among other things, that "neither Christ nor his apostles ever possessed any thing, whether in common or personally, by right of property or dominion." John de Belma, an inquisitor of the Dominican order, pronounced this opinion heretical; but Berengarius Taloni, a Franciscan, maintained that it was perfectly orthodox. At length the dispute was brought before the Pope, who found it impossible to decide the matter, though he called to his assistance the most acute casuists of the age. He, therefore, prudently enough, commanded both parties to be silent; which injunction, in the height of controversy, neither side was willing to obey. John then allowed the polemics to go on in their warfare, and in some degree became a partisan himself, by proposing this question to some of the universities, "Whether those were to be deemed heretics, who maintained that Jesus Christ and his apostles had no common or personal property in any thing they possessed?" The Franciscans, hearing of this design of the Pope, held an assembly in 1322 at Perugia, in which they declared that those who held the opinion stated in the papal question, were not heretics, and that the tenet was sound and apostolical. The Pope, enraged at this insult to his authority, as he termed it, issued a decree, in which he gave his judgment against the doctrine of the Franciscans, and declared them heretics. Soon after he went farther, and took from the order of St. Francis the papal protection.

The community, unappalled by these severities, stood firm to their rule, and sent brother Bonagratia, one of their most learned members, in the quality of legate to the Pope, before whom he made so resolute a defence, that he was put under a rigorous confinement. The Pope was now so enraged, that he issued a new edict, in which he enacted that all who maintained the opinion of the absolute poverty of Christ and his apostles, were corrupters of the true religion. This decree was followed soon after by another, in which the opponents of the papal decision were pronounced obdurate heretics, and rebels against the holy church. In consequence of this merciless judgment, great numbers of those who asserted that our Saviour and his disciples were mendicants in the same sense as Francis and his faithful brethren, were seized by the Dominican inquisitors, and brought to the stake, with an avidity that would have disgraced savages of the lowest description in their most ferocious wars.

The papal court was then at Avignon, whither some of the principal brethren of the Franciscan order were summoned, and on their arrival thrown into prison. Among others were Michael de Cesenas, the head of the fraternity, but deposed by the Pope in 1327, Bonagratia of Bergamo, already mentioned, and William Occam, a native of England, who excelled most men of that age in acuteness of genius and subtilty of wit. These three, however, contrived, the same year, to make their escape; and were fortunate enough, with many others, to reach Munich, where they obtained the favour of the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, who at that time had a warm contest with the Pope, and was therefore glad to countenance a body of men capable of defending him by their talents, while he gave them the protection of his sword.

Under this powerful patronage, these learned fugitives assailed the Roman pontiff with reproaches and arguments; but Occam surpassed all the rest in the keenness and spirit of his satire; so that his writings, which were read with avidity, prepared the way in shaking the papal supremacy. Grateful for this service, the emperor not only made the cause of the Franciscans his own, but also adopted

doctrine concerning the voluntary poverty of Christ and his apostles; which tenet, indeed, could not fail to be very acceptable to the temporal authorities, at a period when an ambitious hierarchy assumed to itself the right to dispose of kingdoms, and to partition out lands, at its pleasure.

The rage of the contending parties subsided greatly after the year 1329; when a diet of the Franciscans was held at Paris, in which Gerhard Oddo was elected president in the room of Cesnas, and John was acknowledged as a true and lawful Pope. But, notwithstanding this submission, there were great numbers of the brethren who continued refractory, and would by no means consent to a reconciliation. Those in Germany held out longer than any others; but, on the accession of Charles IV. in 1345, they became the objects of a severe persecution, being pursued by the inquisitors as the enemies of the holy see, and put to death without mercy. The emperor, who now resided in Italy, countenanced these barbarities, and issued some terrible edicts, in which he commanded all the German princes to extirpate the voluntary beggars, as he denominated them, from their territories, and to assist the inquisitors in their proceedings against them. The persecuted people, being reduced to great straits, sought a refuge in the provinces of Switzerland bordering upon the Rhine; and also in Holland, Brabant, and Pomerania. But the imperial decrees, with the papal bulls and inquisitors, pursued them every where; notwithstanding which, the discord proved too inveterate to be subdued by these means, and it was not till the year 1368 that any thing like a pacification could be effected; when the Franciscan order was divided into two large bodies, called by the respective names of the Conventual Brethren, and the Brethren of the Observation. Those who gave up the strict sense of the rule, came under the first; and those who adhered closely to the injunctions of the founder, were distinguished by the latter appellation. But the Fratricelli rejected both, and either kept themselves in a separate state, or joined other religious societies.

During the remainder of this century, the inquisitors extended their vigilance to every quarter, and hunted with increasing activity after heretics; so that the history of those times abounds with numerous instances of persons who were burnt, or otherwise barbarously destroyed, by those bloodhounds. But none of the enemies of the Roman church gave the ecclesiastics so much employment as the "Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit," who went under the common names of Beghards and Beguines in Germany, but had different appellations in other places. They professed an uncommon sort of devotion, and endeavoured to call men off from external religion, to an inward and spiritual worship; which recommended them greatly to many serious persons. Numbers of these people perished by the hands of the inquisitors, and yet the sect still continued to spread throughout Germany, and even in the capital of France. They had also some learned men among them, particularly Henry Eccard, superior of the Dominicans in Saxony, who fell under the censure of John XXII.; but though charged with heresy, and his books were ordered to be burnt, his life was spared.

Such was the exorbitant power of the Pope at this time, that sovereign princes could not escape the judgment inflicted upon heretics. This was evinced very remarkably in the case of Matthew Galeacius, count of Milan, who favoured the fugitive Franciscans, and thereby incurred the vengeance of the court of Rome. An ecclesiastical interdict was pronounced against the prince and all his adherents; the city of Milan itself was deprived of its charter; and the inhabitants of other provinces were prohibited from holding any

intercourse with the Milanese, under penalty of excommunication. Matthew, however, despised these terrors, and refused to submit to the papal usurpation; in consequence of which the inquisitors were directed to proceed against the whole family, as the favourers of heretics. Accordingly, the bishop of Parma and two abbots published the sentence, and proclaimed anathemas every where against Matthew Galeacius, as a rebel to the church. A war arose upon this, in which the count of Milan was defeated. He then resigned the government to his son; and, after making an appeal to the Almighty against the injustice of his persecutors, withdrew secretly from the city to Monza, where he soon after died through sorrow. His body was buried privately in a retired place, to prevent its being dug up and burnt; which so provoked the legate and inquisitors, who sought diligently for it, that they anathematized all the persons implicated in the concealment.

The fifteenth century was distinguished by many remarkable occurrences, all of which indicated plainly that some great changes were about to take place in the moral world. It was evident, indeed, that nothing short of divine interposition could preserve the Christian church from ruin, in such a general state of corruption among its ministers. The vices of the ecclesiastical order were so flagrant, that the most zealous advocates of the papacy had nothing to offer in defence of those who profaned the office by their manners. Things, in fact, were at this time come to such a state, that those were deemed the best Christians who, in defiance of the Inquisition, inveighed with the greatest boldness against the court of Rome.

The Latin church was now divided into three great factions, and its government carried on by as many contending chiefs: Gregory XII. who resided at the Vatican; Benedict XIII. who dwelt at Avignon; and Alexander V. who fixed his pontifical seat at Pisa. Benedict assembled a council at Perpignan; Gregory, another at Austria, near Aquileia; while Alexander was supported by an ecclesiastical assembly held at Pisa. This last antipope died in 1410, and was succeeded by Balthasar Cossa, a Neapolitan, who took the name of John XXIII.; by virtue of whose authority, and with the consent of the emperor Sigismund, a council was called in 1414 at Constance. The immediate object of this famous assembly was to put an end to the schism that had so long rent the papacy, and which was accomplished by deposing Pope John, and raising to the pontifical throne Otta de Colonna, who took the name of Martin V. Gregory sent in his voluntary resignation of the tiara; but Benedict, who resided still at Perpignan, held out, and persisted in assuming the papal authority till his death in 1423. But if the council of Constance had some merit in checking the arrogance of the bishops of Rome, it was disgraced by the foul treachery practised against John Huss; of whose martyrdom, as well as that of Jerome of Prague, an ample narrative has already been given in a former part of the present work.

The followers of Huss being persecuted and oppressed in various ways, by the emissaries of the church of Rome, retired to a mountain in Bohemia, where they held their religious meetings, and administered the eucharist under both kinds. This mountain they called Tabor, and, in process of time, they not only raised a strong fortification for its defence, but erected thereon a regular city. The Hussites also chose two leaders, one named Nicholas, and John Ziska, which last was a man of the most undaunted courage and resolution. After the death of Nicholas, in 1420, Ziska commanded alone, and had the satisfaction to see his army increase every

day. During these preparations for war, Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, died; and was succeeded by Sigismund, whose conduct to Huss, and Jerome of Prague, had rendered him peculiarly odious to the Bohemian brethren. The emperor now put forth all his power against them, and a sanguinary contest was carried on, in which numbers of the Hussites were butchered with such peculiar circumstances of barbarity, that the retaliatory course adopted by them was no more than what might have been expected.

Irritated by the inhuman treatment which they experienced, the Bohemians threw off the imperial yoke, and, with Ziska at their head, became a terror to their enemies. This great man, even after he had lost his sight, continued to lead on his brave warriors to the combat with an intrepidity that produced astonishing effects. Upon his death, in 1424, the Hussites chose for their general Procopius Raza, who was animated with the same spirit as his predecessor; and many obstinate battles were fought with various success, but marked by too much ferocity on both sides. The Bohemians, however, had this plea in their favour, that they were driven to extremities by oppression, and the attempt to subjugate their consciences to a yoke which they could not endure. It has been said that the Hussites had imbibed the most barbarous sentiments with respect to the obligation of executing vengeance upon their enemies, against whom they breathed nothing but bloodshed, without any mixture of humanity or compassion. But Mosheim, who makes this heavy charge, ought in candour to have stated the fact, that the Bohemians were goaded into this sanguinary system by the conduct of the emperor, who established the Inquisition in that country with such power, that thousands were condemned and put to death, some being burned alive, and others thrown into the river and drowned. These unhappy people, therefore, were impelled by necessity to take up arms in their own defence; and if, in the contest, enormities were committed, the guilt lay with those who set the example, and who had no right to complain of treatment which was in every respect the same with what they practised themselves.

While the inquisitors were busily engaged in putting down the Hussites, a new sect arose to call for their labours. A priest, whose name is not known, descended from the Alps, attended by a great number of persons of both sexes, who, in imitation of their leader, were arrayed in white linen, whence they obtained the name of *Fratres Albi*, or the White Brethren. This multitude went in procession through several provinces, following a large cross which their conductor carried erect as a kind of standard; and by their apparent sanctity captivated to such a degree the people wherever they came, that persons of all ranks flocked in crowds to augment their number. The chief exhorted his followers to appease the anger of the Divinity by acts of mortification, and endeavoured to excite the European nations to embark in a new crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land; but the Pope, instead of hearkening to the prophet, ordered him to be taken up and committed to the flames; upon which the white brotherhood dispersed, and the sect was extinguished.

Another body of fanatics that arose at this period, were the Flagellants or Whippers, who ran about scourging themselves by way of expiating their sins. At the head of this sect in Thuringia, was Conrad Schmidt, who, with many of his followers, was apprehended by the inquisitors, and conducted to the stake. These people held, that the doctrines of the Roman church with respect to the efficacy of the sacraments, the fire of purgatory, and prayer for the dead, were unscriptural; and that the simple belief in the creed,

with prayer and bodily discipline, is sufficient for salvation. But it was not against heretics only that the zeal of the inquisitors was directed at this period, for they made a diligent search after sorcerers, and the practisers of magical arts. Numbers thus charged were taken up in France and Flanders, and some of them, on being put to the torture, confessed the most ridiculous things respecting their connexion with evil spirits. Yet, when they were condemned to the fire, the unhappy creatures protested their innocence, and declared that what they had acknowledged on the rack was mere fiction, and extorted by torment. The innocence of these sufferers afterwards appeared so manifest, that the parliament of Paris interposed, and not only put a stop to farther prosecutions, but sentenced the judges who had been hasty in their decisions to be heavily fined.

It was in Spain, however, that the Inquisition obtained the most signal triumphs, under the patronage of Ferdinand and Isabella, who by marriage united the kingdoms of Castile and Leon. Immediately after that event, they ordered tribunals to be erected throughout their dominions for the correction of heresy, and the conversion or expulsion of the Jews and Moors. The first inquisitor-general was a Dominican, named Thomas Torquemada, or Turrecremata, prior of the monastery of Santa Croce, in Segovia, and confessor to their majesties. He was appointed to this new office in 1483, by Pope Sixtus IV., with power to make such provincial inquisitors as he might think proper. The effects of this establishment were soon felt all over the kingdom. In 1485, the inquisitors acted with the greatest severity in the town of Guadaloupe, where a friar charged with heresy, and fifty-two persons accused of Judaism, were delivered over at once to the flames; forty-six bodies were dug up out of their graves and burnt; the images of twenty-five fugitives were consigned to the fire; sixteen penitents were condemned to perpetual imprisonment, besides a vast number of lesser criminals sentenced to the galleys. On leaving the town, after this horrible sacrifice, the holy fathers issued an order, requiring all Jews to quit the place within one month on pain of death. At the expiration of that short space, a strict inquiry was made after those unhappy people, above two thousand of whom were burnt in different parts of the country as an example; but this was only a prelude to greater things! The inquisitors, who held their sittings at Guadaloupe, in the immediate presence of the Virgin, to whose honour the temple there was consecrated, were earnest in their entreaties that she would favour them with some miraculous sign of her approbation. The goddess condescended to this request. One of the inquisitors, by name Francisco Sanchez de la Fuente, took upon himself the office of recording the prodigies which were vouchsafed on this glorious occasion. He narrated sixty miracles, and then gave up the task, because his pen could not keep pace with the wonders that were performed by our Lady of Guadaloupe. Thus the sanguinary system, being sanctioned by the highest authority, went on in vigorous operation, and soon spread itself over the whole Spanish territory. The Jews who escaped death or imprisonment, were compelled to wear a peculiar garb, that all Christians might avoid them; and their posterity, to the latest generation, were not only excluded from all offices of honour or trust, but prohibited to wear any ornament whatever. So furious were the proceedings against these descendants of Abraham, that by the beginning of the following century, that is, within the space of thirty years, four thousand had been burnt at Seville, and thirty thousand were condemned to wear the sambenito, and to lose all their property. Within the single diocese of Seville alone, one hundred thousand

persons perished, or were driven into exile, and in the city three thousand houses were left without inhabitants. This is no exaggerated story; for it is the boast of the inquisitors themselves, and grave historians have confirmed what they dared not condemn. One-third of all the confiscated property went to the inquisitors, another third was appropriated to the expenses of the faith, that is to the same objects; and the remainder went into the treasury. The relations of those who had been condemned, and the new converts, complained to the king that they were proceeded against from motives of private malice; and it is admitted by Paramus, the historian of the Inquisition, that their complaint was well grounded.

The afflicted people, however, could obtain no redress, for the heart of Isabella, whose power was paramount to that of her husband, was completely steeled against all impressions of humanity. The persecuted race of Israel, finding it hopeless to appeal to justice, had recourse to another expedient, and thought of working upon the avarice of the government, by offering large sums for a general toleration; or at least to ensure the safety of individuals. The inquisitor-general, Torquemada, fearing that this negotiation, which was carrying on privately, might prove successful, went to the palace, and, making his way into the royal presence, pulled out a crucifix, and exclaimed aloud to the queen, "Behold the image of that Saviour whom Judas sold to his enemies for thirty pieces of silver! If you approve of what was done in that instance, sell him now for a higher price; but, as for me, I will have no concern in the bargain, and therefore abdicate my office!" Then laying down the image, he departed.

It is some satisfaction to know that this wretch did not go out of the world without some punishment. He lived in such constant terror, that he had always a guard of fifty horse and two hundred officers about his person; nor would he ever drink out of any thing but what he believed to be a unicorn's horn, which was thought an effectual preservative against poison. The remonstrance of Torquemada had its effect. The queen was alarmed; and the alternative of conversion or expulsion was given to the Jews, who, in this distress, applied to John the Second, king of Portugal, offering him a large sum for permission to enter his dominion, and to embark there for Africa. Some of the Portuguese counsellors advised the king to refuse them a passage, saying, that if they were driven to despair they would submit to baptism. John, however, wanted money, though he had no inclination to part with the Jews, thinking they might be serviceable on a future occasion. Accordingly he admitted them into Portugal, on the payment of a certain sum by each person; children at the breast only excepted. The places at which they were to enter were specified, and toll-gatherers stationed there to receive and pass them. These persecuted wretches brought a pestilential distemper with them; so that great numbers died by the road-side and in the waste country, destitute of all human help. But happy were they who thus suffered, compared with those who felicitated themselves in having escaped destruction. Eight months were allowed for the stay of the Jews in Portugal; all who were found there after that time being made liable to slavery. Many were in this last predicament, and were sent to colonize the isle of St. Thomas. Those who effected their voyage to Africa were not more fortunate than their brethren; being now exposed to the barbarity of the Moors, who seized their women and children. Rendered desperate therefore by this new calamity, many of the miserable Jews consented to be baptized, and returned to Spain; fancying that by making this sacrifice they should rest in peace.

In Portugal a new face of things now appeared, on the death of the treacherous John; for Emanuel, his successor, abhorring the treatment which the Jews had received, set at liberty all those who had been enslaved. This gleam of sunshine, however, was of short duration, for Emanuel soon after entered into a matrimonial negotiation with an infanta of Spain; who, at the instigation of Ferdinand and Isabella, insisted upon the total expulsion of the Jews. The king, against the advice of his wisest counsellors, agreed to the condition, and appointed a day for the departure of these poor people; but before that time arrived, he issued orders to the magistrates to seize all the Jewish children under the age of fourteen, that they might be educated as Christians. The effect of this outrage was dreadful, as many of the wretched parents destroyed themselves with their offspring; others threw their infants into wells and rivers, choosing rather to see them perish than to endure the double evil that awaited them.

It should, however, be observed, to the honour of the Portuguese, whose feelings were not as yet blunted by the Inquisition, that they had pity upon these afflicted people; and, in defiance of the law, and their own bigotry, assisted the Jews in hiding their children. As to the king, when he had seized as many of the young as he could find, his next scheme was to entrap the parents, by suddenly forbidding them to embark from any other port than Lisbon, where the increasing numbers heightened the difficulty of procuring a conveyance; by which delay many were thrown into a state of slavery.

Hitherto the Inquisition had not been formally established in Portugal; for though the Popes often attempted to introduce the tribunal there, they were constantly thwarted by the repugnance of the people, who retained their liberty long after their neighbours had lost theirs in the civil wars of Castile. Emanuel, notwithstanding the base part which he had acted towards the poor Jews, was not altogether insensible to the calls of humanity; and, therefore, he resisted the papal demands to proceed against heretics with fire and sword. Even his successor, John the Third, with all his superstition, objected to the establishment of inquisitors in his dominions, on a principle of policy, knowing how detrimental it would be to the national revenue. At last, however, an impostor effected by fraud what the court of Rome could not accomplish with all its power. This bold adventurer was a native of Spain, named Juan de Saavedra; who had long lived by swindling, and, being particularly dexterous in forging hand-writing, he conceived that it would be a good speculation to set up as an inquisitor in Portugal. Accordingly, he made a journey into that country, for the purpose of learning in what manner it would be best to proceed. In his return to Andalusia, he met, at Tavira, with a monk of some new order, coming from Rome with certain bulls relating to the establishment of the society; but as the man's name was not inserted in the instruments, according to his expectation, the neglect made him disaffected. Saavedra, therefore, offered to forge new bulls for him, in which his name should have the place he desired, which promise he performed to the satisfaction of the monk; and then kept the originals for his own purpose. Having now a prototype before him, he drew up such a bull as he wanted, and affixed thereto the genuine seals. His next measure was to go to Avamonte, at which place resided a provincial of the order of Franciscans, who had but lately arrived thither from Rome. Saavedra waited upon this reverend personage, and made his appearance in the character of a plain countryman, saying that six gentlemen, in travelling the road, had dropped these parchments, which he had found; and, knowing that the provincial understood such



things, he had brought them to him ; meaning, if they should prove of any consequence, to lose no time in following the party to whom they must have belonged. The provincial examined the parchments, and was delighted to find that they contained a bull for the establishment of the holy office, and that the person sent with the same appeared to be a cardinal. The Franciscan supposed that the eminent prelate must be a young man, by the speed which he adopted in travelling ; and that he was going either to Seville or Badajoz, there to remain till all things were ready for his reception in Portugal. He therefore charged Saavedra to lose no time, but to follow the supposed cardinal as fast as possible. The impostor had two reasons for acting in this manner ; one was, to satisfy himself that the forgery was well executed, and with all the requisite formalities, which he knew the provincial was well able to ascertain ; and his other motive was, to spread abroad the tidings, which would facilitate his operations. The next business was, by means of his accomplices, one of whom played the part of secretary, to establish a household at Seville for the reception of his eminence. They accordingly engaged above sixscore domestics, and the chapel was not forgotten in the general arrangement. At a fit time they gave out that they were going to Badajoz, to wait for their master ; and having packed up all the baggage, away they posted, but were met on the road, as had been previously settled, by Saavedra, to whom they bowed with great respect, and then joyfully returned to Seville, where the cardinal made his entrance amid the rejoicings of the populace. Here he was lodged in the palace of the archbishop, and remained twenty days, during which he produced a bond for 13,000 ducats, due to him from the marquis of Tarifa, for money lent at Rome ; and the document was so well executed, that he found no difficulty in obtaining the sum that he wanted. Having thus far succeeded, he removed to Badajoz, from whence he sent his secretary with letters, in the names of the Pope and Emperor, to the king of Portugal. His majesty was thunderstruck at the intelligence, but gave no answer ; which so frightened the secretary, that he hastily returned to Saavedra, and entreated him to be content with what had already been gained, and to decamp as secretly as possible. The dauntless swindler, however, persisted in his project, sent his accomplice back to Lisbon, and directed him not to leave the palace till he had received an explicit answer from the king. John, confounded, and perhaps intimidated, required twenty days for deliberation, which Saavedra readily granted, knowing that no communication could be had with Rome in that space of time. At the end of the period, the king gave orders for the public reception of the mock cardinal ; who entered the capital in great pomp, and was lodged for three months in the palace. Meanwhile the holy office was established, and the inquisitorial powers were exercised with all due form and terror, by which course the cardinal soon amassed a considerable sum of money ; but, instead of getting off with it as he ought to have done, he continued, in order to gather more plunder.

At length the trick was discovered in Spain, and the marquis of Barca Rota, having prevailed with a priest at Monza to make a feast for the cardinal, sent a party of soldiers in the midst of the entertainment, to seize him, and convey him to Madrid, where he was examined by the grand inquisitor, who committed him to prison ; and then despatched an account of the proceedings to Rome. But Saavedra had managed the business so well, that the very magnitude of the offence saved him. He had done that for the church of Rome, which the Pope had not been able to effect : and the holy father con-

cluding that it must be the special interposition of Heaven to bring about so good a work by such extraordinary means, recommended a merciful sentence, hinting also that he should be glad to see a man that had acted so ingenious a part. The royal council demanded judgment of death ; but the inquisitors favoured the culprit, and he escaped with condemnation to the galleys for ten years. And yet, light as this sentence was, it was not carried into execution ; for the emperor, Charles V. had the curiosity to see so extraordinary a man ; and, having heard all that he could say in his justification, he actually dismissed him with a pension.

The Inquisition being thus established in Portugal, was suffered to continue, and became regularly organized under Didacus de Silva, at Evora ; cardinal Henry, at Lisbon ; and friar Bernard, a Dominican, at Coimbra. Afterwards, the Portuguese government introduced this terrible instrument of ecclesiastical tyranny into their Indian settlements, by founding a court of Inquisition on a most formidable scale at Goa ; as the Spaniards also did in their foreign dominions at Lima and Mexico.

The conversion, or rather extirpation, of the Jews, became a leading, though not the single, object of the Inquisition in Spain and Portugal ; where the descendants of that persecuted race could not escape, even after their profession of the Catholic religion. The invidious distinction of Old and New Christians was set up in both countries, for the purpose of rendering the families of the Jewish converts objects of jealousy, contempt, and hatred. The officers of the Inquisition were continually on the watch to fasten upon these unhappy people the charge of practising the ceremonies of the synagogue in secret ; and for this purpose they placed spies in every house.

The consequences of so diabolical a system may well be imagined, where avarice and revenge were leagued in the work of destruction. The oppression at last became so crying and intolerable, that king Sebastian granted the New Christians, though not without a remuneration, a protection of their property for ten years, even though their persons should be seized by the inquisitors. Philip the Second, of Spain, remonstrated against this concession, which he had the impudence to call high treason against the majesty of heaven. Notwithstanding this, the Portuguese government renewed the protection at the expiration of the term, for a like period ; the consequence of which was, says a Catholic historian, that, on the very day the indulgence was granted, four galleons were lost, having on board fifteen hundred men and six millions of piastres. Another judgment is gravely stated to have marked this transaction. All the statesmen concerned in it were punished with some visitation or other ; some being dismissed from their employments, others had their property confiscated, some died by violent deaths, and some were seized by the Inquisition !

Another effort was made by the New Christians, to obtain relief under the government of the regent, Pedro the Second, when they petitioned to be placed upon the same footing with other subjects ; in return for which they offered to contribute largely towards the cost of all the missions, schools, and military establishments in the East Indies. Some of the higher ecclesiastics, and particularly the professors in the universities, favoured this petition ; but the bishops, and a host of priests, protested aloud against the required indulgence. They said, "The Inquisition was a righteous tribunal ; and that the inquisitors were the sentinels of heaven, the shepherds of the pontifical flock, the husbandmen of the fields of Christ : it was no wonder, therefore, that the sentinels should be abhorred by the enemy whom they detected, the shepherds



hated by the wolves whom he attacked, the husbandman by the tares which he has plucked up. These perverse dogs did but bite the corner-stone of the faith, and barked at the rod of justice with which they were chastised. They still concealed the sacrilegious altar of their idolatries within their obdurate hearts; and, therefore, to grant them this indemnity would be the breaking the net of St. Peter, which had fished them up from the bottom of the sea of their offences, to bring them into a state of liberty and grace!"

Pedro was not proof against the remonstrances which poured in upon him; and the Pope, who was applied to by the New Christians, abandoned them to their fate. One man only was found bold enough to take the part of the persecuted, and he was a Jesuit, named Vieyra, who, having himself been a sufferer in the Inquisition; on his release, wrote several bold addresses to the king against the tyranny of that tribunal, and particularly its proceedings towards the Jewish converts. He shewed, that the course adopted tended to produce the very evil it was proposed to remedy; and that these afflicted people contracted, by the persecution, a hatred to Christianity. All this, however, was addressed to the deaf adder. The principle upon which the Inquisition acted was, that Judaism, like the scrofula, tainted the blood, and that when once it got into the system, there was no getting it out but by fire. Yet there was another motive, still more powerful; for the New Christians, in general, were among the richest people in Portugal, and whenever a victim was seized, possession was immediately taken of his property; which, in the event of conviction, became confiscated. At his first examination he was asked whether he knew for what he was apprehended, and assured that the only way to obtain mercy was by making a full confession. At the second, they obliged him to name all his kindred to the remotest degree of consanguinity; and, at the third, he was warned that if he denied his guilt, he would be punished with the rigour which the holy office always used towards the obstinate and impenitent. Till this time the prisoner had not even been told of what he was accused, but was left to guess at the crimes which he was called upon to confess. If he still protected his innocence, the charges against him were read. One witness for each charge was sufficient, even though he were a fellow-sufferer in the Inquisition, as was commonly the case. The charges against New Christians, or those suspected of Judaism, were, refusing to eat pork, or hare, or fish without scales, or putting on clean clothes on Saturdays. The modes of defence were generally two: first, the prisoner was asked by his mock advocates, if he had any enemies whom he suspected of having borne false witness against him; and, in the next place, he was called upon to prove an alibi; but, as no relations were suffered to depose in his behalf, his case was hopeless. Neither mode of exculpation could, as things were managed, be availing; and therefore, if the unhappy man did not, to avoid torture, make a full confession of his guilt, he was doomed to the rack.

In other courts, where the wicked practice of applying the torture prevailed, if the sufferer held out, he was acquitted: but in the Inquisition, neither innocence nor fortitude could save the victim; there was no possible way of escaping death, but by confessing all he was accused of, and submitting not only to the punishment which even then would be awarded, but to utter ruin and infamy, for himself and his family, to the latest posterity.

Those who persisted in asserting their integrity were invariably condemned to the flames, and numbers perished in this manner, utterly denying Judaism, and devoutly invoking the sacred name of Jesus in their last moments. Shocking

as all this is, the annals of the diabolical Inquisition are stained with other atrocities equally repulsive; and the case of those persons who were called *Diminutos*, must be considered as even more pitiable than that of the Jews or Christians who died for persisting in the truth. According to the practice of this abominable tribunal, the accused person was neither informed of the precise fact with which he stood charged, nor of the names of his accusers. In most cases it happened, that hope, fear, or human weakness, made the prisoner confess that he was guilty, which indeed was the great object of the Inquisition, for the sake of the confiscated property. But here the unhappy wretch entangled himself in real crime, while acknowledging that of which he was innocent: for his confession would not be admitted unless he named his accomplices; and if he failed to do this, he suffered as a *Diminuto*, that is, for having kept back the truth. The consequence was, that these miserable creatures, to save their own lives, frequently gave up their nearest connexions as victims to the holy office.

One instance is upon record, of a man that accused his own daughter, who at the age of five had been put into a hunnery, from whence she was now dragged to the prison of the Inquisition. The vicar-general of the archbishopric of Lisbon having fallen into the grasp of this tribunal, accused the two sons of his washerwoman, as his accomplices in exercising Jewish practices. They were both very young, and one of them was no more than eight years old at the time of the supposed offence. "Can you believe," said the eldest to the inquisitors, "that the vicar-general would profess himself a Jew in company of us, whom he would not admit into his house as menial servants? I forgive him, that God may forgive me my trespasses; but this crime I will never confess, because I have never committed it." His brother maintained the same heroic sentiment; but when of age, they were both condemned and executed. The vicar-general was released but passed the rest of his life in wretchedness, and on his death-bed he confessed that he had falsely accused the two unfortunate brothers.

A son accused his own father; but both were brought out at the same *auto-da-fé*; the father to suffer death, and the unnatural son to receive a lighter punishment. When the latter saw his parent, he entreated his forgiveness and his blessing. "My forgiveness," replied the wretched father, "I bestow freely, in the hope that God may in like manner forgive me. My blessing I will not give, for he can be no son of mine who has confessed that of which he is not guilty. Farewell, and may God forgive thee!"

The political consequence of this dreadful system was a gradual impoverishment of Portugal, by the emigration of its wealthiest and most industrious inhabitants to England and Holland, so that at length the whole country gave deplorable marks of depopulation—roads broken up by time and neglect, mansions falling to decay, and grass growing in the streets of towns which had once been flourishing and populous.

At length, about the middle of the last century, when the marquis de Pombal became prime minister, some measures were set on foot to remedy these evils; and the first thing done, was to abolish the distinction between Old and New Christians. But while that great statesman was engaged in regenerating his country, the Inquisition exerted its baleful influence, and succeeded in putting a stop to the reformation. In Spain the same system of cruelty was productive of like effects; for there, not only the expulsion of the Jews, but that of the Moriscos, as the native Moors of Grenada were denominated, spread desolation over one of the finest parts of Europe.

Having given an historical account of the origin and progress of the Inquisition, it may be necessary to describe briefly, its constitution and forms of proceeding.

The tribunal is composed of an inquisitor-general, with two others under him, a fiscal proctor to conduct the prosecution, two secretaries, one of whom has the care of the confiscated property, an examiner, a receiver, assessors, advocates, an executor, surgeons, a gaoler, and officers named familiars, all of whom are invested with great privileges, and are sworn to secrecy.

Of the circumstances that subject a person to the cognizance of this terrible power, the principal is heresy; under which denomination is comprehended generally the teaching, writing, or speaking any thing contrary to the doctrines of the Roman church. The stigma of heretic is applied also to such as deny the Catholic faith, by going over to some other communion; or, that entertain any doubt respecting the articles of faith; or, that believe there is any salvation out of the church. They likewise brand as heretics all who disapprove any ceremonies or customs, how trivial soever, that are practised with the sanction of the Inquisition and the authority of the Pope. Even the suspicion of heresy is enough to bring a person before this rigorous tribunal; to incur which charge it will suffice to have deviated casually from any of the forms of the church; such as letting a year pass without going to mass or confession, eating flesh on fish days; and, above all the rest, entering into an acquaintance with foreign Protestants, and especially hearing their sermons. By the abettors of heresy, are understood all such as favour, defend, assist, or urge any thing in the way of an apology for, those who are condemned by the church and Inquisition.

For the more effectual extirpation of heresy, a sermon is preached once a year in every parish, at which all families are bound to be present. In this edict of faith, as it is called, the people are warned, under pain of excommunication, to reveal to the inquisitor every thing they have known or heard to have been spoken or done against the church. In many places, but especially in Spain, it was customary, when the sermon was ended, for all the congregation to promise upon oath to aid the Inquisition as far as lay in their power, by defending its ministers and furthering its objects. In this obligation to accuse, no one was freed by any tie of relation, rank, profession, or character. Of this, a remarkable instance is recorded by Paramus, the historian of the Spanish Inquisition; who says, that Joanna, the daughter of the emperor Charles V. was cited to answer certain interrogatories against a person then under accusation of heresy. The princess demurred, and refused to appear before the inquisitors, till she was compelled to do so by her bigoted father, who told her to make the deposition without delay or reserve, even though she should implicate himself by her declaration.

The Popish doctors, therefore, enforce upon all persons the obligation to accuse in every case, and that under the most severe denunciations of vengeance against those who shall withhold from the Inquisition the information necessary for the punishment of heretics. Nor is there any regard to be had to kindred in this affair; for the brother is bound, under the same penalty, to accuse his brother or sister; the wife her husband, and the husband his wife; the father is to give up the name of his son or daughter, and the child is forced to accuse his parent.

The mode of proceeding against a person impeached, is generally by summons; which, if necessary, is repeated three times, and, in case of disobedience, the party is excom-

municated. To prevent an escape, however, the inquisitors have been often accustomed to apprehend the accused person without any previous notice.

As the prisons of the Inquisition are commonly the same in most countries where this execrable tribunal has been established, we shall confine ourselves to that of Lisbon.

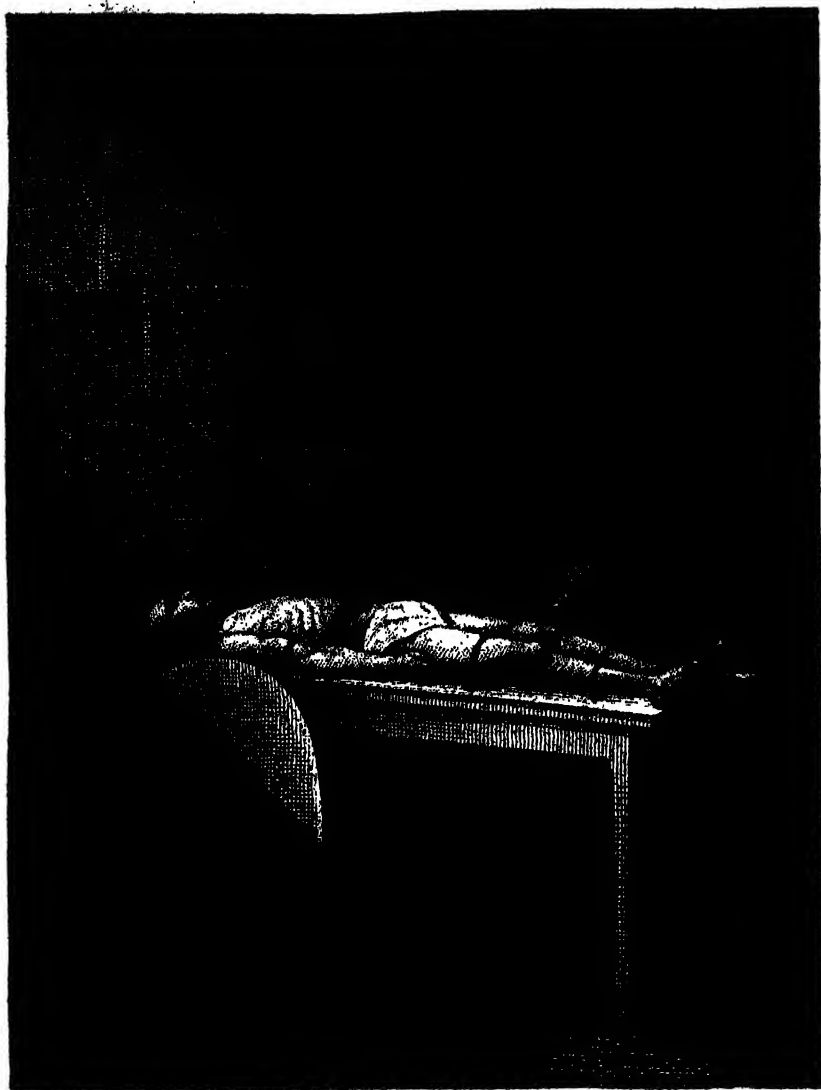
This edifice, which is very spacious, consists of four courts, each about forty feet square, round which are galleries, containing about three hundred cells. Those on the ground floor are mere dungeons, arched over, and very gloomy. Here the vilest and poorest criminals are confined. The cells over these are occupied by offenders of better condition, or whose crimes are of less magnitude than those of the others. Above these the women are lodged. In front of the galleries a high wall is erected, which obstructs all view of them from without, and renders the cells exceedingly dark within. The furniture of each apartment corresponds with the general wretchedness, consisting of a straw bed, and a table; but no writing materials are allowed, nor a book of any kind, whether devotional or otherwise. The prisoners are also debarred all intercourse with their friends, and cannot even hold any conversation with the guards or attendants. They are commanded to keep perpetual silence, and are not allowed to sing hymns, or say their prayers aloud. To make the least noise, even by necessity, is deemed a contempt, for which the officers, who are always walking up and down the passages, first reprove the offender severely, and if he persists, they inflict summary judgment by scourging him. Of this barbarity one instance may suffice. A prisoner having a violent cough, one of the keepers came and ordered him not to make a noise. He replied, that it was not in his power. The cough increased, and the injunction was repeated; but obedience being impossible from the nature of the complaint, the poor creature was stripped, and flagellated till he died.

Two prisoners are never lodged in the same cell, unless with the design of collecting from their discourse, which is always overheard, matter wherewith to criminate one or both of them. When the prisoners are brought in, whether men or women, they have their heads shaved, without any regard to their quality. Those who are lodged in the lower cells, generally sit in darkness; and are sometimes kept there for several years, nor is any one suffered to have an interview with them except the inquisitors and keepers.

Such is the infamous nature of this court, that it sets, in its process, the jurisprudence of all nations at defiance; admitting relations to be witnesses against, but not for, the prisoner. One heretic may also appear as the accuser of another, and a Jew or an infidel, whose testimony in ordinary cases would not be allowed, may here criminate an unfortunate prisoner, and be sworn according to the forms of their own religion and laws. Nay, even persons who have been convicted of perjury, and proved to be unworthy of all credit, are readily admitted as witnesses or accusers in the court of Inquisition; and, what is equally extraordinary, those who are under excommunication, and women of infamous character, may be examined on charges concerning the faith: for the rule by which the Inquisition is guided, goes upon this principle, that any thing may be received to prove heresy; and that the value of the evidence, or the credibility of the witnesses, must be appreciated by the judges.

Sometimes a prisoner passes several months in his cell before he is brought to a hearing; and at last he is suddenly told that he must prepare himself for an audience. The room where this takes place is called the Table of the Holy Office; at the upper end of which is a crucifix as large











life; and immediately under it sits the secretary, or notary, the inquisitor having his station somewhat more elevated in the centre; and the prisoner is ordered to kneel at the lower end, where he is first sworn to secrecy in regard to the Inquisition, and to a full disclosure of all things concerning himself and others. Having taken this curious oath, he is directed to a seat, and is then asked a great variety of questions, the tendency of all which is to criminate himself. If he makes a free confession, and complies with all the orders and customs of the court, he is treated mildly, and conducted back to his confinement; but if, on the contrary, he declines a direct answer to the interrogatories that are put to him, he is remanded to his cell with indignation, and warned of the dreadful consequences that will be the result of his obduracy.

Some days afterwards he is again brought before his judges, and asked whether he has seriously examined the bottom of his heart, and scrutinized the particulars of his life. In case he accuses himself, or others, of any offence cognizable by the Inquisition, his declaration is drawn up by the secretary; but if he refuses to make a further confession, the inquisitor, by many artful ensnaring questions, endeavours to draw forth such answers as may be sufficient to condemn him. This snare, which is laid with the utmost caution and address, can hardly be escaped; for should the prisoner have been seized merely on feeble grounds, the court will contrive to gather, from his admissions, something or other to justify the harsh usage which he receives. Further, as the inquisitors always begin with smooth speeches and fair promises, some prisoners are thereby thrown off their guard, and induced to acknowledge the offences they are charged with, in hopes of obtaining, by their frankness, a speedy release. Instances have also occurred, of persons declaring themselves guilty of crimes of which they were wholly innocent.

When the process is ended, and all the informations and interrogatories are gone through with, if the criminal confesses his offence, no further examination takes place. But if he persists in denying the charges alleged against him, the witnesses are re-examined, and he is allowed an advocate, though not one of his own choosing; so that the supposed favour is a mere mockery of justice. The depositions against the prisoner are read over to him, but as he is not made acquainted with the names of his accusers, it is evident that his defence must be very defective, because he cannot expose the malice and revenge to which he has fallen a victim. In the same cruel disregard of equity, the day when the alleged offence is said to have been committed, is not mentioned; nor the house where it occurred; so that for the want of such particulars, the sufferer, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, labours under an impossibility of proving an alibi, or of detecting a falsehood.

Obstinate heretics are denied a defence, but criminals of less culpability, that is, in the inquisitorial sense of turpitude, are allowed to make the best they can. When the accused party cannot be found guilty, either by his own confession or by direct evidence, he is condemned, contrary to every principle of justice, to the question and torture. The place where this dreadful scene takes place, is a dark room under ground, to which one enters by several passages. Here a tribunal is erected, in which the inquisitor, inspector, and secretary, sit. When the candles are lighted, and the prisoner is brought in, the executioner makes his appearance, covered all over with a black garment tied close to his body; his head and face being concealed in a cowl of the same colour, and only having two holes in it for him to see through. He is intended to keep his features from being recognized,

and also to strike the greater terror into the mind of the sufferer, who may truly imagine himself in the hands of the devil. Whilst the officers are preparing the instruments of torture, the inquisitor exhorts him to confess the truth, and if he refuses, the process begins with great celerity. In the first place, the sufferer, without regard to sex, is stripped, and then clad in a light dress of linen, after which his hands are tied behind the back, weights are fastened to his feet, and he is drawn up to a considerable height; in which manner he is kept suspended till all his joints are dislocated, when he is let down with a sudden jerk, to make the pain more acute. This mode of torture is repeated several times if the prisoner continues obstinate, and when he faints he is carried back to his cell. Another method of torturing is, by what they call the "wooden horse," of which we have the following description by Gonsalvus, in the History of the Inquisition:

This rack is hollow, like a trough, so as to contain a man lying on his back at full length, and across the middle is a round bar, upon which the back of the person being placed, his arms, thighs, and legs are tied round with cords drawn so tight with screws, as to cut the flesh into the very bones. The torturer then lays over the face of the sufferer a thin cloth, after which a stream of water is made to descend from above, in such a direction as to force the linen into his mouth and down his throat, by which means the poor wretch is half suffocated, and feels the horrors of dying. When the face of the prisoner is uncovered, that he may answer further questions, the cloth is withdrawn from the mouth, and frequently found dyed with blood. There is another kind of torture peculiar to this tribunal, called the fiery trial. They order a large iron chafing-dish, full of lighted charcoal, to be brought in, and held close to the soles of the prisoner's feet, that have been previously greased over with lard, by which means the pain becomes excruciating in a horrible degree.

But it would be impossible to enumerate and describe all the inventions of cruelty that have distinguished this diabolical system at various times, and in different countries, so as to render these subterranean vaults an apt representation of that dismal region where those who once enter never more see the cheerful rays of the sun, or feel the refreshing breezes of the air, but—

Far, O far from steep Olympus thrown,  
Low in the deep Tartarean gulf shall groan,  
With burning chains fix'd to the brazen floors,  
And lock'd by Hell's inexorable doors;  
As far beneath th' infernal centre hurl'd,  
As from that centre to th' ethereal world.

That this poetical picture is more than realized in the horrors of the Inquisition, will appear from the history of the celebrated Orobio, who, after filling with great reputation the metaphysical chair in the university of Salamanca, practised physic at Seville, till he fell under the charge of Judaism. For this he was seized, and thrown into a dark dungeon of the Inquisition, where he remained three years, during which period he was totally lost to his family. At the expiration of that time, he was one evening brought out of his cell to the place of torture, which was a large under-ground room, arched over head, and the walls covered with black cloth. The whole room was enlightened with candles, and at one end was an enclosure, where sat the inquisitor and secretary at a table, so that the place seemed to the prisoner as the very mansion of death. Here he was again admonished to declare the truth; and on his saying that he had already done so, the inquisitor protested, since he was so obstinate as to suffer the torture, the holy office would be

justified if he should expire under the torments that were preparing. A linen garment was then placed on him, which was drawn tight round his person, till he was almost squeezed to death; and when he appeared to be dying, the strings were loosened to let him breathe, which sudden transition only increased his anguish. Having endured this torture, he was again warned to confess the truth; and as he still persisted to deny what had been charged against him, they tied his thumbs so very tight with small cords, as caused the extremities to swell, and the blood to spring out from under the nails. After this he was set upon a little bench, with his back against a wall, into which were fastened iron pulleys, to receive the ends of the ropes that were passed round his body in several places, but chiefly the arms and legs. All these being secured, the executioner, at a signal, drew the cords with such violence that his body appeared to be dividing asunder, and the pain seemed as though he was burning in flames of fire. In the midst of these agonies, the tormentor suddenly drew the bench from under him, so that the sufferer hung by the cords, the knots of which, with his weight, were drawn tighter. After this, a new kind of torture succeeded. There was an instrument like a small ladder, made of two upright pieces of wood, with five cross ones having sharp edges. This, by a quick motion, was driven against his shins with such violence that he received upon each five strokes, which put him to intolerable pain, and he fainted away. On his recovering from this torture, they adopted another by tying ropes round his wrists, and then fastened them behind his back, which was covered with leather. He was then thrown down, and drawn by the feet up the wall, till the cords cut through the flesh. This operation was repeated three times; the ropes being removed to other parts: though in the second process they slipped into the first wounds, which caused so great an effusion of blood that the prisoner appeared to be dying. Upon this the physician and surgeon of the institution were sent for, to ascertain whether the sufferer was in immediate danger; and these barbarians having declared that he had strength enough left to endure more torture, the same dreadful scene was renewed, and then he was carried back to his cell, where he remained in excruciating misery seventy days, after which, though they had failed either to extort a confession or to obtain adequate proofs of his being a Jew, he was condemned to wear, for two years, the infamous habit called *sanbenito*, and then to be banished for ever from the Spanish territories.

The cruel treatment which he endured had such an effect upon him that his brain was disturbed, and in his confinement he would frequently say, "Am I indeed that Balthasar Orobio, who walked freely about Seville,—who was entirely at ease, and had the blessings of a wife and children?" Then he would imagine that the whole of his former life was a dream, that the dungeon wherein he lay was his native place; and that to all appearance there he would end his days. At other times he used to form metaphysical arguments, and resolve them; acting the three different parts of opponent, respondent, and moderator, all at the same time. On recovering his liberty, he made the best of his way out of the reach of the Inquisition, and went to Toulouse, where he was chosen professor of physic, and obtained great distinction in that university. At length he repaired to Amsterdam, where, having contracted an inveterate hatred to his persecutors, he made an open profession of Judaism; and changed his name from Balthasar, by which he had been baptized, to Isaac. He died in Holland, in 1687.

Remarkable, also, was the case of William Lithgow, a Scotchman; who being at Malaga at the beginning of the

sixteenth century, was there seized and thrown into the Inquisition, where he was tortured in such a manner that all his limbs were dislocated, and he was made a cripple for life. When he confessed himself a Protestant, he was admonished to be reconciled to the church of Rome, and was allowed eight days for that purpose; during which interval he was visited by several Jesuits and others, who used every art they could devise to bring him over to their communion. But, as all these efforts proved ineffectual, after undergoing a variety of torments, he was told to prepare for the fire. While, however, he looked for nothing else than to shed his blood, he escaped death, and was put on board an English ship as a subject of Great Britain.

When Lithgow arrived in London, he was carried to king James on a feather bed, that his majesty might be an eyewitness of his mangled condition. The whole court crowded to see him, and he was twice sent to Bath, at the royal charge, for the benefit of the waters there. Afterwards he applied to the Spanish ambassador for redress and the recovery of his property; but, though a promise was given that he should obtain a full reparation, the poor man never recovered a farthing. Lithgow, upon this, attacked the ambassador with great vehemence in the presence of several gentlemen of the court, for which, to the disgrace of the king, he was sent to the Marshalsea prison, where he lay nine months.

It frequently happens that persons die in the Inquisition of the tortures which they undergo; an affecting instance of which is related by Gonsalvus. There was at Seville, in the sixteenth century, a noble lady, Jane Bohorquia, whose husband was lord of Higuera, and her father a wealthy citizen. Mary Bohorquia, her sister, was taken up for heresy, committed to prison, and burnt; as hath already been related in the account of the Spanish martyrs. Madam Bohorquia, of whom we are now speaking, was also apprehended on suspicion; and though she was far advanced in her pregnancy, the inhuman persecutors confined her in a cell with a young woman who was charged also with heresy. Here she continued till she was delivered, when they took the infant from her, and then began their accustomed system of cruelty.

Under these distressing circumstances, her sole comfort was in conversing with her companion upon religious subjects. At last the young woman was taken out to be tortured, and on her return all her limbs were so disjointed that her straw bed only aggravated her misery. In this condition Madam Bohorquia could do nothing for her but weep, pray, and strengthen her mind as well as she could by spiritual counsel. The poor girl had scarcely recovered from the effects of the torture, when her companion was called forth to endure the same dreadful trial, which was inflicted with such severity, notwithstanding her weak condition, that she vomited blood, and on the eighth day afterwards expired. Even then, the monsters, so far from feeling remorse, sought with increasing avidity for proofs to defame the memory of the victim they had murdered; but not being able to find any, they published a declaration, in which they pronounced the unfortunate lady innocent, and absolved her from all the charges brought against her by the accuser. It might have been thought that a confession so humiliating as this would have rendered the inquisitors a little more mild and compassionate to others; instead of which, at their very next act of faith, they caused the young companion of Madam Bohorquia to be burned alive as an incorrigible heretic; and no better evidence than that which they had already admitted, in the former instance, to be insufficient to produce

Heresy is so comprehensive a term, that any opinions, how harmless and indifferent soever, may, according to the wisdom of the inquisitors, be brought under condemnation. Thus the Copernican system has been formally denounced as heretical by a papal decree; and for no other cause than his maintaining and teaching a philosophical truth, was the famous Galileo brought twice before the holy office, and compelled to abjure what he knew to be capable of demonstration. This great man, in 1615, was cited from Florence to Rome, and charged with heresy for asserting these two propositions: first, that the sun is in the centre of the planetary system, and immoveable; secondly, that the earth is not stationary, but revolves round the sun with a diurnal and annual motion. These principles were pronounced by the sage inquisitors, acting under the authority of the Pope, absurd, false in philosophy, and injurious to the Catholic faith. Galileo was accordingly detained in prison till the 25th of February, 1616, when he was commanded to abjure these errors, and never more to defend them either by word or in writing. The astronomer heard the injunction, made his submission, and promised obedience; but the instant he was out of hearing, striking his staff on the ground, he exclaimed, "Yet the earth does move, notwithstanding!" He went back to Florence, and taught philosophy as before, though with considerable caution, till the year 1632, when he had the temerity to publish his "Dialogues concerning the two systems of the World, the Ptolemaic and Copernican;" for which he was again called before the Inquisition at Rome, and committed to prison.

As he had been found guilty of disobeying the mandate of the Holy Office, he was now required to subscribe a long recantation of the heretical propositions that he had advanced; his book was prohibited by public edict; a salutary penance was laid upon him—to recite once a week, for three years, the seven penitential psalms—and he was ordered to remain in durance till his judges should think proper to set him at liberty. After swearing, with the same sincerity as he had done before, that the condemned doctrines were false and damnable, he was remitted to his cell, though seventy years old, and did not obtain his discharge till 1634, when he went back to Florence; and in the mean while his book, which had given so much offence, was publicly burnt at Rome. Such is the tyranny exercised over the rights of the human intellect by the church of Rome; and though the discoveries of science have completely exposed to ridicule the infallible decrees of popes, councils, and inquisitors, the enlightened members of that communion, even now, dare not openly impugn decisions which they know to be false. Thus when the two learned fathers, Jacquier and Le Sueur, published a Commentary on the Principia of Newton, they thought it necessary to prefix a declaration, purporting that their demonstrations were to be considered as hypothetical only, and not contradictory to the judgment of the church; which apology, for a mathematical work, was about as honest as the retraction made by poor Galileo at the bar of the Inquisition.

The persecution of Michael Molinos, though of another kind, is a striking proof of the horrible despotism of the church of Rome. This sufferer was a Spanish priest, but resided chiefly at Rome; where, in 1675, he published in his own language a book entitled "The Spiritual Guide," which was well received, and reprinted in Italian in 1681. This translation alarmed some of the doctors of the church, because the author laid more stress upon internal religion than outward forms of worship. His principle was too dangerous for the zealous advocates of pomp and cere-

monial, on which account the book was condemned five years afterwards, and Molinos thrown into a dungeon; but though he read his recantation, the inquisitors condemned him to close and perpetual imprisonment; which sentence was rigorously enforced, and in 1696 he was released by death.

Of the millions which this merciless tribunal has sacrificed during the last six hundred years, few and imperfect are the records that remain; partly owing to the lapse of time, and more to the veil of obscurity thrown over the institution. An attempt to penetrate into the recesses of such a labyrinth of cruelty, must prove abortive. It would be easy to point out the places where the flames of the Inquisition have raged with destructive fury; but to enumerate the victims, or to describe their wrongs, must exceed the industry and ingenuity of man. From the few individuals who have escaped the dungeon, the rack, and the stake, at different periods, some interesting details have been obtained and published; that the world may learn to prize the rights of conscience, and to detest an usurpation which wrests from the Deity the sceptre of mercy, and converts it into a brand for the destruction of mankind. A few of these relations have already been given, in addition to which we shall present the reader with the case of an English woman, who had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the inquisitors, evidently, as it appears, for the sake of her property, which these authorized robbers seized and appropriated to their own use; besides inflicting the most dreadful torments on the unhappy owner. The narrative is given in the form of a deposition, made before the British minister at Lisbon, and is as follows:—

"Elizabeth Vasconellos, now in the city of Lisbon, doth, on the 10th day of December, anno 1706, in the presence of John Milner, Esq. her majesty's consul-general of Portugal, and Joseph Wilcox, minister of the English factory at Lisbon, declare and testify: that she was born at Arlington in the county of Devon, and a daughter of John Chichester, Esq. bred up in the church of England; and in the eleventh year of her age, her uncle, David Morgan, of Cork, intending to go and settle in Jamaica, as a physician, by her father's consent, he having several children, took her with him to provide for her. In 1685 they went in an English ship, and near the island they were attacked by two Turkish ships; in the fight her uncle was killed, but the ship got clear into Madeira; and she, though left destitute, was entertained by Mr. Bedford, a merchant, with whom, and other English, she lived as a servant till 1696. In that year she was married, by the chaplain of an English man-of-war, to Cardoso de Vasconellos, a physician of that island, and lived with him eight years, and never in the least conformed to the Romish church. In 1704, her husband being gone on a voyage to Brazil, she fell dangerously ill, and being light-headed, a priest gave her the sacrament, as she was told afterwards, for she remembered nothing of it. It pleased God that she recovered, and then they told her she had changed her religion, and must conform to the Romish church, which she denied, and refused to conform; and thereupon, by the bishop of that island, she was imprisoned nine months, and then sent prisoner to the Inquisition at Lisbon, where she arrived the 19th of December, 1705. The secretary of the house took her effects, in all above £600 sterling: she was then sworn that that was all she was worth, and then put into a strait dark room, about five feet square, and there kept nine months and fifteen days. That the first nine days she had only bread and water, and a wet straw bed to lie on. On the ninth day, being examined, she owned herself a Protestant, and would so continue; she was told she had conformed to the Romish

church, and must persist in it or burn; she was then remanded to her room; and after a month's time brought out again, and persisting in her answer, as to her religion, they bound her hands behind her, stripped her back naked, and lashed her with a whip of knotted cords a considerable time, and told her afterwards that she must kneel down to the court, and give thanks for their merciful usage of her, which she positively refused to do. After fifteen days she was again brought forth and examined, and a crucifix being set before her, she was commanded to bow down to it and worship it; which she refusing to do, they told her that she must be condemned to the flames, and be burnt with the Jews at the next *auto-da-fé*, which was nigh at hand: upon this she was remanded to her prison again for thirty days, and being then brought out, a red-hot iron was got ready, and brought to her in a chafing dish of burning coals, and her breast being laid open, the executioner, with one end of the red-hot iron, which was about the bigness of a large seal, burnt her to the bone in three several places on the right side, one hard by the other, and then sent her to her prison, without any plaster or other application to heal the sores, which were very painful to her. A month after this, she had another severe whipping as before; and in the beginning of August she was brought before the table, a great number of inquisitors being present, and was questioned, whether she would profess the Romish religion or burn. She replied, she had always been a Protestant, and was a subject of the queen of England, who was able to protect her, and she doubted not would do it, were her condition known to the English residing at Lisbon; but as she knew nothing of that, her resolution was to continue a Protestant, though she were to burn for it. To this they answered, that her being the queen of England's subject signified nothing in the dominions of the king of Portugal; that the English residing in Lisbon were heretics, and would certainly be damned; and that it was the mercy of that tribunal to endeavour to rescue her out of the flames of hell; but if her resolution were to burn, rather than to profess the Romish religion, they would give her a trial of it beforehand. Accordingly the officers were ordered to seat her in a fixed chair, and to bind her arms and her legs, that she could make no resistance nor motion, and the physician being placed by her, to direct the court how far they might torture her without hazard of life; her left foot was made bare, an iron slipper red-hot being immediately brought in, her foot was fastened into it, which continued on, burning her to the bone, until such time as by the extremity of pain she fainted away, and the physician declaring her life was in danger, they took it off, and ordered her again to her prison. On the 19th of August, she was again brought out and whipped after a cruel manner, and her back was all over torn, still being threatened with more and greater tortures; and, on the other hand, being promised to be set at liberty, if she would subscribe such a paper as they should give her; though she could have undergone death, yet not being able to endure a life of so much misery, she consented to subscribe as they would have her; and accordingly, as she was directed, wrote, at the bottom of a large paper, which contained she knew not what: after which they advised her to avoid the company of all English heretics, and not restoring to her any thing of all the plate, goods, or money she brought with her, and engaging her by oath to keep secret all that had been done to her, turned her out of doors, destitute of all relief but what she received from the help and compassion of charitable Christians."

This artless narrative is attested by the consul and Mr. Wilcox, who afterwards became bishop of Rochester; but what

steps were taken to procure satisfaction for this outrage to an English subject is not recorded. Had the case occurred half a century before, the Portuguese government would have smarted for the insult. In the time of the Commonwealth, Thomas Maynard, the English consul at Lisbon, was thrown into the prison of the Inquisition, under the pretence that he had said or done something against the Romish religion. Mr. Meadows, who was then our resident there, informed Cromwell of the transaction; and having received his orders, waited upon the king of Portugal to demand the liberation of the consul. The king told him it was not in his power to comply, for that the consul was detained by the Inquisition, over which he had no jurisdiction. The resident sent this answer to Cromwell, who immediately despatched fresh instructions to his minister; and when Meadows received them he again waited upon the king, and told him that since his majesty had declared he possessed no power over the Inquisition, he was directed to declare war against that body. This so terrified the king and the inquisitors, that they immediately resolved to give the consul his liberty. Accordingly the doors of the prison were opened, and he was civilly told to go about his business. But Maynard, knowing full well that this courtesy arose more from fear than politeness, refused to depart in that manner; and demanded a public reparation for the injury he had sustained. The haughty members of the tribunal were so afraid of Cromwell, who they knew was not a man of mere words, that in great humiliation they waited upon the consul, made an apology for what had been done, restored his effects, and conducted him to his house with as much honour, and as little sincerity, as Haman paid to Mordecai.

Our sketch of this tremendous engine of persecution must close with an account of the horrible and affecting spectacle called an *auto-da-fé*, or act of faith.

This solemnity always takes place on a Sunday or some festival, except Christmas, Advent, Lent, Easter, or Whit-Sunday. Before daylight on the fatal morning, all the prisoners are clothed with the peculiar habits that they are to wear in the procession: and about two o'clock they proceed to a long gallery, where they stand against the wall, like so many statues, being strictly enjoined neither to speak nor move. Penitent heretics are arrayed in a mantle of sack-cloth, of a saffron colour, called the *sanbenito*, with a red cross on the back and breast. Those who are destined to the fire have black dresses of the same form, with flames and devils painted thereon. But such as confess their crime after sentence, and thereby become objects of mercy, are arrayed in a vesture called a *samarra*, on which the flames are painted with the points downwards. Besides all this theatrical mum-mery, the criminals wear conical caps of paper, on which also flames and demons are depicted.

About four o'clock the officers give the prisoners bread and figs, to satisfy their hunger during the fatiguing ceremony. As soon as the sun rises, the great bell of the cathedral begins tolling, at the sound of which the people collect in crowds, to enjoy the sight of this shocking tragedy. The principal inhabitants meet at the house of the Inquisition, where they become sureties for the criminals, one walking by the side of each culprit during the procession; and this distinction, which any where else would be shunned, is, in Catholic countries, regarded as an honour. Matters being duly arranged, the principal inquisitor places himself near the great gate, attended by the notary of the Holy Office, where he reads over the names of all the criminals, beginning with the lesser offenders, and ending with those who are desperate. The prisoners then march out in or-



foot; and, as they pass along, the notary pronounces the name of each, and that of his surety who walks by his side. The Dominicans head the procession, carrying the banner of the institution, on which is represented the image of their founder holding a sword in one hand, and an olive-branch in the other, with this motto, "Misericordia et Justitia;" that is, "Mercy and Justice." When all the minor offenders have passed the inquisitor, then comes the grand cross, with its face towards those in front, to denote the favour that has been shewn them; while the back is turned upon the criminals in the rear, as expressive of their irreversible destiny. Lastly, they carry the effigies of those who have died in heresy; and also their bones enclosed in small black chests, with flames and devils painted on them, that they may be burnt to ashes. After parading the principal streets, they enter the great church, where a sermon is preached, which province is generally assigned to a Dominican in Europe; but Dellon, a French physician, who suffered the torture at Goa on suspicion of heresy, and came out at an act of faith wearing a saubeno, says that the discourse there was delivered by an Augustine. The account which that author gives of the sermon is curious. The preacher chose for his subject Noah's Ark, to which he compared the Inquisition; but taking care to magnify the latter over the former, by observing that the animals preserved in the one came out as they went in; while the Inquisition so far changes the persons disciplined in it, that though they enter as fierce as wolves or lions, they become by confinement as meek as lambs. Sermon being over, two readers mount the pulpit, and read aloud the sentences that have been passed on the criminals, with the punishments to which they are condemned. Each culprit, as his name is called, is brought into the front of the gallery, holding an unlighted taper in his hand, and there stands till the judgment is read through; and because all the prisoners are supposed to have incurred the greater excommunication, when the sentence of one is read over he is brought to the foot of the altar, where, upon his knees, with his hands on the missal, he is made to wait for the rest, who, like him, are freed from death. As soon as the names and sentences of these are gone through with, the inquisitor rises from his throne, puts on his sacred vestments, and descends into the middle of the church, where he absolves all these penitents; at the end of which ceremony each of them receives a stroke from the rod of one of the attendant priests. After this, the persons thus reconciled to the church are sprinkled with holy water and hyssop, as a token that they are purged from corruption and brought into the way of truth. Further, he that hath offended against the Catholic faith, which he before professed, hath a rope tied round his neck, which is suffered to remain, nor must he take it off on any account; the same being intended to mortify and humble his mind. When this service is performed, the Grand Inquisitor returns to his seat, and then the sentences of those who are appointed to death are read over, the conclusion of which is, that as the Inquisition can shew them no favour, on account of their obduracy, they must be delivered over to the arm of the secular power; the court at the same time, with the most barefaced hypocrisy, praying the civil magistracy to be moderate and lenient, though the latter it is well known dare not pardon one of them. One of the familiars of the Inquisition, as soon as this cruel piece of mockery is finished, gives each of the unfortunate victims a blow on the breast, to signify that he is now given over to the arm of justice; which he is immediately seized by the officers of the court, and, if in orders, he is previously degraded. He is then brought before the presiding judge, that magistrate

does nothing more than ask in what religion the prisoner intends to die, for his fate is already sealed; and, if he answers in the Catholic religion, he is ordered to be strangled at the stake, and then consumed to ashes; but if he persists in his heresy, or in the Jewish persuasion, he is sentenced to be burnt, or rather roasted, alive. At the place of execution, which, in Lisbon, is the Ribera, there are as many stakes set up as there are prisoners to be burnt, with a good quantity of dry furze about them. The stakes of the professed, as the inquisitors call them, may be about four yards high, and on each is a small board whereon the prisoner is seated, within half a yard of the top. The negative and relapsed, or those who deny their crimes and die in the Roman communion, are first strangled and burnt; then the others go up a ladder between two Jesuits, who spend near a quarter of an hour in exhorting them to be reconciled to the church; and if they refuse, the priests descend and give place to the executioner. After the sufferer is fastened to the stake with a chain, he is again tormented by the importunities of the monks, who kindly bid the unhappy wretches farewell, by saying, "that they leave them to the devil, who is standing at their elbow, to receive their souls, and carry them with him into the flames of hell, as soon as they are out of their bodies." Upon this a great shout is raised, and as soon as the Jesuits descend from the ladder, the mob cry out, "Let the dogs' beards be made;" which is done by thrusting faggots of flaming furze into their faces; and this barbarity is repeated till the heads of the miserable beings are as black as a coal. The beards of the professed having been thus made, or trimmed, as they call it, fire is set to the piles of furze beneath; but as the prisoner is chained high on the seat above, the flames, especially if there is a wind, do little more than keep up a scorching heat, by which means the roasting may take one or two hours, before death closes the dreadful scene. And yet, (says Dr. Michael Geddes, who was an eye-witness of these horrors,) though out of hell, there cannot possibly be a more lamentable spectacle, especially heightened, as it is, by the cries of the sufferers, "*Misericordia por amor de Dios*;" "Mercy for the love of God:" it is beheld by people of both sexes with transports of joy and satisfaction. Dr. Wilcocks also, who was chaplain to the factory at Lisbon, speaking of an auto-da-fé, which he witnessed, wherein two persons were strangled, and two, a man and a woman, burnt alive, says, "the execution was very cruel. The woman was alive in the flames half an hour; and the man above an hour. The king and his brothers were seated at a window so near as to be addressed for a considerable time, in very moving terms, by the man as he was burning: but though the favour he begged was only a few more faggots, yet he was not able to obtain it."

The following is the description of an auto-da-fé, which was celebrated at the Spanish capital in 1682.

"The officers of the Inquisition, preceded by trumpets, kettle-drums, and their banner, marched on the 30th of May, in cavalcade, to the palace of the great square; where they declared by proclamation, that, on the 30th of June, the sentences of the prisoners would be put in execution. There had not been a spectacle of this kind in Madrid for several years: on which account, it was expected by the inhabitants with as much impatience as though it had been the merriest holiday. On the last day of June, a numberless multitude of people appeared, as splendidly dressed as if it had been for a royal wedding. In the great square was raised a high scaffold; and thither, from seven in the morning till nine at night, came criminals of both sexes: all the Inquisitions in the kingdom sending their prisoners to Madrid.

Of these unhappy creatures, twenty men and women, and one renegade Mohammedan, were ordered to be burned; fifty Jews and Jewesses, having never before been imprisoned, and proving penitent, were sentenced to a long confinement, and to wear a yellow scapulary; and ten more, indicted for bigamy, witchcraft, and other crimes, were sentenced to be whipped, and then sent to the galleys. These last wore large pasteboard caps, with inscriptions upon them; and had halters about their necks, and torches in their hands. The whole court of Spain was present on the occasion. The chair of the grand inquisitor was placed in a sort of tribunal, far above that of the king. The nobles here acted the part of sheriff's officers in England, leading such criminals as were to be burned, and holding them fast with thick cords; while the rest of the prisoners were conducted by the familiars of the Holy Office. The unhappy victims were placed on a scaffold near the balcony of the king, while several friars, appointed for the purpose, were arguing with great vehemence to convince the wretched creatures of the truth of the Christian religion. Amongst those who were to suffer was a young Jewess, of exquisite beauty, and only seventeen years of age; who being on the same side where the queen was seated, addressed her, in hopes of obtaining her pardon, in these pathetic terms: "Great Queen! will not your royal presence be of some service to me in my miserable condition? Have regard to my youth, and, Oh, consider that I am about to die for professing a religion imbibed from my earliest infancy!" Her majesty seemed greatly to pity her distress, but turned away her eyes, as she dared not speak a word in behalf of a heretic, or any person condemned by the Inquisition.

"Now mass began; in the midst of which the priest came from the altar, that was placed near the scaffold, and seated himself in a chair prepared for the purpose: the grand inquisitor then descended from the amphitheatre, dressed in his cope, and wearing a mitre on his head. After bowing to the altar, he advanced towards the king's balcony, and went up to it, attended by some of his officers, carrying a cross and the gospels; together with a book containing the oath by which the kings of Spain oblige themselves to protect the Catholic faith, to extirpate heretics, and to support with all their power the prosecutions and decrees of the Inquisition.

"On the inquisitor's approach, and presenting this book to the king, his majesty rose up, bare-headed, and swore to maintain the oath, which was read to him by one of his counsellors. After this, his majesty continued standing till the inquisitor had returned to his place; when a secretary of the Holy Office mounted a sort of pulpit, and administered the like oath to the counsellors and the whole assembly. The mass was begun about twelve at noon, and the whole did not end till nine in the evening; being protracted by a proclamation of the sentences of the several criminals, which were all rehearsed aloud one after another. Then followed the burning of the twenty-one men and women; whose intrepidity in suffering that horrid death was truly astonishing; some threw themselves into the flames, others thrust in their hands and feet with dauntless fortitude; and all of them yielded to their fate with so much resolution, that many of the amazed spectators acknowledged themselves sorry that such heroic souls were not enlightened by the gospel. The king's near situation to the criminals rendered their dying groans very audible; he could not, however, be absent from this dreadful scene, as it is esteemed a religious one; and as his oath obliges him to give a sanction, by his presence, to all the acts of the tribunal."

Even nearer our own times, and within the memory of many, the fires of the Inquisition have been kindled for the suppression of religious inquiry. It is little more than forty years since, that a blind woman of Seville was put to death by this iniquitous tribunal; on no other charge than that of professing the doctrine of Molinos and Madam Guion, which reduces all religion into an internal submission of the mind to God. This poor creature was shut up in a cell between three or four years, during which time there was scarcely a graduate, of any ecclesiastical order, that did not labour to convert the heretic. The assessors of the Holy Office exhausted all their rhetoric to the same purpose, but in vain, for she was proof against their arguments and declamation. The enthusiast was not aware of her danger, till the cause drew to a conclusion, when the tribunal pronounced her an obstinate heretic, and appointed an auto-da-fé. There was scarcely an inhabitant of Seville that did not go to see this solemnity; which lasted from an early hour in the morning till night. This criminal formed the most interesting object in the tragedy. She was gagged, and placed on an ass in the midst of divines, who endeavoured to subdue her by new arguments, while the brutal multitude kept shouting, "Viva la Fé," (long live the faith!) Her cause was read from the pulpit, in the principal church of the Dominicans; and nothing now remained but to deliver her over to the secular power, that she might be punished with death. A retractation, previous to this, might have saved her life, but now her doom was sealed. The dread of her approaching punishment produced an extraordinary agitation of mind, which completely overcame her fortitude; so that she yielded implicitly to all the arguments of the monks, and subscribed a full recantation of all the tenets which she had before so firmly maintained. Great rejoicings prevailed on this occasion; but the conversion had no other effect than to alter the manner of her death. She was first strangled, and then burned to ashes.

Although we have deemed it essential to the design of our work, to give an ample account of this extraordinary engine of papal despotism, we cannot close the history without presenting to the reader two curious cases.

In the year 1722, an Italian ecclesiastic, named Jerom Bartholomew Piazza, who had been a delegate judge in the court of Inquisition at Osimo, near Ancona, abjured the Roman Catholic religion, and settled in London; where he printed a brief account of the proceedings of the Holy Office in his native country.

One of his relations is, of a poor priest, who lost his senses through the terror which he had of this iniquitous tribunal. "For the better understanding of this affair, (says Piazza,) I must let you know that the high court of Inquisition at Rome had sent circular letters to all the provincial dependencies, with strict orders to exert themselves for the apprehension of an ecclesiastic, whose name was there specified; he being accused of having taught at Venice heretical doctrines. My general inquisitor sent to me a copy of these letters, with an earnest injunction to execute the orders of the court of Rome; as there was reason to believe that the party therein mentioned had taken up his residence at Osimo. But since it was most likely that the man had altered his name, a particular description of his person was subjoined; stating, among other things, that he was of a pale, lean, and grave countenance. Thinking myself bound to do all that was in my power in such a case, I first sent for the registers of the different parish churches of Osimo, to see whether the name of this person was to be found in them. This search proving fruitless, I next sent for

of ordinations; but there I was equally unsuccessful, for no such name was to be discovered. At last I assembled all the officers of the Inquisition, and having caused the letters and orders of the high court at Rome to be read in the hearing of them all, desired that if they should ever take notice of any person answering the description there given, to let me know it without delay. Notwithstanding this diligence, a whole year elapsed before I could gain any information on the object of my inquiry. One morning an officer of the court came to me in great haste, and said, 'Sir, I remember the tenor of the letters which you received from Rome about twelve months back; and now while I was in the market-place a person passed along, who, in my judgment, answers in every particular the object there described.' Upon this I immediately sent for our messenger, and gave him orders to seek out and bring me the man in a civil way, by saying that the vicar of the Inquisition wanted to speak with him. Meanwhile the fiscal and chancellor were sent for, who both came at the same time with the stranger. We looked at the man with the utmost attention, and on comparing his features with the description given us in the letters of the supreme court, were inclined to think that he was in all probability the person of whom we were in search. I accordingly resolved to send an exact account of the affair to the general inquisitor, having no power to proceed without his orders. In the course of the examination, he was sworn to give true answers to all questions that should be put to him, from which it appeared that he was in orders, and had a small curacy in the country; that he had formerly resided at Venice as the teacher of a grammar-school, but left that city on account of his health. These circumstances strengthened the suspicion that he was the very man; and therefore he was detained in custody while an express was despatched to the general inquisitor, from whom an answer came the same day, saying that the man should be examined more strictly concerning all the particulars of his life, in order to ascertain whether he was a good scholar, as the person was represented to be who was mentioned in the letters. Accordingly, on the following morning the poor curate was brought before us again, shaking and trembling like an aspen leaf, which was sagaciously construed into a fresh circumstance against him. But great was our surprise, when, on administering the oath to him again, we could receive no other reply to every question than this, "Quod dixi, dixi; quod scripsi, scripsi." "What I have said, I have said; what I have written, I have written." He was warned to consider where he was, namely, before the tribunal of the Inquisition, the judge of which court might, if he chose, force him to answer by severe torments. All these menaces, however, were unavailing, and produced the same response. Confounded and perplexed by this strange behaviour, I despatched another express to the supreme judge, who ordered the curate to be sent to him for examination. So the poor man was conveyed on horseback, his hands tied behind him, and attended by a great train of messengers, to Ancona, where the grand inquisitor resided. Here that ecclesiastical dignitary exerted all his faculties to make the curate give distinct answers to his inquiries; but all proved fruitless, and it was soon discovered that his intellects had sustained an irreparable shock; which was the more lamentable, as about the same time information was received that the person for whom he had been taken was apprehended.

Another case, that happened while I was the vicar of the Inquisition at Osimo, is, if possible, still more shocking and terrible. It has already been observed, that every person apprehended, under the penalty of excommunication, to

denounce the dearest friends and relations he has, if he knows them to have said or done any thing contrary to the Catholic faith. Acting upon this infamous principle, the wife of a poor miller gave information against her husband; charging him with having said, on the death of two or three children, that "God Almighty could never do any thing worse to him." She also accused him with despising holy images; because in a fit of passion he had thrown on the ground a consecrated medal, having the figure of some saint on it. And, lastly, it was stated that the miller had been heard sometimes to say, "I think all our preachers relate so many extraordinary stories about purgatory, only to frighten us." This was in substance what the wife alleged, in which she was supported by some of the neighbours, who all agreed, however, in affirming that the miller was an honest man, and a good Christian; that he had always shewn a particular concern about the souls in purgatory, for whose relief he often gave alms, and caused masses to be said. These persons farther stated that the wife was of a very jealous temper, and far from bearing a good character.

"Considering these circumstances, I was very unwilling to proceed against the poor man, seeing that the strongest points proved against him were attributable to ignorance and passion. Notwithstanding this, the grand inquisitor ordered me to pursue the cause, and to put the miller under arrest. Accordingly the poor man was sent to prison, and underwent several examinations; in the course of which he confessed with great simplicity that all the charges were true; but that he had never entertained any doubt of the providence of God, or of the doctrine of purgatory; and that as to the disrespect to a sacred image, it was the furthest from his thoughts; the fact stated having been done inadvertently, because it reminded him of a child that he had lost.—The case was a very hard one; yet the miller was kept a long while in prison, waiting for directions from the high court of the Inquisition at Rome. I pitied the man very much, on account of his ignorance and the situation of his children, who in his absence wanted bread; on which account I did what I could to bring his cause to a speedy and favourable issue. For this purpose I employed an advocate of great ability, who drew up a noble defence of the miller, which I sent to the general inquisitor, but all to no purpose. After the lapse of several months there came at last the definitive sentence from Rome, in which it was ordered that the man should be racked; and that if he gave a good account of his faith, he should make an abjuration, and remain in prison during pleasure. This judgment affected me exceedingly, and, being very loth to put it in force, I desired the grand inquisitor to hear the man himself; with which request he thought proper to comply, and thus relieved me from the most painful part of the imposed task. To Ancona the poor fellow was sent, and there he was put on the rack, according to the decree of Rome; after which he was again committed to prison, where he remained above twelve months, before he could get his liberty."

Here closes the history of these human sacrifices; nor are we acquainted with any subsequent immolations that have been publicly exhibited either in Spain or Portugal; though, to the disgrace of both countries, the execrable tribunal has been suffered to continue there, in the exercise of secret cruelties, at a period when all the other nations of Europe have recognized it as a sacred principle, that the rights of conscience cannot be violated without infringing upon the attributes of the Deity, and committing flagrant injustice towards his creatures.

## PERSECUTIONS IN PIEMONTE.

IN a former part of this work an account has been given of the rise, progress, and dispersion of the Christians who bore the names of Albigenses, Vaudois, and Waldenses. A slight notice was also taken of the sufferings which those undaunted confessors endured in the valleys of Piemonte at different periods. But the subject is of so much importance, and has latterly been brought before the public with such interesting circumstances, that a martyrology would be grossly deficient which did not exhibit in a circumstantial detail the history of this apostolical church.

For a long period the Waldenses continued undisturbed in their Alpine retreats, but at the beginning of the fifteenth century the storm of persecution burst upon these humble precursors of the Reformation. A small colony of these Christians who were settled in the valley of Pragela, were suddenly attacked in the depth of winter by their Catholic neighbours, with such fury and in such numbers that resistance would have been fruitless. In this dreadful exigence, the only chance they had of saving their lives was by taking to the mountains. Thither therefore they bent their course, with their wives and children; many of the unhappy mothers carrying the cradle under one arm, and leading such as were able to walk by the other. In their flight they were closely followed, and several of the most aged and helpless were slain. Those who escaped were reserved for a more deplorable fate. Overtaken by the shades of night, they wandered up and down among the hills that were covered with snow; and in the morning numbers of them were found frozen to death. This appears to have been the first organized attempt at an extermination of the Vaudois of Piemonte; and soon after, pope Innocent VIII. intrusted Albert, archdeacon of Cremona, with inquisitorial powers, to proceed against those inhabitants of the valleys, who were, as he said, polluted with heretical pravity. Albert put himself at the head of a military force, and entered the country, upon which the poor people flew to their caves in the mountains, carrying their children with them, and such necessaries as they could remove. The legate finding the valleys depopulated, caused a search to be made for the hiding places of the fugitives; and on discovering them, he ordered the soldiers to heap piles of wood at the entrances of the caverns, and set them on fire. By this horrible act four hundred children perished in the arms of their mothers, while multitudes, to avoid suffocation, rushed out of their fastnesses, and precipitated themselves from the rocks into the chasms, where, if they were not dashed in pieces, they were slaughtered by the soldiers. Above three thousand persons were destroyed on this occasion.

At length this persecution was stopped by the interposition of the duke of Savoy; but when Francis I. king of France obtained possession of Piemonte, the flames were rekindled there at the instigation of the pope, and great numbers of the Waldenses were sacrificed at Turin and elsewhere. Commissioners were sent with an armed force into the valleys, for the purpose of compelling the people on pain of death to conform to the church of Rome. On their arrival at Perouse, they issued a proclamation commanding every person to attend mass; but the order was disobeyed: nor were the monks more successful in their preaching; for the Waldenses, though they heard them patiently, left the task of answering them to their own pastors. When the commissioners returned to Turin, they declared that neither arguments, allurements, nor menaces could prevail upon these obstinate heretics, and that as they were not to be reduced to

the church by fair means, the only method to be pursued was to extirpate them root and branch. The king, upon receiving this report, issued a decree, that all his subjects should attend mass, or be deprived of their property; and the same commissioners were again sent into the valleys to enforce obedience. But the people were as resolute as ever; and fairly said, that they were not bound to obey such mandates as were inconsistent with their religious duty. Exasperated by this contumacy, the government caused all the Waldenses that could be apprehended to be burned. Several persons suffered with pious resolution; but the death of Francis put a stop to the persecution, for Henry III. his successor, hearkening to the intercession of the Protestant princes of Germany, granted the afflicted people the same privileges which their forefathers had enjoyed. This tranquillity, however, was of short duration, for on the restoration of Piemonte to the duke of Savoy in 1550, the monks set every engine in motion, to harass and exterminate the heretics of the valleys. Their machinations were but too successful, and at the beginning of the following year a man and his wife were burnt alive, while many were sent to the galleys. Still the spirits of these oppressed people remained unbroken; and neither inquisitors, missionaries, nor soldiery could draw them from the profession of that faith, which they were persuaded was founded on the immutable basis of divine truth.

For some time they bore their oppressions with passive obedience, but at last the yoke was so intolerable, and their grievances multiplied to such a degree, that they took up arms in their own defence, and with a success that compelled the government to conclude a treaty that was much in their favour.

An interval of ease now ensued, but it lasted only four years, for the restless bigotry of the Catholics was such, that in spite of contracts they prevailed with the duke to issue an edict, commanding all his subjects to attend mass, or quit the country within two months. When the intelligence of this infraction of the treaty reached Germany, several of the princes, and particularly the elector palatine of the Rhine, Frederic, justly called the Pious, remonstrated with the government of Turin on this act of injustice. "I plainly see," said the elector, in his admirable letter to the duke, "whether the designs of your highness's counsels tend. It is to drag these poor people to prison, and there, by means of torment, to constrain them to confess some treason, that so a pretext may be afforded for destroying all the churches of the valley as seditious, and to condemn them as disturbers of the public peace. But let your highness recollect, that there is a God in heaven, who not only beholds the actions of men, but who also tries their hearts and reins, and to whom all things are naked and open. Let your highness beware of wilfully fighting against God, and of persecuting Christ in his members; for though he may permit it for a while, to try the patience of his saints, he will nevertheless, in the end, chastise the persecutors of his churches and people with dreadful punishments. Let not your highness suffer yourself to be abused by the persuasions of the Papists, who may possibly promise you the kingdom of heaven, and eternal life, as a reward, in case you banish, imprison, and exterminate your subjects. But the infliction of cruelties, and inhuman actions, are not the highway to heaven. Your highness may see what success has attended the persecutions of the last forty years. What advantage have those who themselves Catholics, derived from all the fires, gibbets, prisons, tortures, and banishments, which they put in force in Germany, France, England, and . . . The history, both of the Jews and primitive Christians



dantly shews that in the concerns of religion, the power, authority, or severity of men avail nothing. We find, in fact, that those who have persecuted, banished, or delivered up Christians to death, have been so far from gaining any thing thereby, that, on the contrary, they have increased their number, insomuch as to make it a proverb, "that the ashes of the martyrs are the seed of the church." I therefore beseech your highness, whom I understand to be of a sweet and gentle disposition, to lay these things to heart, and not further molest these poor people for the sake of their religion, nor refuse them the free exercise of it, but rather allow them the liberty of assembling in public, for the worship and service of God: in doing which, you will readily discover the falsehood of the charges brought against them by their adversaries, and have a proof of their loyalty and obedience. Your highness is not ignorant what evils were brought upon France, by their violence in banishing and persecuting the Protestants; what a flame was raised, which in a manner consumed the whole kingdom, and what ruin ensued, all which has been appeased by one single edict, granting liberty of conscience: the result of which is, that the most entire peace and tranquillity reigns among them, though they profess different forms of religion. And, indeed, the plain truth is, that if your highness, out of complaisance to the bishop of Rome, the cardinals, prelates, and others who are interested in the Roman religion, are resolved still to continue to persecute those poor people, you will unquestionably experience the same evils that have come upon other kingdoms."

In conclusion, this excellent prince says, "I beseech your highness to give us a pledge of that esteem which you have for us, by fulfilling your promise of delivering those poor people who are now in the galleys, and recalling those that have been recently banished. Have compassion upon so many wandering exiles, who are deprived of all their property. Call them home, and restore them to their houses and habitations; and grant both to them, and to the other inhabitants of Piemont, the public exercise of their religious worship, which they value more than their daily food. Release such of these poor people as have been falsely accused, that so they may all live in peace and tranquillity under your government. Make such articles of peace with them, as may be preserved inviolate. Support them in the quiet exercise of that religion which you have permitted them, and defend them in the same from all their enemies. Do not make yourself an instrument in the hands of the Pope and his creatures, to gratify their insatiable thirst for Christian blood. Countenance not their cruelty and inhumanity against those who, instead of being perverse heretics, are real Christians, and who have nothing more at heart than to serve God piously and uprightly under the government of your highness, to whom they are ready to yield all that obedience and fidelity which is your due, and to devote themselves entirely to your service."

This spirited letter had its effect, and the Protestants of Piemont had another respite from persecution, till the commencement of the following century, when they again fell into trouble.

In 1601, Bartholomew Copin, a Waldensian of the valley of Lucerne, had occasion to attend the public fair at Ast, to which he brought for sale some articles of traffic. While sitting at table one evening, in company with some other persons, the discourse turned upon religion, when a person had occasion to speak reproachfully of the Waldenses. Copin undertook their defence, conceiving that if he permitted such calumnies to pass unnoticed, he should be

guilty of injustice. "Pray," said the stranger, "are you one of the Waldenses?" "Yes," replied Copin, "I am." "And do you believe in the real presence of Christ in the eucharist?" "No," said Copin. "See what a false religion yours is," retorted the controvertist. "Of the truth of my religion," answered the Waldensian, "I have no more doubt, than I have of the existence of God." Here the matter ended for that time, but on the next day Copin received a summons to attend the bishop, who told him he had been informed of certain scandalous opinions and discourses which he had professed on the preceding evening; and that unless he confessed his fault, and asked pardon, he should be punished. Copin acknowledged he had been provoked to say what he did; but that it was his real belief, which he could not in conscience recant. Upon this he was sent to prison, where he was visited by the bishop's secretary, who expressed a great concern for him, and said, that unless he retracted he was in danger of losing his life. Copin replied, that his life was in the hands of God—that he had no wish to save it at the risk of losing the divine favour—and that as there were but two or three steps between him and eternity, he trusted for support to the grace of God. He was next brought before the inquisitors, who examined him in the presence of the bishop; but Copin repulsed them by referring to the scriptures, telling them, were he to be ashamed of and deny Christ, his Redeemer would deny him before his heavenly Father. The inquisitor, finding he was not to be moved by fair speeches or frowns, thus addressed him: "Out upon thee, thou cursed Lutheran! thou shalt go to the devils, in hell, and, when tormented by those foul spirits, thou wilt call to mind the holy exhortations we have given thee, to bring thee to salvation: but thou choosest rather to go to perdition, than be reconciled to our holy mother, the church." To this Copin only replied, that he had long since been reconciled to the holy church. While meditating in his prison, and looking for nothing but death, he was one day greatly surprised by a visit from his wife and son, who seem to have been enticed thither by the Catholics for sinister purposes. He improved the short time of their stay, in exhorting his wife to an entire submission to the will of God; telling her that she would be soon deprived of her husband, and the child of his father. He then observed, that it was not his duty to love wife or children more than Christ; that she ought to esteem him happy in that it pleased God to confer upon him the honour of bearing witness to his truth at the expense of his life; and that he hoped God would grant him grace to suffer any torments for his sake. The parting scene was extremely affecting, and the next day he sent a letter to his wife, which he concluded in these words, "Recollect what I have often told you, that God added fifteen years to the life of king Hezekiah, but that he has prolonged my term much more, for you have seen me, as it were, dead a long time ago, and yet I still survive: and I hope and trust he will preserve my life until my death be more for his glory and my own happiness, through his goodness towards me."

Poor Copin was soon afterwards found dead in his cell, not without symptoms of having been strangled. After his death, a formal trial took place, and he was condemned to be burned; which sentence was duly carried into execution.

At the time when this tragedy took place, the duke of Savoy published an edict commanding all the Protestant inhabitants of the marquisate of Saluces, bordering upon the valleys of Piemont, to renounce their religion and go to mass; or, in case of refusal, to quit the territory within the space of two months, and never to return thither, under pain



of death. The Waldenses, at first, paid little attention to the decree, which they considered as a mere threat; but a short time convinced them of their mistake, and finding that it was intended to enforce the edict rigorously, they disposed of their effects as well as they could, and hastened out of the country. Above five hundred families were thus lost to the state: some crossed the Alps into Dauphine; others went to Geneva; and many sought a refuge among their brethren in the valley of Piedmont, where they remained for some years undisturbed, as the edict did not extend to that country. But after a long repose, the Vaudois were unexpectedly alarmed by an edict, issued from the council of Turin, on the 25th of January, 1655, commanding all the families professing the reformed religion, in Lucerne, Perouse, and St. Martino, to quit their houses and lands within the space of three days, and remove to some other places therein specified, unless they renounced their persuasion, and consented to turn Catholics. On receiving this inhuman mandate, the poor people sent deputies to the governor of the province, humbly representing the hardship of their case, particularly at that season of the year, and praying for some indulgence. But a deaf ear was turned to their application, nor could they gain an access to the presence of the duke. Thus situated, and without any alternative between a violation of their consciences, and an unconditional submission, they made a hasty preparation to quit the country; and taking with them their wives and children, aged parents and helpless infants, the halt, the lame, and the blind, they set out in the depth of winter, through untrod paths, over rocks and rivers, amidst frost and snow. Yet all this was but trifling, compared with the woful scenes that ensued. They fancied that the property which could not be carried away immediately, would be at least sacred under the protection of government, till the owners should dispose of it; but in this they were mistaken, for they no sooner left their homes than a band of plunderers took possession of them, and after carrying off the goods, razed the walls to the foundation. Even this was only the prelude to still more horrible sufferings. It soon became evident that the government meditated the utter extirpation of the afflicted fugitives; for which purpose an army was set on foot under the orders of the marquis Pionessa, a bigoted Romanist, who called to his assistance a body of monks, to act equally the parts of missionaries and executioners. A massacre now followed in the month of April, to describe which surpasses the powers of human genius. A faint idea of the awful calamity may be formed from the narrative which the survivors drew up, and addressed to their fellow Christians, in distant countries.

"Our tears," say these confessors, "are not mere tears of water, but of blood, which not only obscure our sight, but oppress our very hearts. Our pen is guided by a trembling hand, and our minds distracted by such unexpected alarms, that we are incapable of framing a letter, which shall correspond with our wishes, or the strangeness of our desolations. In this respect, therefore, we beg your excuse, and that you will endeavour to collect our meaning from what we desire to impart. Whatever reports may have been circulated concerning our obstinacy in refusing to have recourse to his royal highness, for a redress of our heavy grievances and molestations, you cannot but know that we have never desisted from writing supplicatory letters, or presenting our humble requests by the hands of our deputies, and that they were sent, and referred, sometimes to the council *De Propaganda Fide*; at other times, to the marquis of Pionessa; and that the three last times, our agents were positively rejected, and refused so much as an audience, under the pretext that

they had no credentials or instructions which could authorize them to promise or accept, on the behalf of their respective churches, whatever it might please his highness to grant or bestow upon them. Next, by the instigation and contrivance of the Roman clergy, there was secretly placed in ambush an army of six thousand men, who, animated and encouraged thereto by the personal presence and exertions of the marquis of Pionessa, fell suddenly, and in the most violent manner, upon the inhabitants of St. Giovanni and La Torre. This army, having once entered and got a footing, was soon augmented by the addition of a multitude of the neighbouring inhabitants, throughout all Piedmont, who, hearing that we were given up as a prey to the plunderers, fell upon the poor people with impetuous fury. To all these were added an incalculable number of persons that had been outlawed, prisoners and other offenders, who expected thereby to have saved their souls, and filled their purses. And the better to effect their purposes, the inhabitants were compelled to receive five or six regiments of the French army, besides some Irish, to whom, it is reported, our country was promised, with several troops of vagabond persons, under the pretext of coming into the valleys for fresh quarters. This great multitude, by virtue of a license from the marquis of Pionessa, instigated by the monks, and enticed and conducted by our wicked and unnatural neighbours, attacked us with such violence on every side, especially in Angrogna, Villaro, and Bobio, and in a manner so horribly treacherous, that in an instant all was one entire scene of confusion, and the inhabitants, after a fruitless attempt, to defend themselves, were compelled to flee for their lives, with their wives and children; and that not merely the inhabitants of the plain, but those of the mountains also. Nor was all their diligence sufficient to prevent the destruction of a very considerable number of them. For, in many places, such as Villaro, and Bobio, they were so hemmed in on every side, the army having seized on the fort of Mareburg, and by that means blocked up the avenue, that there remained no possibility of escape, and nothing was left for them but to be massacred on the spot. In one place, they mercilessly tortured not less than one hundred and fifty women and children, chopping off the heads of some, and dashing out the brains of others against the rocks. And in regard to those whom they took prisoners, from fifteen years old and upwards, if they refused to go to mass, they hanged some, and nailed others to the trees by the feet, with their heads downwards. It is reported that they carried some persons of note, prisoners to Turin, namely, our poor brother and pastor, Mr. Gros, with some part of his family. In short, there are neither cattle, nor provisions of any kind left in the valley of Lucerne. It is but too evident that all is lost, since there are some entire districts, especially those of St. Giovanni and La Torre, where the business of setting fire to our houses and churches was so dexterously managed by a Franciscan friar, and a certain priest, that they left not so much as one of either unburned.

In these desolations, the mother has been bereft of her dear child—the husband of his affectionate wife. Those who were once the richest amongst us, are reduced to the necessity of begging their bread; while others still remain weltering in their own blood, and deprived of all the comforts of life. And as to the churches in St. Martino and other places, those who on all former occasions were a sanctuary to the persecuted, have themselves now been ordered to quit their dwellings, and every soul is ordered to depart instantaneously and without delay, in pain of being put to death. Nor, in truth, is there

mercy to be expected by any of our brethren, who shall be found within the dominions of his royal highness. The pretext which is alleged in justification of these horrid proceedings, is, that we are rebels against the orders of his highness, for not having, as it were, brought the whole city of Geneva within the walls of a church; or, in plainer language, for not having performed an absolute impossibility, in departing, at a moment's warning, from our houses and homes, in Bubbiana, Lucerne, Fenile, Bricheras, La Torre, St. Giovanni, and St. Secondo; and also for having renewed our repeated supplications to his royal highness, to commiserate our situation, who, while on the one hand he promised us to make no change in our condition, on the other refused us permission to depart peaceably out of his dominions, for which we have often entreated him, in case he would not allow us to continue and enjoy the liberty of our consciences, as his predecessors had always done. True it is, that the marquis of Pionessa adduced another reason, and we have the original of his writing in our possession, which is, that it was his royal highness's pleasure to abase us, and humble our pride, for endeavouring to screen ourselves, and take refuge under the protection of foreign princes and states.

To conclude: our beautiful and flourishing churches are utterly lost, and that without remedy, unless our God shall work miracles for us. Their time is come, and our measure is full! Oh, have pity upon the desolations of Jerusalem, and be grieved for the afflictions of Joseph! Shew forth your compassions, and let your bowels yearn in behalf of so many thousands of poor souls, who are reduced to a morsel of bread, for no other cause than that of following the Lamb whithersoever he goeth. We recommend our pastors, together with their scattered and oppressed flocks, to your fervent Christian prayers."

As a sample of the worse than savage barbarities committed by the Papists upon these people, we shall here select only a few instances from the affecting history of Samuel Morland, who visited the spot, while the blood of the martyrs was yet fresh and wet on the ground.

The decrepitude of old age afforded no exception in this general carnage. One Pietro Simond, of Angrogna, above fourscore years old, was tied neck and heels, then hurried to the brink of a precipice, and thrown over. The poor sufferer fell about midway upon the branch of a tree, where he hung suspended some days, till death came to his relief, no person being able to assist him from above or below.

At one place these monsters burned alive two aged women, the youngest of whom was eighty, and the other ninety and blind. Similar scenes occurred in different parts of the country; and though all these horrors, and a vast number more, were perpetrated by the licentious soldiery, neither the magistrates, ecclesiastics, nor government, interposed, to save the unhappy Vaudois from the cannibals. Youth, innocence, and beauty, alike failed to command respect. The daughter of Moyses Long, of Bobio, though only ten years of age, was caught as she was running over the snow, impaled on a pike, and then roasted before a fire.

Jacopo di Ronc, the minister and schoolmaster of Roras, being stripped naked, had his nails torn off with pincers, his body punctured with a dagger, after which a cord was tied round his middle, and as they dragged him along, his tormentors cut off pieces of his flesh, saying, "Well, what wilt thou now, wilt thou consent to go to mass?" The man, amidst these miseries, replied, as long as he was alive, "Much rather death, than the mass!" "Then die quickly, for the love of God!" This request

was at last complied with, by cutting off his head, and throwing the body into the river.

Giovanni Pallias, a peasant of La Torre, being taken prisoner by the soldiers, was, after much ill treatment, ordered by the marquis of Pionessa to be hanged. That nobleman, says the historian, played the under-sheriff in person on the occasion, by commanding the hangman to place the sufferer at the foot of a ladder, which was set up against a tree, and to prepare all things for the execution. While this was doing, the monks and priests used their utmost endeavours to shake the faith and constancy of the poor man; but all in vain, for instead of being appalled by the apparatus of death, he appeared to rejoice that he was accounted worthy to suffer for the cross of Christ; and though they often pressed him to remember the destitute state of his wife and children, his reply was, that he prayed God most earnestly to endue them with resolution to follow his steps. Upon this, the ecclesiastics ceased from their exhortations, and helped the executioner in his work.

A few days after this, Paolo Clement, an elder of the church of Rosana, was brought to the same place, where they shewed him the dead body of Pallias, thinking thereby to shake his principles. But they were disappointed; for the good man repelled them with saying, that though they might kill the body, it was out of their power to injure the soul. He also told them that God would most assuredly be the avenger of all the innocent blood they had spilt; and having so spoken, he prepared himself for his fate. Here he was hanging some days, and it chanced that just at the time the marquis of Pionessa happened to pass by, one of the soldiers discharged his musket at the corpse, which produced an effusion of blood. The persecutor was startled at this sight, and said to those who were near him, "*Questo sangue crida vendetta.*"—"This blood cries for vengeance."

The daughter of Peter Mallanot, a counsellor of St. Giovanni, was thrown, with her little brother, only eight months old, from the summit of a high rock to the bottom, where the bodies were found some days afterwards on the snow, but both dead. In like manner the wife and child of Paolo Parise were fearfully murdered, being hurled down a precipice, at the bottom of which the mother was found dead three days after, but the infant was alive, though, owing to the closeness of the parental embrace, and the stiffness of the limbs, it was difficult to extricate the little sufferer. It is to this affecting circumstance that Milton alludes, in the following beautiful sonnet, "On the late Massacre in Piemonte:"

Avenge, O Lord! thy slaughtered saints, whose bones  
Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold:  
Even them who kept thy truth so pure of old,  
When all our fathers worship't stocks and stones,  
Forget not: in thy book record their groans,  
Who were thy sheep, and in their ancient fold  
Slain by the bloody Piemontese, that roll'd  
Mother with infant down the rocks. Their moans  
The vales redoubled to the hills, and they  
To heaven. Their martyr'd blood and ashes sow  
O'er all the Italian fields, where still doth grow  
The tripled tyrant; that from these may grow  
A hundred fold, who, having learn'd thy way,  
Early may fly the Babylonian wo.

Remote as the scene was, where these dreadful transactions took place, the report of them soon spread over Europe, and roused the indignation of the Protestant states to such a degree, that the marquis of Pionessa became alarmed, and

endeavoured to shift off the odium of the murders from his own shoulders to his officers. The court of Turin, also, felt some anxiety to clear itself of the opprobrium which it had justly incurred by these atrocious cruelties. A narrative was therefore published, in Italian and French, charging the Vaudois with having been guilty of rebellion; but the most curious part of this laboured apology was that which, without denying the atrocities that had been committed, attempted to fix them upon M. de Petitbourg, a major in the French auxiliary army, then employed in Piemont. This *Sieur de Petitbourg*, it was said, was a man of so much honour, that no question could be made of his veracity: what, therefore, must have been the mortification of *Pionessa* and the court of Turin, when that gentleman published the following exculpation: "I, *Sieur de Petitbourg*, first captain of the regiment of *Grancay*, who also commanded the same, having received direction from prince *Thomas* to join the *marquis de Pionessa*, who was then at *La Torre*, and to receive his orders; when I was upon the eve of departure, the ambassador sent for me, and desired me to speak to M. de *Pionessa*, and to use my endeavours to accommodate the troubles which had happened among those of the reformed religion in the valley of Piemont. In order to which, I addressed myself to the *marquis*, earnestly entreating him that he would give way, and allow me to undertake an accommodation, which I supposed I might have been able to effect. But he repeatedly refused my request, in defiance of all the endeavours I could possibly use to persuade him. And, instead of the least mitigation of matters, which could be produced by any consideration that I could lay before him, I was witness to many acts of violence, and extreme cruelties exercised by the *banditti* and soldiers of Piemont, upon all sorts of persons, of every age, sex, and condition, whom I myself saw massacred, dismembered, and hung up; females violated, and numerous other atrocities committed. And so far is it from being true that the whole was done by virtue of the orders that were issued by me, as falsely stated in a certain narrative, printed in French and Italian, that I beheld the same with horror and regret. And whereas it is said, in the same narrative, that the *marquis de Pionessa* commanded me to treat them peaceably, without hostility, and in the best manner I possibly could; the event clearly demonstrated, that the orders he gave me were altogether of a contrary tendency, since it is most certain, that without distinction of those who resisted, from those who made no resistance, they were used with all sorts of inhumanity; their houses burnt, their goods plundered; and when prisoners were brought before the *marquis Pionessa*, I was a witness to his issuing orders to give them no quarter at all, assigning as a reason, that his highness was resolved to have none of that religion in his dominions. And as to what he protests, in the same declaration, namely, that no hurt was done to any, except during the fight, nor the least outrage committed upon any unoffending and helpless persons; I do assert, and will maintain, that such is not the truth, having seen with my own eyes several men killed in cold blood, and also women, aged persons, and children, miserably murdered. And with regard to the manner in which they put themselves in possession of the valley of *Angrogna*, to pillage and entirely burn the same, it was done with great ease. For, excepting six or seven persons, who seeing there would be no mercy shewn, then made some show of resistance, the rest were dispersed without difficulty, the peasants consulting how to flee, rather than how to fight the enemy. In short, I absolutely deny and protest, as in the presence of God, that none of these cruelties were executed by my order; but

on the contrary, seeing that I could not procure a remedy, I was constrained to retire, and quit the command of the regiment, not liking to be present at such wicked transactions."

That there should have been some instances of apostasy in so fiery a trial as this, was no more than natural; but most of those who fell away for a time, returned again to share the perils of their brethren. Among these were two pastors, *Peter Gros* and *Francis Aguit*, who, to save their lives, recanted, and were absolved by the inquisitors. But on recovering their liberty, they went to *Pinache*, in the valley of *Perouse*, where, at the end of August, 1655, they made the following declaration in a full assembly of the Vaudois:

"We could have wished that a less mournful occasion had caused our present appearance in public, and that a more favourable opportunity had made us known to the world, by some signal action, the remembrance of which might have been as a blessing in the churches; but as our names can only be distinguished by the dreadful scandal which we have brought upon the church of God, we now come forth out of the dark dungeons of our own shame and confusion, to present ourselves before men, to testify to all the world our conversion and repentance, and to give indubitable proofs of our grief, for that we have been so base as to forsake our former profession. When we reflect upon those advantages, with which, above others, the Lord was pleased to bless us, in granting us a religious education, and the knowledge of his saving grace, thus teaching us where true happiness is to be found; and finally, to have been called to the highest employment that men can have in this world, namely, to be the heralds of God's justice, and the preachers of his truth, we cannot without horror speak of our offence, and are constrained to confess that our sin is rendered much more odious, in that, having known our Master's will, we nevertheless withdrew our shoulders from his service, and have acted in opposition to his command. It was in these last calamities which have overrun our country, that we thus made shipwreck, after having lost our liberty and our goods; when the enemies of the truth, having resolved upon extirpating our religion in the valleys of Piemont, exercised the most barbarous cruelties upon our countrymen. And we, having fallen into their hands, after they had shewed us how far their inhumanity could reach; to give us a proof of the utmost degree of it, they caused us to be thrown into prison, where they proceeded against us, and sentenced us to death as guilty of high treason, and the ringleaders of rebellion, incessantly setting before our eyes the torments and punishments to which we were condemned; and to render us more flexible to the enticements of the Jesuits, who, without ceasing, solicited us to accept of a pardon which they would obtain for us, on our embracing popery, and abjuring our religion.

"At their first onsets, we were confident that, so far from yielding to them, we had strength and fortitude enough to despise whatever superstition could present before our eyes as terrible or dreadful, and that the dark and dismal shades of death itself, with which they threatened us, were insufficient to extinguish that heavenly light which then shone in our souls. But to our extreme grief, we have learned how frail our nature is, and how deceitful the wisdom of the flesh, which, for the enjoyment of a frail and transitory life, prevailed upon us to forego those unspeakably good things which God hath prepared for his children, and that everlasting joy, of which those are made partakers, who endure to the end. It was this fleshly wisdom, which, from a desire to preserve this house of clay, this earthly tabernacle,

a shameful death, and a punishment ignominious in the eyes of the world, that induced us to a scandalous falling away, and to turn our backs upon him who is the fountain of life. We have lent our ears to this deceitful Dalilah, and although there were not offered to us any reasons so strong as in the least degree to obscure the truth that we did profess, yet we freely acknowledge, that the fear of death, and the horror of torments, shook our courage, and beat down our strength; and we have become decayed, and dried up like water, for not resisting unto blood, as the profession not only of Christians, but more especially of Christian ministers, obliged us to do.

"Having been persuaded, by deceitful reasoning, that life is preferable to death—that we might be further profitable to the church, to our country, and to our families—that there was no glory in dying as rebels, and that one day we might get out of captivity, and manifest to the world, that if the confession had been wanting in our mouths, yet the faith had not been wanting in our hearts,—thus, we accepted pardon on these miserable conditions, and have not hesitated to enter into the temple of idols, and employ our mouths and tongues in uttering blasphemies against the truth of Heaven, in denying and abjuring the same; and our sacrilegious hands also in subscribing the acts and events of this infamous apostasy, which has thrown many others into the same perdition. Our light has become darkness, and our salt has lost its savour—we have fallen from heaven to the earth—from the spirit to the flesh—and from life to death. We have made ourselves obnoxious to the curse which the Lord hath pronounced on those by whom offences come. And having made light of the threatenings of the Son of God against those who shall deny him before men, we have deserved to be denied by him before his heavenly Father. Finally, we have rendered ourselves unworthy of divine favours and mercy, and have drawn upon our guilty heads whatever is most dreadful in the wrath of God, and his indignations, and have deserved to be cast out of the church, as stumbling-blocks, or rocks of offence, and that the faithful should even abhor our company. But as we have learned in the school of the prophets, that the mercies of God are infinite, and that the Lord hath no pleasure in the destruction of his poor creatures, but calleth the sinner to repentance, that he may give him life, we presume to appear before his face, to humble ourselves in his holy presence, to bewail the greatness of our sin, and to make before him a free confession of our iniquity. Oh, that our heads might melt into waters of bitterness, and our eyes were turned into fountains of tears, to express the grief wherewith our souls are pressed down! As our sin is of no common measure, so it calls for extraordinary repentance; and as we acknowledge it to be one of the greatest that can be committed, so do we wish that our repentance should reach the lowest degree of humiliation, and that the acts of contrition may be known to the whole world. If David, for lighter faults, was willing that his complaints, and his deep sorrow and penitence, should be left as it were for a memorial in the church, well may we not be ashamed to publish among men the inconsolable regret which we feel for having offended God, and given occasion of scandal to the assemblies of his saints; and we deserve to have imprinted upon our foreheads a mark of perpetual infamy for our miserable sin, to cause the memory thereof to continue for ever. And, we can make it apparent that the sorrow it hath begotten is extreme, and that we now disclaim whatever fear forced us to do, contrary to the dictates of our conscience. We trust that he who forgave Peter when he

denied Christ in the court of Caiaphas, will grant us the same grace, since we are come to ask forgiveness in all humility, with tears in our eyes, confession in our mouths, and contrition in our hearts; and that, as there is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, so there may be joy in the congregation of the faithful, when they shall behold our conversion to the Lord!

"Great God, Almighty Father! dreadful in thine anger; in whose presence no sinner can subsist a moment; we prostrate ourselves at the feet of thy majesty, as poor miserable offenders, confessing that we have justly provoked thee to anger, by our transgressions and iniquities, and drawn upon ourselves thy righteous judgments, in that we have forsaken thy heavenly truth, and bowed the knee before the idol! But how shall we now appear before thee, O thou Judge of the quick and the dead, since, by so doing, we have deserved to feel, not only in this life, thy most severe rod and punishment, but that thou shouldst also cut us off from the number of the living, and cast us headlong into the lake of fire and brimstone, where there is weeping and gnashing of teeth! O God! rich in compassions, and infinite in mercies, which thou multipliest even in judgment; turn us, and we shall be turned! be merciful to us, forgive us our offence! blot out our iniquity, and impute not our sins unto us! Open unto us the door of thy grace, that we may be partakers of this thy salvation! O Lord Jesus, Redeemer of souls, who camest into this world for the sake of poor sinners, look upon our affliction! Receive us to mercy; and grant that our sins being washed away in thy most precious blood, we may draw near to the throne of the grace, with confidence to obtain mercy! Raise us up from our fall; strengthen us in our weakness; and though Satan hath sought to sift us, suffer not our faith to fail! Work in us effectually both to will and to do according to thy good pleasure! It is thou who hast stretched out thine hand around us! It is thy strong hand that hath helped us! Thou hast taken us out of captivity both of body and soul, in which we lay languishing, and hast afforded us the liberty to call on thy name! Thou hast heard our cries out of the deep, and hast given us fresh cause to rejoice in thy goodness, and to bless thy holy name; to whom be everlasting glory ascribed at all times and in all ages. Amen.

"And you, faithful souls, who witness our contrite hearts, and broken spirits before the Lord, O commiserate our lamentable state! Learn by our example, how great is human frailty, and what a precipice we fall into, whenever God withdraws his supporting hand from us! Consider that, as it hath been to us an extreme infelicity to have fallen into so great a sin, so have you an argument to rejoice in God, through whose grace you have been given to stand! Watch and pray, that you enter not into temptation! Hold fast that which you have, that no man take your crown! Be faithful to the Lord Jesus, even unto death, that so you may obtain the crown of life! And be assured that, aside from the possession of his truth, which you make to the exclusion of all other sorts of religion whatsoever, there is nothing but death, horror, and astonishment. This is a thing which we are enabled to assure you from our own experience, because, from the very first moment that we gave our consent to this unhappy apostasy, our consciences have given us no rest at all; and through their continual harassings and agitations, they have not suffered us to enjoy any of that comfort which a Christian soul experiences in tribulation, until it pleased God to draw us out of the filthy quagmire of Babylon, and caused us to return to his ways. And do you, Christians, lend your helping hand; let your arms be opened to embrace us; do not count us unworthy of your holy com-



munion, although we have been an occasion of offence. Suffer us to pour into your bosom a torrent of tears, to deplore our condition, and to assure you, in the anguish of our souls, that our grief is greater than we can express. Help us by your holy prayers unto the Lord, and publish our repentance in all places, where you conceive our sin has been or shall be known; that so it may be evidence to all the world, that from the very bottom of our hearts we grieve, and are full of sorrow for it; and that in the presence of God, and of his holy angels, as well as of those who now witness our condition, we do abjure and detest the pretended sacrifice of the mass, the authority of the Pope, and in general all the worship that is dependent on them. We recant whatsoever we have pronounced to the prejudice of evangelical truth, and promise for the future, through divine assistance, to persevere in the profession of the reformed religion, to the last moment of our lives, and rather to suffer death and torments, than to renounce that holy doctrine which is taught in our churches, and which we believe to be agreeable to the word of God; all which we protest and promise with our bended knees upon the earth, and our hands lifted up to the Eternal, our Almighty God, the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; and as we desire his aid to enable us to this, even so may he help, even our God. Amen."

As soon as the council of Zurich heard of what had taken place in the neighbouring valleys of Piemont, an assembly extraordinary was held, a day of solemn fasting and humiliation was appointed, and a collection made for the sufferers. An address was also forwarded to the States General of the United Provinces, on the distressing subject, as follows: "Having this instant received the dismal news of the lamentable state of our brethren in the truth in Piemont, as you may see by the copy of a letter now sent, we thought ourselves obliged by the sacred rights of faith, union, and communion, to acquaint you therewith; being fully assured that you will be pleased, according to your wonted piety, and Christian charity, thoroughly to consider and lay to heart the affliction of Joseph. This persecution is smoothed over with a very fair pretext by the opposite party, but there is no one who loves the church of Christ, that will not easily be persuaded of the subtilties and treacheries to which their adversaries alternately have recourse. Moved by an ardent sympathy, we earnestly beseech you, most mighty and illustrious Lords, that you would lay to heart the case of these afflicted people, and administer those means of relief which you may think conducive thereunto; not only by prayer to the Father of mercies for them, and by granting them that pecuniary assistance which their miseries loudly call for, but also by pacifying their prince towards them: or, at least, obtaining for them the liberty to emigrate, which we also shall; to the utmost of our power, endeavour to do. May the sovereign Lord of all have mercy upon his church in every place; own their cause; and his Almighty arm avert their misery and adversities!"

Shortly afterwards, an account of the massacre in Savoy reached England, where Cromwell was then at the head of the government. A man of his temper was not likely to remain unmoved, on being made acquainted with such a horrible detail of cruelties perpetrated upon a body of harmless Christians, merely for professing a religion differing from that of the state. The news of the massacre in Piemont no sooner came to the ears of Cromwell, than, to use the emphatic language of his agent, Morland, "he arose like a lion out of his place, and by divers pathetic and quickening letters awoke the whole Christian world, and moved their hearts to pity and commiseration." These spirit-stirring epistles

were written in Latin by Milton, the Latin secretary of Cromwell, and addressed to the king of France, the duke of Savoy, the king of Sweden, the king of Denmark, the states general of Holland, the Swiss Cantons, the prince of Transylvania, and the senate of Geneva. The elector Palatine of the Rhine, the elector of Brandenburg, and other protestant princes, exerted themselves also on behalf of the poor Vaudois; but one of the most animated of these letters was that which the landgrave of Hesse sent to the duke of Savoy; as follows: "Having lately received the news of that cruel massacre committed upon the Protestants, who are commonly known by the name of the Waldenses, inhabiting your valleys of Angrogna and Pragela, in Piemont, I could not easily be brought at first to give credit to such a dismal story, as not being once able to imagine, that even their adversaries had been so audacious as to exercise such barbarous cruelties upon poor innocent people, who lived peaceably under the government of your highness, and in entire obedience, without giving the least offence to any; and who, for so long a time together, have obtained protection and security from both you and your ancestors; and, indeed, I so much the less imagined this, from my persuasion, that their enemies had learned, by the experience of so many ages, that persecutions and butcheries are not the means to suppress our religion, but rather to preserve and spread the same abroad. But this news having been written and confirmed to me from so many places, and that with circumstances so wholly deplorable, as that I could no longer remain in doubt, it has filled me with horror; and, consequently, being moved with pity and compassion towards so many thousands of souls in such extreme distress, who have been most cruelly robbed and spoiled of their lives and estates, by the cruelty of their furious and sworn enemies, and this without distinction either of sex or age, I have thought it my duty, as a Christian prince, interested in the preservation of those of my religion, to write this present letter to your highness, and to beseech you, not only to command and allow that the remainder of these poor innocent people, who have escaped the violence of their persecutors, be established in their lands, goods, and possessions, which are yet left them after this great desolation, but also that they may find the effects of this powerful protection; and that you will be pleased, for that purpose, henceforward to favour them, by patiently hearing their complaints, and taking cognizance of them yourself, as a good and righteous prince, from whom they ought to expect all the effects of justice, clemency, and bounty: whereas those who term themselves "of the congregation for the propagation of the faith, and for the extirpation of heretics," are their declared enemies; and, instead of turning souls to righteousness by "the sword of the word," have employed the temporal sword, the fire, and the rope, and all the barbarous cruelties which outrageous men could possibly invent, for tormenting the bodies of these poor creatures, and to destroy them from off the face of the earth."

Cromwell caused a general collection to be made for the sufferers, which subscription he headed by a donation of two thousand pounds, and in all the sum of 38,241*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.* was gathered throughout England, on this benevolent occasion. The person appointed to carry the measure into effect, and to visit the court of Turin, was Samuel Morland, under secretary to Thurlow. Morland arrived at Rivoli, where the duke and his mother then were, on the 21st of June, and a few days afterwards he had his first audience, when he did so in the presence of a full assembly, a speech in which the following is a translation: "May it please your most serene highness, I am sent by the most serene



lord protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, unto your royal highness, whom he heartily saluteth, and with a very great and singular affection of mind toward the person of your serene highness, wisheth you life, a long reign, and prosperous success in all your affairs, together with the love and affection of your people. And this respect, doubtless, is due to your merit, whether a man consider the most noble inclination and royal extraction of your highness, together with the great expectation which the world hath from so many eminent virtues, or whether, by perusing the monuments of time past, he calls to mind the ancient alliance of our kings with the royal family of Savoy. As for myself, though I be a young man, I confess, and have not much experience in affairs, yet it pleased my most serene and gracious master to send me, being one that is very much devoted to your royal highness, and a great lover of all the people of Italy, to negotiate even matters of great importance, for so those are to be called, wherein the safety of many poor distressed people, and all their hope, is comprehended; which indeed consisteth wholly in this, if perchance, by their loyalty, obedience, and humble petitions, they may be able to mollify and appease the mind of your royal highness, which hath been provoked against them. In the behalf of these poor people, whose cause, truly, even commiseration itself may seem to make the more excusable, the most serene protector of England is also become an intercessor, and he most earnestly entreats and beseeches your royal highness, that you will be pleased to extend your mercy to those your very poor subjects, and most disconsolate outcasts: I mean those, who, dwelling beneath the Alps, and in certain valleys under your dominion, are professors of the Protestant religion. For he hath been informed, that part of those most miserable people, though doubtless without the knowledge of your highness, have been most inhumanly massacred by your troops, part driven out by violence, and forced to leave their native habitations, and in this condition, without house or shelter, poor, and destitute of all support, they still wander up and down with their wives and children in craggy deserts, and mountains covered with snow. Now what, or what manner of cruelty have not those your soldiers of late dared to perpetrate, or indeed what barbarities have they been restrained in committing? Oh, the fired houses, which are yet smoking, the mangled limbs, and the ground defiled with human blood! Tender virgins have been violated, and then murdered. Some men, one hundred years old, and decrepit through extremity of age, have been burned in their beds! Infants have been dashed against the rocks, others have had their throats cut, and their brains, with more than Cyclopean barbarity, have been boiled and eaten by the murderers! What need I mention more? I could, indeed, reckon up many cruelties of the like atrocious kind, but the very thought of them fills me with astonishment, and I am silent. If all the tyrants of all times and ages were again alive, they would assuredly be ashamed on finding that they had been far exceeded, in the contrivance of tortures, by the men of this age. In the mean time, the angels above are surprised with horror! Men below are amazed! Heaven itself seems astonished at the cries of dying creatures, and the very earth appears to blush, being so greatly discoloured with the blood of the innocent! Do not, O thou most high God, do not thou take the revenge which is due to such great wickedness and horrible villany! Let thy blood, O Christ, wash away this blood.

It is not my business to make a narrative of these order, as they were done, or to insist any longer and that which my most serene master desireth

of your royal highness, you will better understand by his own letters, which I am commanded with all reverence and due respect to deliver: and to which, if your royal highness shall (as we very much hope) be pleased to vouchsafe a speedy answer, you will thereby very much oblige my lord protector, who hath laid this thing deeply to heart, and certainly not only him, but the whole commonwealth of England. You will also, by an act of compassion most worthy of your royal highness, restore life, safety, spirit, country, and estates, to many thousands of poor afflicted people, who depend upon your pleasure; and as for myself, you will dismiss me back to my native land with exceeding great joy, and with a report of your eminent virtues, the happy proclaimer of your princely clemency."

Morland, notwithstanding the unwelcome nature of his mission, and the remarkable boldness of his speech, met with that respectful attention which was to be expected from those who trembled at the very name of Cromwell. Attempts were made to palliate and even justify the dreadful deed which had excited so much indignation throughout Christendom. Morland, however, was not to be deceived, and at last the government of Turin gave an assurance, very reluctantly, to grant the Vaudois some indulgence and privileges; but the promise was never fulfilled. The number of Waldenses that fell in the massacre was never correctly ascertained, but the lowest estimate that can be made is, that it exceeded six thousand. Abashed by the reproaches which these scandalous proceedings had elicited from so many powers, the duke of Savoy suffered the surviving Protestants to return to their impoverished lands; but in 1663, the storm of persecution was about to break out again upon them, and all the horrors of the year 1655 would have been renewed, had not the Vaudois stood upon their defence with such vigour as effectually checked their enemies. At the same time the Swiss Cantons interposed, and by a determined remonstrance, obtained from the duke a grant of toleration for his subjects of the reformed religion. A few years after this, the Waldenses rendered such essential service to the state in the disastrous war which arose between the duke of Savoy and the Genoese, that their sovereign thought proper to thank them for their loyalty, and to assure them of his protection. They accordingly enjoyed tranquillity, till the revocation of the edict of Nantz, in 1685, prepared the way for a similar persecution in the valleys of Piemonte. About the end of that year, the Vaudois received a proclamation, ordering that no stranger should be permitted to remain among them more than three days. The object of this arbitrary mandate was to prevent the French Protestants from obtaining a refuge in these peaceful retreats. Still it was not apprehended that the government would adopt any rigorous measures towards its Waldensian subjects. On the 31st of January, however, in the following year, they were paralyzed by an edict of the duke of Savoy, forbidding his Protestant subjects to exercise their religion, on pain of death, the confiscation of their property, the demolition of their churches, and the banishment of their ministers. At the same time, it was ordered that all infants should be baptized, and brought up, in the Catholic persuasion, and that such parents as disobeyed the injunction should be sent to the galleys. Alarmed and grieved beyond measure by this abominable act of tyranny, the inhabitants of the valleys made every effort to soften the heart of their prince, but in vain; nor were the remonstrances of the Swiss Cantons more successful. Victor Amadeus, the grand duke, being alike deaf to prayers and expostulations, proceeded to put his decree into execution. The whole popu-

lation of the Protestant valleys at that time did not exceed fifteen thousand souls, of whom two thousand five hundred only were capable of bearing arms; and even they were unprepared, and indifferently provided with materials to resist an attack. But in desperate circumstances the mind can create resources. "Death rather than the mass," was shouted from mountain to mountain; and it was determined to defy the menaces of the oppressors. The king of France, who had urged the duke of Savoy to carry desolation into the Protestant villages, assailed these poor people with his troops on one side; while an armed force marched against them from Turin on the other. Hostilities began early in the spring of the above year, and enemies accumulated from all quarters, like vultures at the march of armies, anxious for prey. The French general, Catinat, wrote to the duke, that he was resolved to have the honour of striking the first blow at the heretics. He obtained that distinction; but he had the honour also to be well beaten. On the 22d of April, the French army set out two hours before day from Mariburg, by the side of the river Cluson, and Casal, taking the direction of the valleys of Perouse and St. Martino. On reaching the bridge which divides the provinces, Catinat sent out a detachment to surprise the village of St. Germain, but the Vaudois had already abandoned the place. When the other parties came up, it was resolved to make an attempt upon the entrenchments of the mountaineers; but though the numbers were as six to one, the French found such a resistance, that after losing a number of men, they were forced to entrench themselves. At length the Vaudois went out sword in hand, attacked the enemy, who little expected so bold an action, and drove them into the plain as far as the river, where the bridge only saved them from being killed or drowned. The French lost above five hundred men in this affair, among whom were several officers of distinction; while the Vaudois had but two men killed, and a few wounded. It was evident, however, that the odds were too great to give a chance in favour of ultimate success; and, therefore, these intrepid men found themselves under the necessity of accepting the amnesty which was held out by the government. They accordingly laid down their arms; but the French, exasperated at the stain brought upon them by the bravery of the Vaudois, committed the most dreadful barbarities, without regarding age or sex. Catinat ravaged all the country in a most inhuman manner, nor did the duke of Savoy act with more generosity, for when these afflicted people submitted to his mercy, instead of fulfilling the promise which he had given, this treacherous prince ordered a seizure to be made of their houses, lands, and property, the whole of which he divided among his troops, and the most zealous of the Catholic persecutors, who had followed the army, rapacious of plunder. He next committed all the Protestants to prison; in consequence of which, the jails in his dominions were so full, that the wretched sufferers perished by hundreds, of hunger, thirst, and disease. They had nothing in their several prisons, but bread and water for their ordinary food; and both of the very vilest description. In some places they only allowed them water at certain periods, and that in such small quantities, that many perished. Their lodging for the most part was on the bare ground, and if they had any straw, it was generally wet and rotten. As fast as any died, others were put into the dungeons, so that, owing to the thronged state of the prisons, the foulness of the air, and the heat of the weather, infectious fevers were generated, which carried off several thousands. At the end of six months, there were only three thousand left alive, and these, at the urgent entreaty of the Protestant ambassadors, obtained

their release, on the merciful condition of banishing themselves for ever from their native hamlets, and to seek in foreign lands that protection which they could not obtain under their own government! The poor exiles set out upon their melancholy journey, destitute, after having in many instances had their children taken from them, to be brought up in the Catholic religion. The pastors also were separated from the people, and in this condition they were obliged to make their way across the mountains, and bend their steps towards Switzerland. The weather was more than usually severe, so that hundreds perished on the road, of cold and hunger. At length, however, a wretched remnant escaped, and entered Geneva, where they experienced a truly Christian reception. The inhabitants pressed forward with holy eagerness to welcome and relieve their persecuted brethren; clothing the naked, feeding the hungry, succouring the afflicted, and ministering to the sick. So intensely alive was the spirit of benevolence on this interesting occasion, that the magistrates of Geneva were obliged to lay a humane restriction upon the people, to prevent them from injuring, by their excess of kindness, the objects of pity and compassion. In the Cantons of Switzerland, particularly at Berne, the same affection was displayed, and bishop Burnet, who was there at the time, speaks of the hospitality of the inhabitants of that place in the highest terms: "Ever since the persecution commenced," says he, "they have opened a sanctuary to such as retired thither, in so generous and Christian a manner, that it merits all the honourable remembrance that can be made of it. The ministers and others that had been condemned, not only found here a kind reception, but all the support that could be expected, and, indeed, much more than could reasonably have been looked for."

What the same great prelate has narrated of another band of fugitives, for the sake of conscience, is also worth transcribing. "In April, 1685, about five hundred persons, of different sexes and ages, passed through Coire, in Switzerland, who gave this account of themselves. They were inhabitants of a valley in Tyrol, belonging mostly to the archbishopric of Salzburg, and a remnant of the old Waldenses. They worshipped neither images nor saints; and they believed that the sacrament of the Lord's supper is only a commemoration of the death of Christ; and in many other points, they had their opinions different from those of the church of Rome. They knew nothing, however, of either Lutherans or Calvinists: and the Grisons, though their neighbours, had never heard of this nearness of theirs to the Protestant religion. The archbishop of Salzburg hearing of them, sent some persons into the country to examine them, and to exhort them to return to mass, threatening them with all possible severity if they continued obstinate. Perceiving a terrible storm ready to break upon them, they resolved to abandon their houses, and all that they had, rather than sin against their consciences; and the whole inhabitants of the valley, old and young, to the number of two thousand, divided themselves into several bodies; some intended to go to Brandenburg, others to the Palatinate, and about five hundred took the road to Coire, intending to disperse themselves in Switzerland. The Swiss ministers said they were much edified by their simplicity and modesty; for when a collection was made for them, they desired only a little bread to carry them on their way."

But to return to the Vaudois of Piemont. After the duke of Savoy had driven out his Protestant subjects, the valleys which they had occupied were repeopled by Catholics. Thus it seemed as if the exiles had been cut off from their natal soil. One man, however, though

This was Henry Arnaud, a Vaudois minister, whose patriotism was only exceeded by his piety. He continually thirsted after his native land, and his mind was ever on the stretch how to accomplish the object of his desire. He communicated his thoughts to some of his brethren; and at length he found himself at the head of eight hundred adventurers, who all swore, as well as himself, never to lay down the sword, till they had regained the sanctuaries of their forefathers. They were obliged to meet in secret, and their nocturnal assemblies were in the dark retreats of a forest between Nion and Rolle, near the lake of Geneva. On the night of Friday, the 16th of August, 1689, Arnaud and his company having completed all their preparations, seized some boats, and crossed the lake. They landed at Yvoire, in Savoy, where they had the precaution to take two persons of some distinction, who were kept as hostages for their safe conduct through that part of the country. On the second day they were nearly betrayed, for the inhabitants of Cluses at first refused to give them a passage through the town, and afterwards sent a messenger to Sallanches, with advice that the Vaudois should be attacked in the narrow defile of Maglan, while they assailed them in the rear. The scheme, however, was discovered, and the pass cleared before the troops of Sallanches had any notice of their approach. After this, it took them two days to scale the heights of the mountains of the Graian Alps; then descending from the snow-topped hills, they followed the course of the Reclus, and penetrated through a ravine into the plain of Scez, where they encamped on the fourth evening. On the 21st of August, they traversed the valley of the Isere, and arrived at Laval in safety, though by this time a knowledge of the enterprise had reached Turin. A few skirmishes, however, were all they met with, and it was not till the eighth day of their march, that they came into contact with regular troops. To avoid the garrison of Susa, they resolved to proceed along the banks of the Dora, but on arriving at the bridge they found the passage disputed by two thousand five hundred French soldiers, who summoned them to surrender. Instead of halting, or being appalled by the disparity of numbers, the little band resolutely advanced, and after an extraordinary conflict, in which the combatants were frequently intermixed, the Vaudois passed the river, with only fifteen killed and twelve wounded. The French were so astonished at the rapidity of the movement, and discouraged by the loss they had sustained, that they did not venture upon a pursuit. In three days more, the Protestant heroes entered once again upon the ground of their fathers. They might have re-established themselves at once among the fastnesses of the valley of St. Martino; but burning with the natural spirit of men who had been wronged, they were determined to dispossess those who had gained possession of the lands of their brethren. The valley of Lucerne was full of French and Piemontese troops; but though they occupied the passes, Arnaud's men forced their way, and drove the enemy from mountain to mountain with irresistible impetuosity, till they reached the vale of Bobbio, where they expected to make a stand, as all the inhabitants were Papists. The Vaudois, however, were soon at their heels, and as quickly cleared the whole plain of the intruders. After these exploits, the patriots took an oath of mutual fidelity, in one of the recovered churches, where Arnaud mounted the pulpit, and holding his sword in one hand, and the bible in the other, he preached from the 129th psalm; the course of his sermon, declared in the face of the assembly, that he would never resume the pastoral office until he had witnessed the restoration of his friends in their inheritance. Encouraged by this success, the

Vaudois marched against Villaro, but were repulsed, and obliged to secure themselves amidst the defiles of St. Martino, closely pursued by the French and Piemontese, who, by cutting off all supplies, reduced them to such a state, that for many days they had nothing to subsist upon but vegetables. Under these circumstances, and hemmed in on all sides, they were obliged to separate, and act in detached parties. Still they kept up harassing operations, and with such effect, that a whole company of the enemy would retreat at the report of a single piece. As the winter approached, their hardships multiplied; yet nothing could abate their courage. They were always on the alert, and they had the good fortune to secure a fortress of impregnable strength, situate in front of one of the defiles, which the enemy assaulted several times without success. The Piemontese troops, and their auxiliaries the French, were often thrown into such confusion, that at the first onset they would throw away their arms, and fly before a handful of brave men, who pressed on them in the rear, and committed a dreadful slaughter; for which there was this excuse, that the Vaudois had no alternative but victory or death.

At last, Providence, in its inscrutable wisdom, put an end to this extraordinary war, by causing a dissension to arise between the French monarch and the duke of Savoy. The consequence of this rupture was, that both sovereigns now courted the very men they had just before concurred to destroy. The Protestants, with a noble spirit of forbearance and patriotism, forgot their oppressions, and chose rather to enter into the service of their own sovereign, than listen to the splendid offers of Louis the Fourteenth. Victor Amadeus received the Vaudois with great apparent kindness, caused them to be clothed, and made an excuse for the treatment they had endured, by throwing all the blame on the king of France. He then gave orders that the fugitives should be recalled, and put into possession of the estates of which they had been deprived. But the most singular thing of all, perhaps, in this wonderful history, is the fact, that in the war which followed between Victor Amadeus and his old allies, the Vaudois were his bravest defenders, and those upon whose valour and fidelity he relied the most firmly in all his struggles. At last, by repeated defeats, the duke was obliged to fly, and the only place he sought for refuge was in the valleys of the very people who had been so cruelly persecuted by his orders. Here he was safe and respected, among those whom he had injured; in return for which loyalty, the monarch, on his restoration to the government, rewarded the family with whom he had resided, by granting them liberty to have a burying-place! But the people at large, who had defended and sheltered him at the risk of their lives, were forgotten, and even exposed to new persecutions. After the lapse of some years, the ministers and schoolmasters of the valley of Pragela were banished, and in 1721, the same Victor Amadeus issued an edict, forbidding more than ten persons to assemble together in the said valley for any purpose whatever, under the severest penalties; besides which, all the inhabitants were enjoined to have their children baptized by a Romish priest, within twenty-four hours after the birth. New oppressions were heaped upon the Vaudois from time to time, by this ungrateful prince, insomuch, that in 1727, the British resident at Turin wrote thus to the government at home: "I can assure you, that nothing but great steadiness on our side, and insisting strongly on our treaties, and the king of Sardinia's promises, can preserve the Protestants of the valleys from sure and immediate destruction. The inveteracy against our religion is incredible, and if it be not supported with some warmth, since it is

attacked with so much, it must give way to superior force. I have received a memorial in justification of their proceedings against the Protestants, wherein it is endeavoured to be proved, that, by their treaties with France, they are obliged to persecute them, and to tolerate no appearance of that religion in those particular valleys yielded to them by France at the treaty of Utrecht."

The Protestant inhabitants of the Piemontese territory continued to be depressed by a bigoted government, till the French revolution, by changing the dynasty, ameliorated the condition of these afflicted people. But, such was the fidelity of the Vaudois, that, however much they had reason to rejoice in the political alterations which took place at the beginning of this century, nothing could shake their loyalty, or induce them to take up arms against their natural sovereign. For this attachment to the house of Savoy, they were again doomed to experience regal ingratitude. Though Charles Emanuel, king of Sardinia, had been restored to his throne wholly by Protestant states, among whom Britain stood pre-eminent, the first use of his recovered authority was to deprive the Vaudois of their ancient privileges, and compel those people to seek foreign protection. The British government interposed in their favour, but the perfidious monarch treated his great benefactor with cool contempt, and persisted in withholding from these faithful subjects their indisputable rights. At length, however, after the lapse of many years, public attention was powerfully roused to the circumstances of this venerable branch of the Christian family; and considerable subscriptions have, in consequence, been made to enable the Vaudois to support their church, in opposition to Popish malignity. In stirring this generous feeling, the reverend Mr. Gilly has more particularly distinguished himself, and it was, indeed, impossible for the most phlegmatic constitution to rise from the perusal of his touching "Narrative of an Excursion to the Mountains of Piemont," without strong emotions of sympathy and admiration for a church, that has, through a long period of trial and tribulation, in the language of the Apocalypse, "maintained the word of patience, and been kept pure in the hour of temptation."

To the interesting volume just mentioned we have been greatly indebted for much of the information detailed in the preceding account: but we cannot close this history without giving one instance more of Popish treachery and inhumanity. In the year 1794, while the Vaudois were arrayed, and acting on the frontiers against the French invaders of Piemont, the bigoted Romanists formed a conspiracy, the object of which was to destroy the families of the Protestants in the absence of their friends. The design was imparted to M. Odetti, a captain in the Piemontese militia, and M. Bianza, the Curè of Lucerne. These two worthy men, though Catholics themselves, were shocked at the discovery; and the latter lost no time in warning the poor people of La Torre of their danger, but this caution had not the effect of putting them on their guard. When the time drew near for executing this deed of darkness, Odetti set out from Cavour, where he was quartered, and repairing to the Protestant village as fast as he could, said, "I am afraid that I am come too late to prevent bloodshed. There is a conspiracy against you. The assassins are even now on foot; but if I cannot save you, I will perish with you. The honour of my religion is at stake: I must justify it by sharing your danger."

The consternation in La Torre cannot be expressed. Horror spread from house to house, and every habitation assumed the appearance of despair. The windows were

barred up, and piles of stones collected to hurl on the heads of the assailants; but there were only aged men, with women and children, left to use them. The strength of the population was eight or nine miles off, engaged in defending the passes of the mountains against the French. Scarcely a man that could carry arms was away from this patriotic duty, and yet such was the moment in which no less than eight hundred monsters had combined together, by a solemn oath, to exterminate all the Protestants, from San Giovanni to Bobbio. The night of the 14th May was appointed to carry this murderous project into effect, and the house and garden of the Roman Catholic priest of La Torre were the head quarters, from whence the conspirators were to rush upon their prey. Not an instant was to be lost; the day was already arrived, when captain Odetti gave the information, and at sunset the murderers were to assemble. The only chance of safety consisted in sending notice of the plot to general Godin, who commanded the Piemontese troops on the frontier. That officer turned a deaf ear to the message, because he could not believe in the existence of so infamous a plot. Another messenger and another arrived, but with no better success. At length, several fugitives made their appearance from La Torre; the dreadful news reached the Vaudois soldiers, and in a state of the utmost apprehension for the lives of their families, they insisted upon being despatched to their succour. The general was now sensible of his error, but not in time to give him hopes of being able to save the victims. The day was wearing fast away, the fatal hour was named, when the work of destruction was to commence, and nothing but extraordinary speed could enable a detachment to reach the spot before it began. To repair his unfortunate incredulity, the general commanded the brigade of Vaudois to march instantly, while he followed himself with another division. The wretched husbands and their fathers pursued their way in frantic desperation. The imminent danger of their wives and children put regularity of march out of the question; they precipitated themselves down declivities, which at any other time they would have shuddered to approach. They urged each other on with wild shouts, and prayed aloud to Heaven to give additional speed. As they advanced on the road, they were repeatedly met by parties of distracted women and frightened children, who were sent forward from La Torre, to hasten their pace. Many of these, in their terror and despair, assured them that they were too late; for that the business of death was begun. With breathless haste, and in a state of excruciating suspense, they hurried on. The shades of evening fell with increasing darkness, and with it a storm of rain came on, that brought the torrents down the mountains, in such a manner as threatened to impede their advance. They began to accuse Providence with being leagued against them. The waters poured down from the heights, with a violence that seemed to render it madness to proceed. Nothing, in fact, but desperation could have induced them to prosecute their journey in the war of elements. The last torrent they had to pass was rushing with unusual impetuosity, but they dashed through it in safety: and in a few minutes came in sight of La Torre. At the same moment, they heard the tolling of the vespers' bell of the convent, which they had been told was to be the signal for the assassins to sally forth. The unhappy men felt this sound as the knell of death. "We are too late," cried they, "but we will revenge; those cannot prevent." Their speed was now accelerated, they rushed into the village; the tramp of their feet, clangor of their arms, were heard within the house, the unutterable joy of these brave men, hundreds



were raised to welcome, and bless their appearance. The arm of God had done that which man's could not do: the time would not have sufficed to allow of the Vaudois, before the signal was to be given for the conspirators, to put themselves in action; but the storm of rain, and the violence of the torrents, which had no terrors for men advancing in a good cause, alarmed and stopped the murderers. Many of those who should have arrived at the rendezvous, had not reached it; and those who were there, dared not move forward upon this sanguinary enterprise until their numbers were increased. Considering the violent state of excitement to which the passions of the Vaudois were raised, it was natural to have expected that vengeance would have been taken upon their enemies. But, on the contrary, not a drop of blood was spilled; satisfied with the preservation of their friends, they were guilty of no outrage upon the persons or property of the Papists. The only step taken was, to send a list of the conspirators, and an attested account of the plot, to the government, which, however, made no inquiry into the affair, and the assassins were permitted to go unpunished! Thus the guilty escaped, but the innocent suffered; and general Godin was even brought to trial for allowing his detachment to quit the frontier. Upon that charge he was acquitted; but as he had incurred the jealousy of the court for favouring the Protestants, he was dismissed the service.

#### PERSECUTIONS OF THE PROTESTANTS IN POLAND.

In the middle of the seventeenth century, while the spirit of persecution was raging with the utmost violence against the Protestants of Picmont, their brethren in Poland were exposed to similar treatment. As this storm broke out in the very year when the Vaudois were so cruelly butchered, little doubt can be entertained of the two attacks being the result of a premeditated design, and an organized plan of operation. The principal settlement of the Protestants in Poland was at Lesna, and, therefore, the conspirators began with that place, being determined to destroy the mass of the population with fire, which they would have effected, had not some persons informed the inhabitants in sufficient time to enable numbers to escape, though without being able to carry off any of their effects. Thus, says the original narrative, within the space of one hour, a populous city, abounding with wealth, was abandoned by the people, who wandered into the neighbouring woods and marshes of Silesia. But the Polish nobility with their army entered the place, where they slew a number of decrepit old persons, and sick, who were unable to save themselves by flight. Then the city was first plundered, and afterwards set on fire for three days together, so that nothing remained but ruins and ashes. In what manner they would have treated the inhabitants, had they remained, appeared too evident by the slaughter which was made on the helpless objects that fell under their power: for they gave no quarter, and put every person to death with excruciating tortures. They endeavoured to force Mr. Samuel Cardus, pastor of the church of Czertgizen, to renounce his religion, and when he persisted in his refusal, they put out his eyes, and next pulled off the ends of his fingers with pincers; which they poured melted lead into his mouth, and, half alive, clapped his head between two folding doors, to put an end to his misery. They took John Jacobides, the church of Dembrick, Alexander Wartens, his brother, and another, who was in their company, as they were in the town of Lubin, and after dragging them

about in a most ignominious manner, cut their throats, then threw them into a pit, which they filled up with all manner of rubbish, before the martyrs were quite dead. Having pursued and overtaken a young man named Andrew Oxlitius, a candidate for the ministry, they cut off his head with a scythe, and chopped his body into small pieces. The same fate befell Adam Milota, a citizen of Lesna, Simon Pritzn, and several others. A pious woman of that place, with three children, had her hands and feet cut off, after which the barbarians chopped off the heads of the infants, and laid them upon her. Another woman was treated in a similar manner, only, after mangling her limbs, they enclosed her body in a sack, and thus left her to perish. Their fury was not confined to the living, but extended also to the dead: for they disinterred the bodies of many eminent persons, merely to exercise a malignant spirit of revenge towards the remains of those whom they could not otherwise injure. After the destruction of the city of Lesna, these infuriated zealots exercised their savage ferocity in other places: so that in a short time they utterly dispersed all the congregations of the Protestants, not only driving away the pastors, but burning, or laying in ruins, most of the churches; while the unhappy people were either murdered, or scattered abroad; and in the single town of Skochy, where the Bohemian brethren had a considerable church, sixty men and women were cruelly put to death. In an appeal which the surviving ministers made to the charity of the Protestant states of Europe on this afflicting subject, they say, "Lo, this is the most miserable condition of our churches; moreover, our countrymen, to the number of five thousand, besides youths and children, are dispersed in banishment, which calamity hath befallen most of us, for the second time. Some are scattered throughout Silesia, and others in Marck, Lusatia, and Hungary, without the means of support, and consequently enduring great wretchedness. We, their pastors, dare not openly minister to our auditories the word and sacraments, except secretly, and in private meetings, or in woods and desert places, where God alone sees us, who is the witness of our calamities, and our sole refuge in trouble. Thus destitute of all things, we lead a miserable life in our exile, being afflicted with hunger and nakedness, and become, next to our suffering brethren the Waldenses, the greatest spectacle of woe to the Christian world; for so it hath seemed good to that sovereign wisdom which governs all things, that we should be the inheritors of the cross and persecution endured by those men, from whom we have derived the original of our doctrine and ministerial succession. For it is an unquestionable truth, that we are the remaining descendants of the Waldenses, with whom, being raised from the ashes of the blessed Huss, and with whom combining into the same holy fellowship of the faith and afflictions of Christ, we have, for two whole ages and more, been perpetually subject to the like storms of calamities, until at length we fell into this misery, than which a greater has never been known in the memory of our fathers, and which, besides, threatens us with utter destruction, unless the Almighty prevents it by his good providence. The truth is, this event constrains us, with astonishment, and grief greater than can be expressed in words, to set forth our affliction and sorrow. If there be any consolation in Christ, if any comfort of love, if any fellowship of the spirit, if any bowels and mercies, we entreat that this sad calamity of ourselves and brethren may be recommended especially to all that are of the household of faith. Let them not suffer those to perish whom the same Spirit of Christ hath joined with them in so near a relation! We beseech them in the name



of the Redeemer, that they would rather make haste to relieve those who are ready to perish; for we are assured that this persecution is brought upon us on no other account than for the confession of the truth, from those enemies who have committed such things as these against us in times past; and are now, at length, by the divine permission, pouring out their fury again upon us."

When this affecting address was communicated to Cromwell, he caused the following declaration to be published for a collection towards the relief of the sufferers.

"His highness, the lord protector, having received a petition from several churches of Christ, professing the reformed religion, lately seated at Lesna, and the other places in Poland, representing their sad and deplorable condition, through the persecution and cruelty of their antichristian enemies in those parts, by whom they have not only been driven from their habitations, and spoiled of their goods, upon the account of religion only, but forced to fly into Silesia, for the preservation of their lives, and for the liberty of their consciences, where a considerable number of them continue in great want and misery, the truth whereof hath been witnessed, as well by deputies sent unto his highness from the said churches, authorized by an instrument under the hands of the pastors of five of those churches, as also by the testimony of several Protestant princes, who, out of a deep sense of the calamity of those distressed exiles, have afforded them shelter, until it shall please the Lord otherwise to provide for them: And his highness having, in like manner, received a petition from twenty Protestant families heretofore seated in the confines of Bohemia, where Misnia belongs unto it, representing their distressed and lamentable condition, through the persecution of the Jesuits, and inquisitors of the house of Austria, by whom they have been driven out of their habitations and spoiled of their goods, upon the sole account of their religion; who now, for the safety of their lives, and for the liberties of their consciences, are retired into the marquisate of Culleubach, where they find a present shelter in this their very sad and calamitous condition, which hath been witnessed both by their deputies sent unto his highness, authorized by an instrument under the hands of the chiefs of those families, as also by a public certificate from thence: And it being the earnest desire of the said afflicted churches and families, as well by their several petitions, as by their deputies, that his highness, out of compassion to their sufferings, would be pleased to recommend their lamentable condition to their brethren in these nations, in whom they hope to find bowels of mercy yearning towards those who, professing the same faith with them, are now under so great extremities and misery for the cause of the gospel and testimony of the Lord Jesus: His highness being greatly afflicted with the miserable and calamitous condition of the said churches and families, and not doubting but the people of these nations, whom the Lord hath graciously and wonderfully preserved from that antichristian bondage and tyranny, will have a fellow feeling of the afflictions of their brethren, hath, with the advice of his privy-council, thought fit to recommend their case to the charity of those whose hearts the Lord shall stir up, in these nations, to afford them some seasonable relief, whose liberality in this kind hath been testified in their large contributions to the relief of the poor Protestants in the valleys of Piemont, to the refreshing of their bowels. And to the end the said collections may be cheerfully made, and the money thereupon collected be disposed of to the relief of the said poor churches, and their members, and the families aforesaid, and to no other uses, his highness doth hereby require and

command the ministers and churchwardens of the respective parishes within England and Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed, the next Lord's day after this declaration shall come unto their hands, to publish the same, and on the Lord's day following to make a collection of the charitable contributions of the people in their parishes; and that within three days after, they pay over the sum or sums so collected unto the high sheriff of the county, to be by him paid into the hands of Sir Thomas Vyner and Sir Christopher Pack, knights, aldermen of the city of London, who are appointed treasurers for this service, and who shall transmit the moneys, so to be by them received, for the relief of the said poor distressed churches, and their members, and the aforesaid twenty families, in such manner and proportions as the committee formerly appointed for the dispensing of the moneys for the relief of the said poor Protestants in Piemont, shall, with respect to their several numbers and sufferings, think fit and direct: and to the end that none of the moneys, collected for so pious and charitable an end may miscarry, the ministers and churchwardens aforesaid are enjoined, upon payment of the said money to the respective sheriffs, to send up unto Sir Thomas Vyner, a written note of the sum so collected, the parish and county where the collection was made, and the person to whom it was paid, to the end that the same may be duly returned, and employed to the use intended."

The committee for managing the affairs of the persecuted Protestants in Piemont, circulated also a feeling address to the nation at large, on this new case; concerning which they said: "The all-wise and holy God, whose ways of providence are always righteous, though often secret and inscrutable, hath made it the constant lot and portion of his people in this world, to follow the Lord in bearing the cross, and suffering persecutions, thereby holding forth and verifying that irreconcilable enmity between the seed of the woman and the seed of the serpent, which was visible sometimes in the bloodshed of righteous Abel, whom Cain, though his brother, slew, being of the wicked one, yea, for this cause that his own works were evil, and his brother's good. Thus, they that are born after the flesh, persecute them that are born after the Spirit to this day, and so will do, while the world lasteth. In which cause and quarrel the Lord hath very many glorious ends. But scarcely have any sort of the church's enemies more clearly followed the pernicious ways of Cain herein, than hath the antichristian faction of Rome done, that mother of harlots and abominations, whose garments are dyed red with the blood of the saints, which they have always cruelly shed, and made themselves drunk therewith; even with the blood of those holy followers of the Lamb, chiefly, who would not receive Antichrist's mark, nor worship his image, nor drink of the golden cup of his fornications, but rather come out from them, and witness against them, though they did it in sackcloth, and were slain for it. Among these chosen and faithful witnesses, the Lord seemeth very signally to have raised up those Christians, who, though dispersed in divers countries, have been commonly known by the name of the Waldenses, who, for some centuries, have lived among their enemies as lambs among wolves, to bear their testimony for the truth of Christ, against the apostasies and blasphemies of Rome, for which they have been killed all the day long, and appointed as sheep for the slaughter. Nevertheless, the Lord, the great shepherd of the sheep, hath made their blood, thus shed, to become a constant seed of faithful valiant witnesses for him; which is, indeed, the glory of his name, and the glory of his church, that this bush hath so long

is not yet consumed. This little flock and remnant, which the Lord hath left and reserved, are scattered partly in the valleys Picmont, of whose tragical sufferings we have not long since heard, and have drawn forth our bowels to them, whereof a faithful account is given to the world, both for the satisfaction of brethren and friends, and for stopping the mouths of all calumnies. The other part of this poor, yet precious remnant, have been dispersed in the kingdoms of Bohemia and Poland, whose sufferings, together with the Lord's signal providence about them, have been very eminent and remarkable, as hath been made appear unto us by three godly persons, delegated by those persecuted churches, which are now the sad monuments of their enemies' rage and of the Lord's sparing mercies. These have made their addresses to his highness the lord protector, by petition, declaring the deplorable state wherein this persecuted remnant now lieth, and with loud cries importuning the Christian bowels and bounty of this nation, which cannot but be moved to mourn over them, and to shew mercy to them. And, indeed, upon a due sense and consideration of this lamentable subject, even common humanity, but much more Christian charity, should provoke us to a fellow feeling of their present distressed condition. These sometime flourishing churches, were, by degrees, worn out by the constant underminings and open outrages of the antichristian party, being first driven out of Bohemia into Poland; then, after their taking root and spreading into a numerous company, were forced out of the chief cities there; and now at last, by the Jesuited and enraged Polish army, persecuted in their few hiding places with fire and sword. Their ministers were tortured to death by most exquisite and unheard-of barbarism, by cutting out of the tongues of some, putting out the eyes, and cruelly mangling the bodies of others. Nor did their rage and brutish cruelty reach only to ministers, but to others, yea, even to women, and young children, whose heads they cut off, and laid them on the breasts of their dead mothers. Nay, their rage broke out not only upon the living, (not one of whom they spared that fell into their hands,) but also upon the dead, plucking the bodies of honourable persons and others out of their graves, tearing them to pieces, and exposing them to public scorn. But the chief eyesore and object of their fury was the city of Lesna, which, after plundering and murdering all whom they found therein, they burned to ashes, and laid in rubbish; only the Lord in his mercy having alarmed the city of their enemies' approaching march, the greatest part of the inhabitants saved themselves by flight, and are now wandering up and down in Silesia, the marquisate of Brandenburg, Lusatia, and Hungary, poor, destitute, afflicted, and naked. His highness and the council having referred unto this committee the testimonials and petitions sent by the said churches, we, finding upon examination thereof, their case to be thus deplorable, which is more at large stated and declared in their own narrative, have caused the same to be translated and published, thereby to stir up the Lord's people in these nations to put on bowels of mercies towards their exiled and afflicted brethren, refreshing their hearts by your love, and the tokens of it in a cheerful and liberal supply, which will not only preserve this holy seed from perishing, that hath a blessing in it, but also behold among them the purity of religion, and power of the word. The rather, considering the present freedom from bloody outrages, we, the people of these nations, do beseeching of the Lord enjoy, the continuance thereof, and more comfortably hope for, by how much our mercies are more freely extended to those in misery. As of cold water given to one disciple, as such,

shall not lose its reward, how much more, when a bountiful relief is given to more than five thousand disciples? Which we should be the more forward to advance, because they acknowledge they have obtained much confirmation in the religion for which they suffer, by light received from our countryman, John Wickliff, that famous witness of Christ against antichrist, even in the darkest times of Popery. And we doubt not, but that God who hath lately opened your bowels to so large and eminent a contribution towards the persecuted Protestants of Piemont, for which mercy thanksgivings have been made to God in your behalf, will again draw out your hearts upon this like sad occasion, to the same bountiful liberality, it being our duty to cast our bread upon the waters, and to give a portion to six and also to seven, not being weary of well doing, because in due time we shall reap, if we faint not. Considering also, how honourable it is to act grace, and to lay out ourselves upon such occasions, we recommend it again as the work of God, accompanied with his own voice, calling aloud upon us to enlarge ourselves in this ministration, and withal to pour out our hearts in faith and prayer, that the Lord would yet please to raise up Sion upon the ruins of Babylon, hastening his work, and blessing means to it."

What effect this second appeal to public feeling had, does not appear; but as Cromwell died soon after, it is probable that the confused state of affairs which followed, may in some measure have proved injurious to the cause of benevolence.

The spirit of persecution did not abate in Poland after this, for at so late a period as the year 1724, another sanguinary scene was acted at Thorn, a famous city upon the Vistula. The Protestant religion had gained a settlement there in the very infancy of the Reformation; and even a great part of the magistracy made an open profession of that faith. This proved extremely offensive to the Romanists, particularly the Jesuits, who were numerous in Poland, and by their contrivances they managed to get from the Protestants two churches, at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The government, however, refused for some time to let those fathers have a college in the city. But that intriguing and restless body never ceased importuning the king and senate to take off the restriction, which at last was done by Sigismund the Third, much against the inclination of the inhabitants, who were so firmly opposed to the order, that they formed a resolution not to lodge any of the students in their houses. Upon this the Jesuits applied to the diet of Warsaw, and obtained a very rigorous decree, compelling the people, without regard to their religious persuasion, to receive into their houses those pupils who came to study in the college. Matters went on with little cordiality till the above year, when some of the Lutherans, having been insulted by the students, retaliated, and a severe contest ensued; but the citizens being the most numerous, forced their way into the college, where they committed some outrages. Though no blood was shed, and the collegians were the aggressors, the court took part with the Jesuits, and issued a commission to inquire into the circumstances, and inflict a punishment on the offenders. A fine was, in consequence, laid upon the city, of two thousand nine hundred and fifty golden ducats; but not content with that penalty, sixty-six of the inhabitants were arrested and thrown into prison. The diet assembled, and remitted the judgment of the affair to the tribunal, called the Assessorial Court, where the chancellor of the kingdom presided. Here a Jesuit pleaded the cause of his community against the citizens, who were not suffered to justify themselves. In the end, the whole body of the

accused were condemned to death ; and though the king of Prussia, and other powers, interceded in their behalf, the sentence was rigorously put in execution on all of them, except one magistrate named Zernich, who purchased his life at the expense of sixty thousand florins and a recantation. The first sufferer in this tragedy was the president Rosner, who was beheaded. He mounted the scaffold like a hero, and died with the pious fortitude of a Christian. All the rest submitted to their fate with the same firm resignation, refusing to save their lives at the expense of their religious principles.

#### PERSECUTIONS IN HUNGARY.

THE reformed religion obtained a footing in Hungary at an early period, and the sovereigns of that country were so far from manifesting any thing like a persecuting spirit, that they granted toleration to the Protestants, and issued from time to time decrees in their favour. In the year 1606 was concluded the famous treaty called the "Pacification," between Rôdolphus emperor of Germany, and Stephen Botzschkay, prince of Transylvania, and king of Hungary ; the first article of which stipulated that the Protestants should enjoy full liberty of worship, and that all the churches which had been taken from them during the troubles, should be restored. The privileges granted in this settlement were ratified, and in some respects enlarged, by succeeding princes ; and in the year 1655 Ferdinand the Fourth, on his assumption of the regal crown, confirmed all the acts of his predecessor in a general declaration, one clause of which ran thus : " That for the conservation of peace among all the orders and states of Hungary, the profession of religion should remain free, without receiving any restriction or disturbance, according to the Constitution of Vienna, and the articles published before the coronation, in such sort, that the exercise of the Protestant worship should be open for the barons, lords, nobles, and citizens, of all orders and estates ; so that no person, of what quality soever, should be hindered by his majesty, or those under him, in any manner, or on any pretence whatsoever, from the use and exercise thereof."

Thus matters stood till the year 1671, when a Jesuit named George Barzee, counsellor to the court, and titular bishop of Waradin, printed a book with this title, " Truth declared to all the World, making it appear by three arguments, that his imperial majesty is not bound to tolerate the Lutheran and Calvinistic sects in Hungary."

The design of this publication was to justify the persecutions which had already been begun, and those which were in contemplation, against the Protestants. Some of those people had, a short time before, been greatly harassed, and cruelly treated, by Francis Nadasti, Paul Esterhazy, and other great lords, who, at the instigation of the priests and Jesuits, sent their soldiers to break up the congregations of the Lutherans, and other members of the reformed religion ; in this inhuman service the military committed, under the immediate inspection of their ecclesiastical leaders, the most dreadful barbarities, hanging some on the beams and door-posts of their churches, and throwing others over the battlements. All these outrages took place in the country where the feudal lords had the command ; but in the cities dependent on the emperor, the Protestants were as yet undisturbed. This security, however, they did not long enjoy, for when the same nobles turned their arms against the government, and a civil war ensued, the Imperialists also began to persecute the professors of the reformed faith, they took away their churches, and either banished the ministers, or put them to death ; as was the case with John Baki, pastor of Comana,

who was burnt alive. Many suffered in the same horrible manner in other parts, particularly at Posonium, where the papists established what they called a chamber of justice, solely for the purpose of trying heretics ; but as the judges were all of them bitter enemies to the Protestants, it may easily be imagined what sort of equity distinguished their proceedings. These inquisitors summoned the people to appear before them without their pastors, thinking by that course to get out of them such confessions as might suit their object, or prevail with them to abandon their religion. Those who appeared, and refused to recant, were cast into prison, sentenced to pay heavy fines, and put to cruel torments. A few, overcome with terror, fell from the truth, and escaped, though not without the loss of a great part of their property ; but far more perished in confinement, through misery, famine, or disease. After acting in this manner to the laity, the persecutors fell with vengeance upon the ministers ; and now they erected two additional courts, one at Tinew, and another at Posonium. At first they summoned before them about thirty Lutheran pastors, of whom they required that they should renounce for ever the exercise of the ministerial office, and be content to live a private life ; or to go voluntarily into banishment, with a promise never to return again into the imperial territories, unless they embraced the Catholic religion, in which last case they had liberty to remain in the kingdom, and enjoy the same privileges as other subjects. Some of these persons subscribed the conditions imposed ; but several of their brethren were content to sacrifice every thing for the sake of a good conscience, and went into voluntary exile, never to return. A few months after this, the restless persecutors summoned to their tribunals, generally, all ministers, professors, and schoolmasters, of the Protestant persuasion, throughout Hungary. Many of these refused to appear, others fled, and some took shelter under the protection of the lords who professed the reformed religion. About two hundred and fifty, however, complied with the mandate, and came at the time appointed. Six out of this number were chosen by the rest to answer in the name of the whole body. The charges brought against them ran thus : that renouncing the fear of God, they had defamed all the Catholics of Hungary, and, by consequence, the king himself, as idolaters : that they had uttered blasphemous things, in their sermons, concerning the blessed Virgin, the saints departed, and the sacred images, not excepting the crucifix ; that they had violated their oath of allegiance to the sovereign, in giving succour to his enemies, and opening a way to the Turks, for which cause they were guilty of treason against God and man, and were worthy to lose their lives and estates."

The first part of the accusation was purely of a religious description, and that alone for which, in fact, they were now called to account. As to the charge of rebellion, it was so ridiculous, that the majority of the judges themselves declared there was no ground for the imputation. Notwithstanding this, when Forgatz the president was solicited to exert his influence in behalf of these unfortunate persons, he said, " In the name of God, trouble me no more ; for I am myself so far from being safe, that were I but to speak one word in behalf of these men, their prosecutors would accuse me of rebellion, and get me thrown into prison." Finding that they could not substantiate the charge of treason against the ministers, the bigots endeavoured to persuade them to confess themselves guilty, and submit to voluntary exile. They refused, and were condemned to die. The persecutors, fearing that the immediate execution of the sentence might excite a public ferment, it was delayed.

ministers were kept in close confinement, but were all of them heavily ironed. At length the Lutherans and Calvinists were separated; when some of the former made their submission, and were banished. Forty-six, however, persisted in maintaining their integrity, with a full resolution to suffer death, rather than yield the least concession to their implacable adversaries. In consequence of this firmness, they were transported to different fortresses, and there kept to hard labour.

The sufferings which they endured are indescribable, and, when the governor of one of the citadels supplicated the bishop in their behalf, saying that the prisoners who had been sent to him were so weak, that they must inevitably sink under their sufferings, this Christian prelate laughed, and said, "Tis no matter, there is earth enough in the fields to cover them." The slightest part of the work they were made to endure, was to carry fagots of wood, and draw water from a deep well for the use of the garrison. But in general, they were compelled, though chained two together, to remove ponderous loads of stones, earth, and rubbish, for the fortifications. Their food consisted of scarcely any thing but coarse black bread and water; and their lodging was in filthy dungeons deeply dug under ground. It is inconceivable, therefore, how, amidst such hardships, they could bear up at all: yet in this condition they were not only made to labour incessantly, but were scourged unmercifully on the slightest occasions, especially when they betrayed an unwillingness to go on the Sunday to hear mass. After enduring inexpressible hardships for several months, an order came to convey these unhappy men to the Spanish galleys in the Mediterranean. Forty-one were thus sent off, and they had to travel all the way from Hungary to the Adriatic sea on foot, and still in irons, over rocks, and sands, and mountains; exposed to the weather, and, what was worse, to the brutal treatment of their conductors. When they came to Tergeste, they could proceed no further in their irons, which were, in consequence, taken off, and pieces of flesh came away with them. Thus were they dragged along for some hundreds of miles, barefooted, travelling all the day, and lodging at night in stables with horses and dogs. Several of them died on the road, and when the survivors reached Naples, they were put on board the galleys, where they suffered fresh evils nine months, when the Almighty delivered them, by the hands of the famous Dutch admiral, De Ruyter, who took the vessels, and gave liberty to these confessors. There were still many more Protestant ministers left in Dalmatia, who, after enduring cruelties which exceeded those of Phalaris, were also sent to the Adriatic coast, and offered for sale to the Neapolitans and Venetians, neither of whom would engage in the odious traffic. Upon this they were removed to Bucari, where they were offered their freedom on paying a sum of money. This ransom was raised by some friends; but when their oppressors got possession of it, they emancipated only two who were old and feeble, though the agreement extended to the whole company. It was now resolved to dispose of them to the Maltese, but while waiting for the galleys, ten abjured their religion, through the agony of their torments. Of those who retained their integrity, two died, and were buried in the sands on the sea-shore by their companions, who dug the graves with their hands. There were now only six left alive, one of whom afterwards sunk under the weight of his miseries. The two who remained were now ordered to prepare for death, in all probability they would have suffered, had not the Venetian ambassador at Venice, on being made acquainted with their deplorable condition, exerted himself

with such spirit as to obtain their liberation. One of these confessors died at Venice, and the other four, after a long illness, recovered, and went to Switzerland.

### PERSECUTIONS IN FRANCE.

SOME account has been already given of the rise and progress of the Reformation in France, as well as of the opposition which it had to encounter at different periods. The edict of Nantz, granted by Henry IV. and confirmed by Louis XIII., seemed to have secured the peace of the Protestant church on a permanent basis. Under its protection, literature, the arts, and commerce, flourished greatly throughout that country, especially in the southern parts of the kingdom. But all the advantages resulting from a liberal system could not, in the estimation of a bigoted priesthood, compensate for the want of uniformity in religion. Louis XIV. listened to the counsels of these narrow-minded ecclesiastics, and after vexing the Protestant ministers at various times, at length he came to the resolution of revoking the edict of Nantz entirely, though it had been productive of so many blessings to his dominions, and of wealth to his treasury. This breach of public faith took place October 22, 1685; when the king issued a decree, ordering the Calvinists to change their religion, or to depart the kingdom within a given time. The barbarities which ensued, and were continued for several years, to the disgrace of human nature, outvied in atrocity the ten persecutions inflicted by the heathen emperors upon the infant church of Christ. We could not possibly give a detailed history of the sufferings which the members of the reformed communion endured in this dreadful tempest. But it is indispensably requisite, in a work of this description, that we should lay before the reader some of the more prominent instances of cruelty which occurred in France, at the instigation of the clergy, the principal of whom was Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, a man of brilliant genius, but of an artful, ambitious, and bitter spirit. At an early age he distinguished himself by his zeal against the Protestants, and his hatred towards them increased with his years and his power. In 1671, he published his famous "Exposition of the Catholic Doctrine upon matters of Controversy," for which he received the thanks of the pope, as well as of the ecclesiastical body of France. This work was the prelude to some others, all tending to effect either the reunion of the Protestant with the Catholic church, or their expulsion from the kingdom. Had these persecuted people enjoyed full liberty of the press, and a clear arena to conduct their cause, decision would have been easy. But unfortunately the divines of the reformed religion contended with their hands tied. They could not speak out, nor print any tract in refutation of the calumnies thrown upon them, without running a risk of being sent to prison, or the galleys. Among the projects of Bossuet, and Harlai, the infamous archbishop of Paris, one was, to bring about a reunion by force. The reformed were to give up every thing, and the Catholics nothing. The plan laid by the prelates in the first instance was curious enough, and is well worth relating. The Calvinistic church at Paris, before the revocation, was a large building, and always well attended; being invariably supplied by the ablest ministers of the Protestant persuasion. This edifice was to have been surrounded with troops; the archbishop, and the bishop of Meaux, followed by a train of priests and monks, with the military, headed by the lieutenant of the police, were to march in procession, and enter the church during divine service. One of the prelates, after expelling the minister, was to take his place



in the pulpit, and summon the congregation to be reconciled to the church of Rome; which call was to be answered by an acclamation from some persons stationed in different parts of the building for the purpose. This cry of reunion being received as universal, the other prelate, in consequence, was to give absolution to the whole congregation. Such was the scandalous farce which Bossuet contrived to play, for the sake of his religion; but when the scheme was submitted to the council, some serious objections were made to it on the ground of expedience, and it was, in consequence, laid aside for one of a more tragical character.

Though, on the revocation of the edict of Nantz, many Protestants escaped into Holland, Switzerland, and England, there were far greater numbers, who, through poverty and other causes, were unable to migrate. This was generally the case in the province of Languedoc, and throughout the mountainous district of the Cevennes, almost the whole population of which was Protestant. Here the persecution fell with the greatest weight: notwithstanding which, the body of the people adhered inflexibly to the religion of their fathers, though harassed day and night by monks, and troops of dragoons. When their pastors were taken from them, the poor people held their assemblies in the woods and the recesses of the mountains, under the shade of night, and regardless of the weather. When their pastors were carried away, the Almighty raised up among them persons, who, without learning or preparatory study, undertook the ministerial office, and conducted the devotions of their brethren in these nocturnal assemblies with great efficacy. The consequence was, that many who had fallen away were brought to repentance, and with the rest maintained a good confession in the face of death. At one place there was a meeting of near two thousand persons, who had prayer, preaching, and the communion, in the open air. In the midst of the solemn exercise, a report came that the dragoons were approaching. All was still: and when the minister told those to depart who were in any fear, not one of them stirred. As it happened, it was a false alarm; for the soldiers did not come till the next day, and when the priest who accompanied them saw the foot-marks, and the grass trodden down, he said that the Devil had kept his sabbath there the night before. Even in the depth of winter these assemblies were continued, and the numbers that attended them increased. But the people were always peaceable, and never offered to commit either outrage or resistance. At one of them there were near four thousand persons present; but though it was known that the dragoons were at hand, the people were without arms, and at the end of the service they dispersed in different directions; by which means many of them were taken. Among these prisoners were two gentlemen, one named Pouget, and the other Teissier; of whom it was resolved to make severe examples. They were accordingly condemned to die in the village where the meeting had been held. Monsieur Teissier publicly acknowledged that he had attended the religious service, and declared also, that he would continue to do so if he were released. Upon the ladder, he sung part of the thirty-second psalm, and died with heroic fortitude.

Pouget was so weak as to change his religion, on the promise that he should save his life by so doing, but they hung him up notwithstanding; saying, if he was sincere in his conversion, he was in the best state to go to heaven, and if otherwise, he merited death for his hypocrisy. These tragedies, however, were so far from terrifying the Protestants, that on the very day of the execution of Teissier, there was an assembly held within two leagues of the spot, at which were

present above fifteen hundred persons; and the day after there was another at a different place. While the sermon was preaching at the latter meeting, a spy, or an apostate, went and gave information to the governor, who sent out several parties of dragoons to scour the mountains, but the assembly had broken up, so that they could only apprehend a few individuals on suspicion. Shortly after this there was a nightly meeting at Connas, but in the middle of the devotional exercise the soldiers came and fired upon the people while they were on their knees. Many were killed, and numbers wounded; and of those who took to flight, several fell into the river, where they perished. But the most considerable massacre was that which occurred near Uzès on the 7th of July, 1686. The dragoons being informed that about twelve hundred Protestants had met for their religious exercise, hastened to the place, and found them at prayer. They surrounded the Christians, who did nothing, but, with hands and eyes lifted up to heaven, waited for death. The military, at a signal, fired, and the ground was covered with the dead and the wounded. An eye-witness who passed over the spot three weeks afterwards, saw there the bodies of thirty women in a state too dreadful to be described. The valorous soldiers having perpetrated this deed, hung up many of the men with the halters of their horses, and then dragged away above three hundred women, after stripping them, to Uzès, where they were thrown into prison. At this frightful period, Languedoc, and particularly the Cevennes, might be properly called a field of blood; and the traveller was shocked at every turn, by seeing either a body suspended from a tree, or lying in a state of putrefaction on the ground. On the 13th of July in the same year, a lieutenant of the dragoons, having been informed that there was a man near the old castle of Vauvert, about three leagues from Nismes, who was in the habit of singing psalms, went thither; and on finding the object of his malice seated at the foot of a tree, with his book, he woke another, who was lying asleep by his side, and made him hang up his companion on the spot. The governor of the province, the marquis of Trousse, considered this a laudable action, and gave it a public commendation. There suffered in the same month at Beaucaire, an extraordinary young man named Fulcran Rey. He was a native of Nismes, and a student in theology, having been devoted to the ministry from his infancy by his pious parents. By the decree of revocation, he was obliged to quit the kingdom within fifteen days; but thinking that, in such an exigency, the destitute people would want spiritual assistance, he determined, though only twenty years of age, to run all hazards for their service. Fired with this holy resolution, he traversed the whole province of Languedoc, searching out every where persons who stood in need of edification. By his exertions, he was enabled to gather some nightly assemblies, chiefly in the neighbourhood of Nismes; but the persecution proved so hot, and the spies were so vigilant, that several Protestants were taken up, and either hung, or sent to the galleys. This put an end to the meetings for a short time, and obliged M. Rey to remove to a distance; but at last he returned to Cevennes, where he found many willing hearers, and he resolved to fix himself among them at all hazards. He had, however, a presentiment that this determination would hasten his fate, and, in consequence, wrote a farewell letter to his father, saying that he was perfectly ready to become a sacrifice for the sake of the truth, that as he had every reason to expect the crown of glory, he wished his friends to be prepared for it. The presage was soon verified, for by the treachery of one whom he confided, he was betrayed and taken.



night, while engaged in meditation. One of the soldiers immediately fell upon him with fury, cast him to the ground, and beat him unmercifully; but he bore it with meekness, and only said, that God would visit the persecutor for his inhumanity; which proved to be the case, for the same man was slain a few days afterwards by one of his comrades in a quarrel. The martyr was conducted to the prison of Auduze, where he was loaded with chains, and treated with the utmost severity. When brought to be examined, the first question asked of him was, whether he had preached? He confessed without hesitation that he had, and gloried therein, declaring that, in so doing, he had only discharged his duty, which course he would pursue again, if he were once at liberty. They endeavoured to get from him the names of the places where he had officiated, and those of the persons who were present at his sermons. But on those points he remained silent, that no one might be brought into trouble by his indiscretion. After going through this examination, they committed him to thirty dragoons, who carried him to the prison of Alez, where he was to undergo persecution from the monks, as well as the severity of his judges. But he answered them all with such force of argument, that they were affected greatly by his discourse and firmness. Fearing, however, that his behaviour would make too deep an impression, they removed him to the prison of Nismes; and as he went, the road was crowded with people of both sexes, who had relaxed from the faith outwardly, but wept for this excellent young man, and offered up their prayers for his deliverance. He returned them his good wishes and blessings, but earnestly exhorted them to rise speedily from their fall, and glorify God, as he did, by suffering. Whilst he was in the prison of Alez, the ecclesiastics did all they could to shake his constancy, and the judges also exerted themselves to the same purpose, by promising him pardon and preferment. But he was superior to all these temptations; and when he came to Nismes, which was the place of his birth, he earnestly desired that he might not see his father or any of his relations; being fearful that an interview with them might weaken his faith. So far his desire was complied with; but he took care to let his friends know that he was perfectly resigned to the divine will, and ready to be offered up unto God. They kept him only a few days in this prison; but all the time he was exposed continually to the harassing importunities of the monks and priests, who were very ambitious of making such a convert, in a city that abounded with Protestants. When they found that all their labour was in vain, and fearing that the steadiness of the young martyr would have a powerful effect upon the people, they resolved to remove him from thence. They accordingly carried him to Beaucaire, the inhabitants of which place were wholly of the Catholic persuasion. Here his process was to be made out, and here also he was to sustain the most terrible assaults. The intendant began with promises, and concluded with denouncing death. To the former he answered, "I love not the world, nor the things of the world. All the allurements of which you speak are in my eyes contemptible, and I tread them under my feet." With regard to the threatenings, he said, "My life is not dear unto me, if so be I may finish my course with joy, and gain Jesus Christ. Whatsoever death is prepared for me, it will be glorious if I suffer it for God, and in the same cause in which my Saviour died." An incredible number of people came to see him in prison, and all on the same errand; nothing that could be suggested by policy and flattery could shake his fortitude. All these solicitations provoked the intendant proceeded to pass upon him

sentence of death. He was accordingly called to the bar; when the judge said, "Mr. Rey, there is yet time for your preservation." "Yes, my Lord," answered he, "and for that reason I will employ the time that remains in endeavouring to work out my salvation." The judge replied, "But you must change, and then you shall have your life." "Yes," said he, "I must change: but it is only to go from this miserable world to the kingdom of heaven, where a happy life awaits me, which I shall speedily enjoy. Do not promise me the present life, for I am entirely weaned from it, and death, under such circumstances and conditions, is to me far more desirable. If I had been afraid to die, you would not have seen me here. God hath enlightened me with his truth; and he honours me by calling me to die for it. Speak no more to me, therefore, of the pleasant things of this world, since they have no attractions for me; and all the treasures on earth I willingly renounce in order to attain eternal life."

When the court saw him thus resolute, they ceased to vex him with importunities about his religion, and contented themselves with making out the process. To all their questions he answered with perfect composure and sweetness, as if the business before them, instead of being on life and death, had been a matter of absolute indifference. Just as they were about to pronounce judgment, they solicited him again to have pity on himself, and not throw away a life which it was his duty to preserve. "I am no more," said he, "in a condition to advise about the line that I ought to pursue. I have made my choice; here is no farther place for bargains; and I am ready to die for the truth, if so it hath pleased my God to appoint. All the promises that have or can be made, will never be able to shake my mind, or hinder me from rendering what I owe to my God and Saviour." Upon this they read the sentence, by which he was condemned to the rack first, and the gibbet afterwards. He heard the judgment read without any emotion, and when it was ended, he said, "They treat me more gently than they did my Saviour, in condemning me to so mild a death. I had prepared myself to be broken on the wheel, or to be burned alive at the stake." Then, lifting up his eyes, he said, "I give thee thanks, O Lord of heaven and earth, for all the blessings which thou hast bestowed upon me. I give thee thanks, that thou hast found me worthy to suffer for thy gospel, and die in thy cause. I give thee thanks also, for that thou hast called me to suffer so easy a death, after I had prepared my mind to suffer the most cruel tortures for thy sake." He endured the rack without a word or a groan of complaint; and when they put the usual questions, he answered, that he had nothing more to say than what they had before heard. When taken off, he turned to the judges, and said, "I have not suffered the pain which you thought, and desired I should; in truth, I believe that you have suffered more than myself; for I solemnly declare, that I have been supported in such a manner as to be above the sense of pain." They then brought the martyr back to the place where he was to prepare for the last scene of all. He dined, because it was their pleasure that he should; but he said, "Others eat to live, and I eat to die. This is the last repast that I shall take upon earth; but against night there is prepared for me a banquet in heaven, to which I am invited, and whither I shall be conducted by the holy angels. Those happy spirits will quickly lead me to the joys of paradise." During the remainder of the day, he was beset by the friars, who received in return for their officiousness nothing but confusion. Amidst all the distractions which these contentions produced, he employed himself as much as he could in singing psalms, and addressing fervent prayers to the throne of

grace. Towards evening he was led out of his cell, to go to the place of execution, when two monks drew near to him, saying, "We are here to accompany and comfort you." His answer was, "I have no need of such comforters as you, for I have one that is more faithful, and who is within me for my consolation; I have also a guard of angels round my person, and I am assured that they will be with me to my last moment." Thus he went forward to the gibbet, with a dignity and tranquillity of spirit that astonished all the spectators. Observing some of his brethren who had fallen from the truth, and were weeping bitterly as he passed, he said to them, "Weep not for me, but weep for yourselves. I shall be soon out of all suffering, and far distant from this vale of tears. But I shall leave you here. In the name of God, therefore, recover your integrity; repent, and he will have pity on you." As soon as he came within sight of the fatal tree, he cried out in a transport of joy, "Be strong, be strong, this is the goal to which I have long habituated my thoughts: and for which God himself hath prepared me. Oh, how welcome is this place to me! Methinks here I behold the heavens opening to receive me, and the angels coming to attend me thither!" He would afterwards have sung a psalm as he drew near to the gallows; but the magistrates seeing the crowd very much agitated, by the tokens of constancy which he gave, imposed silence on him, and he obeyed. When he came to the foot of the ladder, he said, "Oh, how welcome is this ladder to me, since it will serve as a step to finish my course, and bring me to the kingdom of heaven!" They permitted him to say his prayers; and when he had finished and was going up, the monks attempted to follow, but he repelled them, saying, "Retire, I beseech you. I have already told you, and tell you again, that I have no need of your succour. I receive quite enough from my God to enable me to take the last step of my mortal journey." He would have gone on, and given a reason of his faith to the innumerable concourse of people below; but the officers and ecclesiastics, fearing the effect of a sermon preached from such a pulpit, and by such a preacher, caused the drums to be beat, which had the effect of drowning his voice. Thus the demon of persecution feels a torment in malice, and dreading the force of that eloquence which preaches from gibbets, and amidst the flames, imposes silence upon the victims. Our martyr, therefore, finding it in vain to withstand this injunction, addressed himself to heaven, but his countenance and gesture spoke so feelingly to the surrounding people, that though most of them were plunged in the darkness of popery, they were greatly moved by this extraordinary spectacle.

Another young gentleman, who became a confessor in the same glorious cause, though in a different manner, was M. de Villiers, of the noble house of Juigne. He was arrested near Boulogne, and conveyed to Calais, from whence the intendant sent him to Paris, where he was thrown into prison, and kept in close confinement seven months. During that whole time he preached by his actions and conversation in such a manner as produced wonderful effects, particularly in edifying his fellow-prisoners, who were suffering for the truth. The chief president one day went to see him, and they entered into discourse; but the inequality soon appeared, and the magistrate left him, saying, "I wonder where you could have learnt so much roguery!" Numbers of ecclesiastics, and other persons also, attempted to bring over M. de Villiers; but he proved more than a match for them all in strength of reasoning, while his deportment, which was in every respect that of a Christian, evinced the superiority of his principles in regard to the

moral character. At length the miseries he endured brought on a bloody flux, of which he died, after an illness of six weeks, throughout which he never ceased to praise God for his grace in bringing him to defend the truth of the gospel. His soul was always as it were on the wing towards heaven, and his discourses were full of piety, resignation, and forgiveness of his persecutors, many of whom were sensibly affected by his deportment and faith.

The martyrs of this description were so numerous, that it would have been impossible to give a catalogue, much less a particular history of them. Among them was M. Robert d'Ully, viscount de Nouion, a member of the reformed church of Conci, in Picardy. He was at this time about eighty years old; and had been distinguished in the wars, where he received many wounds and scars all over his body. This aged man was so weak as to subscribe a recantation of the faith; but soon afterwards his conscience became alarmed, and he publicly renounced what he had done, and drew up a counter-declaration of his principles, signed with his own hand. This gave mortal offence, and after torturing him in various ways, they sent him to a monastery of the order of Premonstrants, where the monks tormented him night and day in such a manner, that they hastened his dissolution, without shaking his creed. He died, repelling them with his hand when his voice failed him; after which they threw the body into a kennel, till information was given to the magistrates, who caused it to be dragged about the city on a hurdle, and then cast into a ditch outside the walls, where the people covered it with stones.

In a similar manner they treated Paul Chenevix, who was dean of the counsellors of the parliament of Metz near forty-five years. This venerable man, about eighty years of age, was beset in his last moments by the bishop of Metz, the governor, procurator of the king, and a host of ecclesiastics, who urged him to die in the Catholic religion. He persisted in his refusal, and when he expired, the chief magistrate condemned the body to be drawn naked on a hurdle about the streets. The parliament, shocked at the thoughts of having the remains of the most ancient and respectable member of their order thus treated, suspended the execution of the sentence. But they were overpowered by a mandate from the court, giving peremptory directions that the judgment should be enforced. The venerable body was accordingly stripped stark naked, and dragged about all the streets of Metz, on which occasion the militia was called out, and the hangman, who attended, was armed. The people in general were shocked at this horrible spectacle; but the Protestants performed an act of heroic courage, for at the risk of their lives, when the body was thrown out on a dunghill, they assembled, and interred it with honour, as devout men did the remains of Stephen the first proto-martyr.

At the town of Dannai, in Poitou, a Protestant named Paulmier, after suffering the loss of his goods, and other ill treatment from the dragoons, was tortured in a very extraordinary manner. The archbishop of Bourdeaux, in returning from the assembly of the clergy at Paris, came to the house of this person, and asked the soldiers why they had been so remiss in their duty as to suffer Paulmier, who was very aged and gouty, to remain in bed. After giving this rebuke, he went up stairs, where he ordered the dragoons to drag the old man out on the ground, and apply red-hot irons to warm his feet and hands. While this was doing, and the sufferer uttered dreadful cries, the prelate appeared to be greatly diverted. The archbishop, irritated at this brutality, exerted her power to protect her poor husband, but was knocked down,

beaten, that she fell into a swoon, from which she was recovered by throwing over her two or three buckets of water. At length, overcome by his agony, the poor man promised the archbishop to use means for his instruction in religion; and with his consent the simple acknowledgment was subscribed with his name, although not by himself, as he had been rendered unable to hold a pen. The signature, however, was scarcely affixed, than he retracted, and caused a person to write to the bishop, to say that he needed no Catholic instructor, but would die in his religion. In the mean time, the wounds that had been inflicted, inflamed to such a degree, that a mortification ensued, and he died within a few days, lamenting his weakness, and crying for mercy, resolutely repelling all that could be said, by a Carmelite monk and a Jesuit, who persecuted him with their exhortations to the last moment.

The constancy of M. Menuret, an eminent advocate of Montlimar, merits commemoration in this place. He was distinguished throughout life for his exemplary conversation, piety, and professional integrity. When the missionary dragoons were sent to Dauphiny, he strengthened all the persons about him by his exhortations, and the firm constancy of his own demeanour in that hour of trial. The governor of Montlimar knowing his influence with the Protestants, caused him to be arrested, and closely confined in a narrow room, where he remained, subjected to many hardships, three months; and then he was removed to a frightful dungeon. He went thither full of joyful resignation, and comforting his friends, who were immersed in affliction, and bewailed his fate with tears as they accompanied him to the prison. Seeing them so overwhelmed with distress, he told them that they ought to bless God, who enabled him to suffer for his name, and in his righteous cause. He lay six months in this loathsome hole, where, by ill usage, he contracted an incurable disease. They then took him out, but it was only to put him into the hands of Rapin at Valence, the most cruel persecutor of modern ages, and the perpetrator of many murders. Rapin, like a ferocious beast of prey, received him with malignant joy, and said, "We will see whether thou wilt remain obdurate in heresy, while under our discipline." He lodged him in a passage, under which ran the common drain of the hospital, and for a bed gave him a plank. This place was opposite to the entry of the chapel, where mass was said every day, and they would have obliged the martyr to assist at this service, but he resolutely persisted in his refusal. Rapin finding him inflexible, caused him to descend into the court, where grew a mulberry tree, to the branches of which his arms were fastened, and his body raised up till his feet scarcely touched the ground. Then the clothes were taken off his back, even to his shirt; and the attendants, by the order of their superior, laid heavy lashes with thongs upon every part of his body. This treatment was repeated for the space of fifteen days, and with such violence, that it produced evacuations of blood. In the midst of these horrible torments, which were continued without ceasing, his constant prayer to God was for mercy and grace to himself and his persecutors. After enduring a variety of tortures, which even shocked two Capuchin monks, who heard his cries and witnessed the barbarous conduct of Rapin; the latter was prevailed with to relax a little from his severity, but it was only to employ the wretched martyr to carry stones for a building which they were making at the hospital. Such, however, was the inhumanity of Rapin, that in a short time he resorted to his old practices, and caused the sufferer to be removed to a considerable distance. When the tormentors ceased for about two hours, and then began

to make preparations for a repetition of the punishment, but it was found that death had happily delivered the victim out of their power. This happened in April, 1687.

In this horrible persecution no regard was paid to the fair sex, any more than to youth or age; and though the French nation has ever affected a civility above most people in this respect, yet now even women of all ranks were made to endure the greatest indignities, privations, and torments. Madame de Bardonnanche, wife of a counsellor in the parliament, and viscountess of Trienes in Dauphiny, had the mortification to witness the defection of her husband; after which, when she refused to follow his example, they forcibly took away her daughter, to bring her up in the Romish persuasion. She was more wounded by this stroke, than by the fall of her husband, but she still remained firm in the faith. At last she saw the general desolation of the Protestant churches; but neither did that calamity cause her to recede from the truth. When the dragoons overran the country, she was advised by a minister of her acquaintance to quit the kingdom, where she was exposed to continual danger without being able to do much good. She replied, that it did not become her to act a cowardly part on the approach of the wolf; and that, therefore, she would not emigrate till the king issued his mandate for that purpose. Not long after this, the intendant of the province, with the bishop, and the marquis de la Trousse, commander of the troops, went to her seat at Clermont, and endeavoured to persuade her to turn Catholic. She treated them with great courtesy, but declared that her resolution to maintain the faith in which she had been bred, was fixed and immovable. Upon this the dragoons were sent to convey her to a convent at Grenoble, where she still continued in the same determination, and said that she would rather go to the fire than the mass. From thence they removed her to another religious house, but here her conversation was so meek and humble, that she had very nearly made converts of the nuns, who were appointed to subdue her obstinacy by arguments or the severity of discipline. When the intendant and the bishop understood this, they became alarmed, and caused Madame de Bardonnanche to be taken to a convent at some distance; but though the rules of this house were of the strictest kind, the effect produced by the deportment of the new inmate was very similar to what had taken place in that which she had just left. In consequence of this, the persecutors transferred her to another convent, with a strict injunction, that she should not be suffered to speak to any person. But fearful that she might still infect some of the flock with heresy by her humble and Christian spirit, the bishop had her removed to a place of close confinement near Grenoble, where it is supposed she ended her days.

When the French government found that the number of the Protestants was so great that it was difficult to dispose of them, and impossible to convert them, it resolved upon a new course, and that was, to transport them by shiploads to the American colonies. A native of Languedoc who had escaped to Holland, where he entered into the marine service, happening to be in a Spanish port, in 1687, saw a ship from Marseilles lying there, and on learning that she had a number of exiles on board, he went to visit them out of curiosity, for, being under the protection of the Dutch flag, his own person was safe. An affecting scene ensued, of which we shall give his own account: "After we had been on board the French vessel some time, we saw some gentlewomen make their appearance upon deck for the air, upon whose countenances death seemed to have set a seal. We asked them upon what account they were going to America,

when they answered with heroic constancy, "Because we would not worship the beast, nor prostrate ourselves before idols." We then inquired, whether there were any among them from the Cevennes? They replied, that there were two girls, one of fifteen, the other sixteen years of age, who were below, and that they came from a village called St. Ambrose. The name of this place excited in me strong emotions, and I expressed a great desire to see them. One, however, was sick unto death, and the other was assisting her in this deplorable situation. At my request the latter was sent for, and as she advanced, her countenance appeared familiar unto me. When I asked, "Mademoiselle, from whence do you come?" she said, "I am from St. Ambrose." "And what is your name?" "I am called Peirique." I needed no more to convince me that these two unfortunate victims of tyranny were my own cousins. My feelings overpowered me, and for some time I could do nothing but weep. At last, I drew near to her, and said, "Mademoiselle, do you not know me?" At that moment, looking intently in my face, she sprang forward, and falling on my neck, exclaimed, "Is it possible, my dear cousin, that I should see you once again in my misfortunes?" She added many other things so moving, that there was not a dry eye among the persons who witnessed this touching spectacle. I desired permission of the captain to go below, and visit the sick sister, who was not able to come upon deck. This he very obligingly granted; but on descending between decks, what a sight was there! Four-score women, old and young, were stretched upon coarse matting, and it was evident that their sufferings were dreadful. But I could not speak; for my spirit died away within me, and it was utterly impossible to offer them any consolation. Nor did they seem to need it. On the contrary, they all said, "We are comforted; for what we endure is sent to us from him who is King of kings, and in him therefore we put our entire trust." In another part I saw one hundred miserable persons, some of whom were far advanced in years, whom the oppression of tyrants had reduced to the last extremity. I beheld, in fact, persons of all sorts, ages, and qualities. They told me, that when they left Marseilles, there were two hundred and fifty in all, men, women, girls, and boys; but that in fifteen days, eighteen of them died. A countryman, who lived about a league and a half from St. Ambrose, was one of these, but his son, who was in the same ship, knew me at first sight. There are six more vessels ready to sail from Provence, all laden in the same manner with slaves, whose only crime is that of worshipping God according to conscience. On visiting my sick kinswoman, I would fain have consoled her, but she interrupted me by saying, "My dear cousin, it is not death that I fear, for if God thinks proper to call me out of this misery, he will bestow upon me a blessing, and, instead of repining, it is my duty to be thankful!" When I returned to my own vessel, and informed the captain of the dreadful scene I had witnessed, he sent me back with some fowls, wine, and money, for the relief of these poor sufferers. I should have told you, that my kinswomen informed me, they had wandered about in the woods some weeks before they were taken. The next day we were obliged to weigh anchor, much to my regret; but I contrived to go and bid them farewell, and they all said, "We entreat you to remember us in your prayers, that God would give us grace to persevere faithfully unto the end, and grant us the crown of life."

The following is a letter written by one of the persons who were condemned to this kind of slavery.

"I have thought, my dear mother, that before I am removed to another world, as they threaten us, it is my duty to

inform you of my state, and to acquaint you with the true condition of my soul. Oh, how happy are you, and my dear sisters, whom God through his infinite mercy preserved so long in your retreat, and preserved from the anares which have been laid for you, but more especially in that he hath led you in so miraculous a manner out of this sad and unhappy kingdom, that you may enjoy his divine consolations in holy assemblies with perfect liberty. Be never forgetful of benefits so great, if you desire that God should continue his blessings and mercies upon you and yours! Pray continually for the liberty of Zion; for all our poor brethren, who have unhappily fallen; and also for the prisoners of Jesus Christ. You have begun gloriously, but all this will be nothing, unless you persevere to the end: therefore give up yourselves to Divine Providence, and be assured that God will give you all that is necessary in this life and in that which is to come, provided you offer to him the acceptable sacrifice of your goods, families, and lives. Never turn your faces back again through trouble, nor regret what you have forsaken, do not be as the wife of Lot, lest you partake of the same judgment. I acknowledge that there is need of extraordinary labour and great grace to surmount our natural affections, and that tenderness and sympathy which so strongly binds us to each other: but when the glory of God and our eternal salvation are considered, we ought not to hesitate one moment about the course we should pursue; for he who loveth father or mother, wife or children, more than his Saviour, is not worthy to be called his disciple. Wherefore, my dear mother and sisters, evince with your last breath, the difference you make between earth and heaven, betwixt the perfect love which you have for the divine Redeemer, and that which you may have for the things of this world; so then shall we assure ourselves of his protection and favour, if we persevere unto the end. The death of my father hath exceedingly edified and comforted me; and his patience and faithfulness have given me a joyful assurance of his happiness: so that instead of being afflicted, I desire to be dissolved, and to be with Christ. I reserve my tears for the sad and deplorable state of the church, and for the fatal backsliding of so many of my poor brethren, in behalf of whom I offer up my prayers unto God night and day, that he would cause them to return from their wanderings, and shew them his grace and mercy. This is the real affliction which preys upon my soul, and sadly overwhelms my spirit; for in regard to myself, I was never more contented and at rest than I find myself at present; so that after having weighed exactly the world and all its vanities, I can say with the apostle, that, all things reckoned, the sufferings of the present life are not worthy to be compared with the glory that shall be revealed. Therefore, my dear mother, I am fully resolved to do my duty, even to my last moment. They have already conducted to Marseilles one hundred prisoners; and now our company, making seventy in number, depart for the same place, as being the general rendezvous. I know not what will be the event of this; nevertheless, all are perfectly resigned and prepared for a long voyage. Whatever be our fate, we are under the eye and protection of God. Pray for us; we do so for you: and let all our friends, and your churches, redouble their supplications for these unhappy souls who are to be carried away as sheep to slaughter-house."

We have already observed, that no respect was paid to condition by the persecuting zealots of France. In the galleys and public works it was common to see persons who had been dragged from their families, and compelled to labour, though they had no



tomed to hardship, or mechanical employment of any kind. There were two persons of this description at Marseilles, who died soon after their arrival there, of the ill treatment which they endured. One of these confessors, or martyrs rather, was M. Chantguyon, who had been thirty-four years an elder of the reformed church of Vassi, in Champagne. He was seventy-four at the time when the persecution broke out, and being arrested in his attempt to leave the kingdom, he was condemned to the galleys. He appealed from this sentence to the parliament of Metz; but the decree was confirmed, and though the judges, on beholding his emaciated frame, affected to pity him, they said it was necessary to make examples. He went from Metz with his brother-in-law, M. Chemet, who was sixty-nine years of age, and they were chained together. They were much enfeebled by the length of their journey, the weight of their irons, and the cruelties they experienced, notwithstanding which, their spirits were wonderfully supported, insomuch that they glorified God in being found worthy to suffer for his name. They died within a few days of each other, and preserved their constancy to the last moment.

Another eminent confessor in this fiery trial, who continued firm in the faith, was the marquis of Pierre. He was so distinguished by his talents, rank, and virtue, that the court resolved to gain him over, or to separate him from his brethren of the reformed communion, among whom his influence was considerable. Accordingly, he received a mandate to come to Paris, whither he went, accompanied by his son. On his arrival, he appeared before the minister of state, to know the cause of the summons which he had received. No answer, however, was given to him; and he remained in the capital six months, wondering what object the government had in view. At last he was peremptorily commanded to change his religion: and at the same time his son was forcibly taken from him, to be brought up in the Catholic faith. This was a dreadful stroke: but the marquis being resolved to suffer death rather than render himself infamous in this world, and endanger his salvation in the next, made preparations for leaving the kingdom. He, therefore, left Paris with some gentlemen of the same persuasion, but the roads were so well guarded that it was almost impossible to escape; and the whole company were taken at Landrecy. All the others apostatized, but the marquis remained inflexible. An order came from the king that he should be closely confined in the citadel of Cambray, at which place a counsel of the parliament attended, to take his examination, and make out his process. To every interrogatory he answered frankly and with firmness. The commissioner told him that he deserved the galleys, for attempting to quit the kingdom without leave. He replied, that he was perfectly prepared not only to go to the galleys, but even to death itself in the same cause. He was then remanded to his cell; but what became of him afterwards was never known, though, as it is certain he did not recant, it is most probable that he died in confinement, for his rank screened him from the galley.

Of the sufferings which those Protestants endured, who were condemned to that species of slavery, a minute account is published by a priest, named Bion, who was for some chaplain on board the *Superbe* galley, in the French navy, where the scenes which he witnessed gave him such a just notion of the persecution, that in the end he renounced popery, and embracing the religion which he had in Burgundy, and retired to his native country. His narrative was printed in 1712, and the author says, that in the year 1703, several Protestants, out of the Cévennes, were put on board our galley.

They were narrowly watched and observed: but I was greatly surprised one Sunday morning, after saying mass, to hear the officer say, he was going to give the Hugonots the bastinado, because they did not kneel during the service. The very name of the bastinado terrified me, and though I had never seen that punishment inflicted, I entreated the officer to forbear till the following Sunday, telling him that in the mean time I would endeavour to convince them of their duty. Thus far I succeeded; but all my arguments to prevail upon the poor people to join in an act which they considered as idolatrous, were unavailing; for, with the exception of two, the whole company turned their backs upon the mass, and offered up their devotions according to their own manner. This was enough to bring upon them the threatened vengeance of their oppressor. In order to the execution, every man's chains were taken off, and he was put into the hands of four Turks, who stripped him naked, and laid him upon the long gun, called the courser, where they held him so that he could not stir. During this preparation there was a dreadful stillness throughout the vessel; for the sight is so awful, that the most obdurate wretches cannot bear to look upon it, but invariably turn away their eyes. The victim being thus stretched at his length, the Turk who is chosen to perform the office, takes a tough cudgel, or a hard knotted rope, and lays on with all his might, till the skin and flesh are completely flayed, and the bones appear. After this they apply to the wounds a mixture of salt and vinegar, which renders the suffering indescribably shocking and excruciating. When these unhappy persons had gone through the savage torture, they were taken to the hospital, a filthy dark place, to be confined in which, would of itself be a horrible punishment. Thither I repaired after the execution, and could not refrain from tears at witnessing so much barbarity on the one hand, and so much Christian fortitude on the other. They quickly perceived my emotion, and, though scarcely able to speak through pain and weakness, they thanked me for the compassion which I expressed, and the kindness I had uniformly shewn to them. I went with a sincere desire to administer comfort, but found to my astonishment that they suffered much less than myself. It was, indeed, wonderful to see with what patience and constancy they endured their torments; never, in the extremity of their pain, expressing any thing like resentment against their oppressors, but humbly calling upon the Almighty, and imploring his assistance. I visited them day by day, and as often as I went, my conscience upbraided me for continuing in a communion, the errors of which appeared so glaring. At length their deportment and bleeding wounds preached so effectually to me, that I became convinced that the religion which could support men under such tortures, must be true; and that the one which maintained itself by persecution, must be false."

In the same relation, the author says, the Protestants then in the galleys, were condemned thither at several times. The first were sent after the revocation of the edict of Nantz: the term prefixed for the fatal choice of abjuring their religion, or leaving the kingdom, was a fortnight; but this liberty was by many base artifices and wicked contrivances rendered unavailing; for there were frequently secret orders issued through the machination of the ecclesiastics, to prevent the embarkation of these poor people, who had not time to sell their effects, or to get in their debts. Children were forced from their parents, that the latter might either be induced to change their religion, or be compelled to remain after the period limited for their departure. The infants were not indeed massacred, as those innocents were that



Herod caused to be slaughtered, but the blood of their fathers was mingled with their tears. Those ministers who had zeal and constancy enough to brave the heaviest judgments, were broken alive upon the wheel, or were gibbeted without mercy, wherever they were taken. At length, the laity were prohibited from leaving the kingdom on any pretence whatever. But this interdict could not prevent numbers of each sex, and of every age, from flying through deserts and forests, to avoid their oppressors and preserve their consciences. Some escaped, but more were captured, and it was a sad spectacle to see two hundred men at a time chained together, going to the galleys. Even there it was criminal for any one to relieve the sufferers; and a severe punishment was always inflicted upon those who exerted the office of humanity towards these confessors and martyrs. Yet there were persons who ventured every risk for the sake of assisting their afflicted brethren. Of these was Monsieur Sabatier, whose charity equalled that of the primitive Christians. Having a little money, he distributed it all among the Protestants in the galleys; but he could not do it so secretly as to avoid a discovery. Information was laid against him, and he was brought before M. de Monmart, intendant of the galleys at Marseilles. On being interrogated, he did not deny the fact. The intendant then promised him his pardon, if he would declare who it was that had given him money for this benevolent purpose. M. Sabatier modestly answered, that he should be alike guilty of faithless ingratitude to God and man, in making any such confession, by which worthy persons might be brought into trouble; that as to himself, he was at their disposal, but that upon no account would he betray the secrets with which he had been intrusted. The intendant replied, that he had a way to make him communicative, and accordingly he sent for the Turkish slaves, who stripped and beat him unmercifully for some hours, three successive days. Finding that this horrible barbarity could not conquer the intrepid spirit of the Christian hero, the intendant turned executioner himself, and lashed him severely; after which, turning to the spectators, he said, "See what a diabolical thing this religion is!" At last, when it was feared that the poor man would die under the torture, he was remanded to a dungeon, where he lingered some time, and then died.

The Protestants of the Cevennes, as well as those in every other part of France, bore all these hardships with an endurance equalled only by that patience which marked the conduct of the primitive Christians. Yet, notwithstanding their numbers, they made no resistance, until, goaded to desperation, those who had fallen away in the hour of severest trial, became themselves the objects of suspicion and oppression. These people fancied that, by submitting to go to mass, they should secure their persons and property; but they were mistaken, for they only became the objects of a more rigid observance. The sincerity of their conversion was justly doubted, and hence they were narrowly watched, and every occasion taken to inflict upon them summary vengeance. One of their bitterest enemies was the Abbe du Chelas, who had a benefice in the Cevennes, where, if he missed any of the new converts at mass, he would send for them to his house, and cause them to be stripped and scourged till the blood flowed from them in streams. The poor people, exasperated by this treatment, took up arms, and invested the house of their oppressor, who jumped out of the window, but was pursued and despatched. The Romish writers themselves allow, that he was a wicked man, and yet it is certain that he was encouraged by the government. The inhabitants of that part now rose generally, and this insur-

rection was made the plea for punishing several persons of distinction in other places. A gentleman named Salgas, who had abjured his religion, and thereby preserved his estate, became an object of suspicion, in consequence of the firmness of his wife, upon whom no arguments or threatenings to induce her to do the same could have any effect. This perseverance, which ought to have commanded admiration, produced a rancorous malignity in the ecclesiastics, and it was at length resolved to take her away by force, and shu her up in a convent. M. Salgas got information of the design, and informed his lady of it, at the same time entreating her to prevent it by a recantation. She heard him in silence, but made up her mind as to the course she should pursue; and accordingly, while her husband was hunting, she quitted the house in disguise, and travelled through byways till she got out of the kingdom. This elopement so irritated the priests, that they determined to avenge themselves upon M. Salgas, by accusing him of seditious practices, and with having assisted the insurgents of the Cevennes. It was in vain for him to protest his innocence; and though no proof was adduced of the charges brought against him, he was, upon presumptive evidence only, condemned to the forfeiture of his estate, and perpetual slavery in the galleys. Here we must admire the wisdom of Providence, for this gentleman, who had fallen from the faith in his prosperity, now recovered it in adversity. While on board the galley, he made an open confession of his religion, and gave to his fellow-sufferers a bright example of Christian fortitude and resignation. For some time he was removed to the general hospital at Marseilles, where he experienced some gentler treatment, to induce him to make another retraction of his heresy, but no allurements, or promises of a restoration of his estates and honours, could prevail with him to sin against his conscience; and therefore he was sent back to the our and chain on board the galley, in which station he died.

Among the numerous martyrs of eminence who witnessed a noble confession at this period, in France, some are entitled to a more particular narrative. The first was Lewis de Marolles, who was born at St. Menehould, in Champagne. He was brought up to the profession of the law, in which line his family had been very eminent for generations. By his singular integrity and talent alone, he rose to the dignity of king's advocate, and the office of receiver of consignments at his native place; but higher preferment he could not attain, so long as he continued in the reformed religion. Besides his study of the law, he applied diligently to the mathematics and natural philosophy, in which sciences he made a great progress, and acquired so much distinction, that his correspondence was courted by men of the first rank in those branches of knowledge. With the connexions which he formed, and the abilities he possessed, he had every prospect of elevation to the judicial bench, or of advancement in the state, but that his creed and his conscience forbade him from seeking worldly honours by a conformity to the world. Religion was with him a matter of principle, and he made it his chief object to improve in the knowledge and practice of his duty. Yet there was nothing austere or reserved in his manner. Never was a man more agreeable and pleasant; so that all who were acquainted with him both loved and admired him for the evenness of his mind and the goodness of his heart. In a letter written by a minister under whom he sat, and who enjoyed much confidence, we are told that "M. de Marolles was of a happy disposition. His temper was free from passion; he never fell into a passion. He was a man of great application, and his judgment was very accurate."

suffered his mind to be occupied with vain cares and solitudes; but maintained a constant steadiness under all the trials which he was called to endure. He knew well how to be seasonably serious, and rationally cheerful, so that his conversation was at all times delightful and edifying. By a diligent reading of the holy scriptures, and the primitive history of the church, he became firmly grounded in the Protestant faith, and a complete master of the points in controversy between the reformers and the members of the church of Rome. But he was no warring disputant, and his great wish was to lead a quiet life in the pursuit of his profession, and the bosom of his family, for whom he felt a most tender regard, and was extremely anxious to bring up his children in the love and practice of virtue. When the storm began to arise against the Protestants, his solicitude was confined wholly to his wife and children, for as to himself, he was ready to endure whatever should be laid upon him by Providence; but the thoughts of their perversion to Popery made him very uneasy, so that he often said, if he could but get them out of the kingdom, he should be happy. With this view he removed to Lexim; but on the 2d of December, 1685, they were all arrested, and conveyed to the prison of Strasburg. Here M. de Marolles was visited by a Jesuit, who forced himself into an argument with him upon doctrinal subjects, and particularly transubstantiation. One of the subtleties to which this controversialist had recourse, in endeavouring to prove that "a sign" may be also "the thing signified," was the following illustration: "You know," said he to M. de Marolles, "the noble actions which John Sobieski, king of Poland, has performed at the raising of the siege of Vienna. Now, might not the same monarch, one or two years hence, represent these same exploits upon a public theatre? In this case, therefore, he would be himself the representative of himself; and by consequence the sign may be the thing signified." To this quibble, the Protestant advocate replied, "That he found the example very strange, and the argument exceedingly weak; for that his proposition proved nothing else, than that the king of Poland might undoubtedly represent his past by his present actions, which last would only be the signs of the former, and not the actions themselves. Besides this, he added, any other person might represent the same actions as well as the king." In another conference, the discourse turned upon the words of our Saviour, "This is my body," which the Jesuit called operative, meaning that they converted the bread into the proper person of Christ, by expressly declaring that it was so. M. de Marolles on the other hand affirmed, "that they were significative merely, and expressive of what was already done." The Jesuit, to prove his point, gave this illustration: "If the king should say to M. de Chamilly, 'You are marshal of France,' no one would question but that he was so?" Our martyr replied, "That it was certainly true, if the king would make M. de Chamilly marshal of France, he would speak in the common phrase of the whole world, and say, 'I confer upon you such a dignity.'" During the confinement of M. de Marolles at Strasburg, he received several letters from his Roman Catholic friends, strongly urging him to change his religion, for the sake of his wife and children, as well as to avoid personal punishment; but to all these arguments he was inflexible. In the month of January, 1686, he was removed to Chalons, with his family. Here he continued in confinement six weeks; and, on the 9th of March, he received sentence, which was, the forfeiture of his property, and to slavery for life, in the galleys. Afterwards they took him out of the dungeon, and put him on a waggon to Paris. The youngest of his

sons was permitted to accompany his father, by the kindness of the guards, who behaved with more humanity than the judges or ecclesiastics, and even suffered their prisoner to walk about occasionally during the journey, saying they had too much confidence in his honour, to fear his attempting an escape. On arriving at the prison of the Conciergerie, the son of M. de Marolles was allowed to go in with his parent, but the next day this favour was refused, and he was told that they should see each other no more. M. de Marolles, on the morning after his arrival, was twice brought before the procurator general for examination. In one of his letters he says, that he gave such answers to the questions that were put to him, as Jesus Christ inspired him with. "The magistrate," adds he, "made me another visit, and gave me this testimony, that it was wonderful to see me do that for error, which none of themselves, perhaps, would do for the truth. A little while after this, the president of the court had me brought out of the dungeon, and received me with respect. When I came into the chamber, he caused all his attendants to withdraw, and honoured me with a private conference, which lasted two hours. He expressed not only much concern for me, but his desire to serve me; and after my departure, he said, on joining his company, as I have been informed, that he had been discoursing with a good man. These are only words, (observes the martyr,) but yet they afford some comfort. I likewise received several marks of favour from another magistrate, who talked with me at the door of the dungeon, and after some discourse, told me that it was with great grief and sorrow he saw me there; that he wished I might be seized with some slight indisposition which might give occasion to take me out, and put me into the infirmary. All these gentle methods had a particular object in view, but they were, I thank my God, unsuccessful: he having put it into my heart to continue faithful, even unto death, if such should be my doom."

From the Conciergerie he was removed to another prison, called La Tournelle, where they loaded him with chains, but gave him liberty to write to his friends. One of these was the famous M. Jurieu, to whom he addressed this letter: "I have received that which you did me the honour to write, and it hath been a great consolation to me, but I could expect no less from so faithful a servant of God as you are. It hath not only edified and comforted me, but may have the same effect upon some few others, to whom I have communicated it; though I have been obliged to read it by stealth, for fear of my keepers. I return you thanks for the care you have taken to represent in so lively a manner, what I ought to fear and hope, in the condition to which I am reduced. I had already formed to myself ideas sufficiently clear of those things, and thanks be to God, your good advice hath impressed them more strongly upon my heart, so that I have reason to hope, that with help from above, the Almighty will finish the good work which he hath begun in me; and that my sufferings shall end to his glory, my own salvation, and the edification of my brethren. When I reflect upon the gracious conduct of God towards me, I am enraptured with admiration, and cannot find words sufficient to express my sense of his goodness, and of my gratitude for it. There are few prayers which I offer up, that are not accompanied with tears of joy. As soon as our churches were shut up in the province where I lived, and that precious liberty was lost, which we now breathe after, God put it into my heart to go and seek it at Lexim, where the people still enjoyed religious freedom; but within a few days we were deprived of it there also, as well as elsewhere. Upon this, I resolved to venture among strangers, and to forsake

all the accommodations of life which we enjoyed in France. In these travels, and in the different prisons and dungeons, through which the providence of God hath led me, I have been preserved from such violent temptations as have caused the fall of so many of our brethren, and might, but for these visitations, have borne me down with the rest. The imprisonments which I have suffered now, for seven months complete, are a small matter compared with those terrible trials; and yet, notwithstanding, I have not been without giving some indications of weakness. The tears of a wife and family who are so dear to me, shook me at Strasburg; and afterwards at Chalons, the entreaty of my two brothers-in-law prevailed with me to accept certain propositions that were made to me by some of the most considerable persons of that province. But within a few days I was convinced of my error, and when I had an opportunity of repairing it, I embraced the occasion with zeal, joy, and tears, so that the Father of mercies, who knows how to bring light out of darkness, made use of my infirmities to give me that vigour and firmness which I have possessed ever since. This gives me ground to hope, that he will continue the favour bestowed upon me to the end; and that he will always proportion his gifts and graces to the trials wherunto it shall be his pleasure to have me exposed. What was promised at first did not take place, and then other overtures were made to me, but these troubled me less than the former, and I rejected them without any distinction; upon which my adversaries were so provoked, that on the next day they threw me into the dungeon. Thirteen days before my condemnation, being in the prison at Paris, one of my friends, who was tutor to the king's children by Madame de Montespan, came to see me, and proposed, with his majesty's leave, that I should go for eight or ten months to the bishop of Meaux to be instructed. I returned my thanks, but said that my religion was fixed, and that the bishop of Meaux could give me no more satisfaction than other ecclesiastics with whom I had already conversed. About eight days since, M. Morel sent me word that he would cause my chains to be taken off the next morning, if I would only consent to be instructed. My reply was, that I felt sensibly affected by his kindness towards me, for which I returned him my grateful acknowledgments; but that I was resolved to suffer the penalties to which I was condemned, rather than wound my conscience. I give you this particular account, dear sir, that you may know the disposition of my soul. The manner in which I suffer, and the bright side on which God causes me to behold all my evils, conspire to persuade me, that he will give me grace to be faithful even unto death. I am assured that the light afflictions with which he is pleased to visit me, will produce in me according to his promises a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory. I comfort myself also with what St. James says, "Blessed is the man that endureth temptation, when he is tried; for he shall receive the crown of life, which the Lord hath promised to those who love him." I rejoice in this, that our Saviour declares them happy who suffer for righteousness' sake. I make all my glory and felicity to consist in this, that my Saviour has not thought me unworthy to suffer shame for his name. I stay myself upon the Rock of ages; in whom I put my whole trust, expecting support and assistance from him alone. Upon a foundation so solid, I persuade myself that nothing shall be able to shake me, and at present he makes me feel the effects of a singular mercy; for, while surrounded by the wicked, he gives me to taste of the sweetness of true and substantial good. He fills me with joy that is unspeakable, and surpasses all understanding; he fills me with that hope by

which he hath sustained the happy confessors of his truth, and by which he will continue to support me, as he has done them. My principal study is to disengage myself from earth, to be weaned wholly from this world, and to aspire after heaven. This is my ordinary employment, as far as the infamous place where I am imprisoned will admit. I call it infamous, because one never hears any thing honest here, the place continually resounding with filthiness, profanation, and blasphemy. There is such a noise for the most part, by night as well as by day, that I have scarcely found one happy moment to lift my heart unto God. I have been so oppressed with sleep, that I have oftentimes fallen under it before I could finish my prayers: and when I awake at three or four in the morning, I endeavour to keep myself so, that, whilst all is still, I may with some composure address my devotions unto God. I have had more liberty for ten or twelve days past, and when the weather is fair, they let out the prisoners into a court, and keep them there all the day till six in the evening. I employ one part of this time in reading, meditation, and prayer; and I also take the liberty to sing some psalms, as I have done in all the places of my captivity. Behold in a few words an abridgment of our misery—we lie fifty-three of us in a room, which is not above five fathoms in length, and one and a half in breadth. At my right is a sick countryman, with his head at my feet, and my head at his feet, and it is the same with others; so that there is hardly one among us who does not envy the condition of dogs in their kennel, and horses in their stall. On this account all the prisoners are anxious for their departure; but the time is kept a secret, though, as far as we can judge, it will be next week. I have had five fits of a tertian ague, but, God be praised, I am now very well recovered, and prepared to take my journey to Marseilles. We shall, in passing through Burgundy, be joined by some of our brethren, who are in prison there, for the same cause with myself, who am, however, the first that has had the honour to be condemned by the parliament at Paris. I am in great uncertainty whether this will go in safety: but if your great employments will permit you to give some consolation to my wife and children, as you have made me hope, and she expects, I entreat you to do so. You may well imagine that our separation is a terrible stroke, and, above all, to her. I received your letter, and did not forget in my prayers those things which you recommended to me. I pray that God may cover you with his protection, and preserve you many years to labour in his vineyard."

In another letter, written to his sister-in-law from the same place, he says, "I have been confined two full months with seven miserable wretches, condemned either to the galleys, or to be hanged, or broken alive upon the wheel, in a dungeon so dark, that I could not well discern their faces. They have all been troubled with spasms and fluxes, which God hath preserved me from, although I am old, and they young men. On the 11th of May, I was taken out of the dungeon, contrary to my expectation, for I thought they intended to let me perish here, and brought to the criminal court to receive judgment. The president ordered me to sit down upon a stool, and administered to me an oath to speak the truth. I answered to all questions that were put to me, after which he made me an exhortation, and bade me seriously with myself, that it was not they who judge for that the declaration of the king expressly meant my condemnation. I returned him my thanks for his goodness, and told him that I was under no concern about my future having settled my resolution long ago, and in consequence, I resigned myself implicitly to the will of God."

to suffer the penalties which they should be pleased to decree: and that how great soever the same might be, they would be less grievous than to act against the light of my conscience, and live like a hypocrite. They then ordered me to withdraw, and I was conducted back to my dungeon. They deferred my judgment till the 14th of May, when they put manacles on my hands, and so conveyed me to La Tournelle." It is not known why the sentence was so long deferred, but it is conjectured that the parliament of Paris felt a great reluctance at condemning one of their own body; and that they were at last compelled to do so by the restless intrigues of the clergy, and the peremptory mandate of the king. So true is it that the genius of the Roman Catholic religion, as displayed in the spirit of the priesthood, is barbarous and bloodthirsty; breathing nothing but violence, and totally repugnant to the principles of charity and moderation. At length sentence was pronounced, and that of the presidial court of Chalons was confirmed. Of the treatment which he experienced at this time, he says in a letter to his sister, "The governor of La Tournelle, knowing who I was, and being informed of my crime, caused me to be used with as much gentleness as could be expected in that place. A single fetter, therefore, was put upon one foot; but the next morning he came to tell me, that he had just received orders which very much affected him, namely, it was the king's express command to put the chain round my neck. I thanked him for his goodness, and told him that I was ready to pay a respectful obedience to the orders of his majesty. Accordingly, I laid aside my hat, and then, after taking off the fetter from my leg, they put round my neck a chain, weighing not less than thirty pounds. Thus you see the state and condition which the wise providence of God hath chosen and allotted for me, out of a thousand others, in which I might have been placed. I hope to obtain from his mercy strength and constancy to suffer all for his glory and my salvation. Do not afflict yourself at my situation, dear sister, since, after all, it is more happy than you think of. Weep not for me, but keep your tears for so many miserable creatures who do not live with the content that I do. Grant me, however, the assistance of your prayers; and be assured that you are not forgotten in mine."

About a week after this, the procurator-general went to visit those who were condemned to the galleys. Of this interview M. de Marolles says, "He addressed himself to me, and seeing the chain round my neck, told me that it grieved him much to see me in that wretched condition, and that he greatly desired to deliver me out of it: that I was so much the more worthy of pity and compassion, because it was my prejudice which had plunged both myself and family into misery. I answered him, that I should be very much to blame if it really were so; but my opinion was, that in cases which concerned our eternal salvation, it was our indispensable duty to neglect and despise all that related to the present life, and that it was this conviction which induced me to bear my yoke with patience. He replied, that he was persuaded I was right as to my intentions, and that I had a sincere zeal for the glory of God and my own salvation, but that I wanted knowledge. He then said, that he would come again to see and talk with me in a little time, and that there was nothing which he would not either do or suffer to deliver me out of my misery. I told him that I received with thankfulness and respect the tokens of his goodness which he was pleased to shew me, and then

afterwards, he received a visit from another

magistrate, of which he gives this account. "A counsellor belonging to the court, who sat on the right hand of the president when I was brought in to receive judgment, came to visit the prisoners. After he was gone out, La Roi, the head keeper, took me out of the place where we are, and brought me into what is called the council chamber. I had my chain about my neck, when the counsellor said, with every appearance of candour and sympathy: 'All our assembly, sir, are touched with grief for the misery to which they know you are reduced, and I am come to desire you to deliver yourself out of it. We know that you have always lived like a very honest man, and that you come of a good family. Now, consider with, and examine yourself, by the rules both of policy and conscience. Before seven or eight months are at an end, your religion will be no more heard of in France. Even at present there are very severe edicts against the new converts who do not perform their duty, and in other places, your religion hath been extinguished these one hundred and thirty years. But I do not come hither (he added) to dispute with you about it: for you know that it hath subsisted and continued in the kingdom only by sufferance and toleration, and out of a necessity to appease and put an end to the troubles. It lies wholly in your power to advance yourself higher than you have ever yet been, and to preserve tranquillity to your family.' To all this I answered, that I was very much obliged to the illustrious assembly, for having so good an opinion of me, and for the kindness which they expressed towards me. I also expressed my particular obligations to himself for the benevolent regard which he had manifested, but that nothing should ever prevail with me to act against my conscience, and that as to the advantages of the present world, I utterly contemned them. I added, however, that if I really was in an error, and it should please God to convince me of it, by giving me new light and knowledge, I should not fail to follow zealously and joyfully the course so discovered, solely with a view to the divine glory. I said, moreover, that the edict of Nantz was granted by Henry the Fourth, to reward the good services which that king had received from the Protestants, and not to appease troubles, which had ceased to exist when he entered into the peaceable possession of the crown."

About this time a German divine wrote two consolatory letters in Latin to M. de Marolles, who in his answer says, "When I reflect on the merciful goodness of God towards me, I am overpowered with admiration, and clearly discern the secret steps of Providence, that hath formed and guided me from my youth up, after a regular manner, to enable me to bear what I actually suffer. I have always had but little love for those objects which worldly minded men esteem and pursue; being more careful to provide for my soul than my body. Although I cannot but acknowledge, to my shame and confusion, that I have not served God so faithfully as I ought to have done, and that I have not been so thankful as it was my bounden duty to have been, for so many benefits and favours, which he hath conferred upon me; yet I have always had a zeal for his glory and truth; and these are the holy seeds which he hath had the goodness to sow and cherish in my heart, so that in the present time of desolation they have begun to produce in me truths which afford inexpressible pleasure. It is this happy condition in which I am that gives me assurance God will finish the work begun in me: and I believe I may say with his faithful apostle, 'I am confident that neither angel, nor principality, nor power, nor height, nor depth, nor things present, nor things to come, nor any other creature, shall ever be able to separate me from the love which God hath shewn me in his Son Jesus



Christ.' I can truly and sincerely say, that the prisons and dark dungeons in which I have been confined for so many months, and the chain which I carry about my neck, have been so far from shaking the resolutions which God hath put into my heart, that they have only been strengthened thereby. I have sought the Almighty in a quite different manner in my afflictions, than ever I did when in prosperity, and I may say that he hath suffered himself to be found by me. He hath very delightfully communicated himself to me by the sweetness of his consolations; and in the midst of the afflictions with which it is his will that I should suffer, he hath made me to taste of heavenly gifts. The evils with which I am threatened do not in the least terrify me. If they are violent, I am not in a condition to bear up long against them, and in that case death will put a happy period to them. If they are moderate, I shall have reason to bless God for them, who will continue his goodness and favour towards me. These considerations make me look upon the time to come with the eye of constancy and assurance."

While he was in confinement, he was occasionally visited by his wife, who, however, was not suffered to go farther than the grate, through which she used to put her hands, and, with medicated water, wash the wounds made by the galling of the ponderous chain. She heard, one day, that the clergy had spread a report all over Paris, that he was beside himself. This infamous falsehood was contrived to allay the excitement produced by his unshaken constancy. On being informed of the paltry trick, our martyr proposed a mathematical problem to the learned, so difficult that few could solve it; yet he gave the rationale himself with as much readiness as if he had been at perfect liberty in his study.

At length the 20th of July, the day appointed for the departure of those condemned to the galleys, arrived; when M. de Marolles had but just recovered from a severe fever, and his wife was so ill that she could not possibly enjoy the melancholy satisfaction of taking a last personal adieu of her beloved husband, whose face she was destined never more to behold. The prisoners had only the breadth of the quay to cross, to enter into the boat. They went two by two, linked to a long chain by rings, and our martyr obtained it as a favour to be in the last rank. In the few steps which he had to take, he met his children, who fell upon his neck, and mingled their tears with his; but while they cried aloud, he preserved his wonted firmness. A great concourse of people had assembled on this sorrowful occasion; and every one seemed troubled with the moving spectacle. Among the rest there was an elderly merchant, of the Roman Catholic persuasion, who broke through the throng, and embracing M. de Marolles, made him a tender of his purse. This good man afterwards renounced popery, and retired with his family to London, where he made an open profession of the truth.

After suffering many hardships, our sufferer and his companions reached Marseilles at the end of August. Of this journey he wrote the following account: "As I left Paris in a languid state, not being recovered from the fever, it hath accompanied me to this place. I have undergone incredible fatigue, and have been twice at the point of death; in which condition I lay upon planks without any straw under me, and only my hat for a pillow. When we left the water, it was much worse with us; for we were driven along over rugged roads at the rate of fourteen hours a day, in a waggon, and at night thrust into dungeons. Thus, my dear friend, God having proved me, and furnished me with necessary assistance, he hath at length brought me hither pretty free from

the fever, but still very weak, so that I was obliged to be supported between two of the guards into the galley, where, as soon as I entered, they chained me like the rest of the slaves. But when some of the officers came and saw my condition, they sent for the surgeon, upon whose report I was loosened, and taken to the hospital, where I am at present."

Here he remained about three weeks, but at the end of September he was on board the galley, in expectation of being embarked for America, whither that iniquitous government was in the habit of transporting the invalided slaves.

When informed that such would probably be his destination in the course of a few months, he was not in the least concerned at the intelligence. "It is no matter to me," said he in a letter to his friends, "whether I die by land or by sea, in Europe or America. I am persuaded that the death of God's children, let it be of what kind it may, is precious in his sight. I do likewise believe, that my death would be more edifying and glorious if it should happen during my bonds. I have fully given myself up to the will of God; and am satisfied, that all states and conditions in which it shall please him to put me, are those in which he judges I shall glorify him better, than in an infinite number of other ways which he might allot me."

At times he could be pleasant and humorous, of which an instance appears in the following description of his manner of living and habit, written to his wife evidently for the purpose of relieving her spirits. "I live at present," says he, "altogether alone. They bring me from the shore, bread and meat at the rate of nine sous per day. I am furnished with wine in the galley, for nothing, and also with some of the king's bread. He that supplies me with wine, eats with me, and he is a very honest man. I am treated with great civility by all on board the galley, particularly the officers. I am getting a quilt made to-day; and I intend to buy some sheets. You will say, perhaps, that I am a bad manager; but I have had enough of lying upon hard boards. If you were to see me in my fine galley-slave dress, you would be enraptured. I have a fine little red jacket, made just after the fashion of the carriers' frocks of Ardennes. It is put on like a shirt, being only open half way in front. I have, likewise, a fine red cap, two pair of trousers, two shirts, with threads as big as my finger, and stockings. We have the honestest commander of all the galleys; and he not only treats me with respect, but hath promised to let me lie in his cabin when the weather is cold. Let all these comforts which God affords me, support thee, and make thee cheerful." It is obvious, that his design in this letter was to give ease to the distressed mind of his wife: while at the same time there can be no doubt, that his condition was hard enough, even under these circumstances, which, favourable as they might be, did not last long; for he and his fellow sufferer, poor Isaac Le Fevre, were soon after subjected to a rigorous treatment, being kept closely chained, and neither suffered to go on shore, nor to receive any letters.

About this time our two confessors were brought before the bishop of Marseilles, in order to a conference on religion. M. Le Fevre had the first disputation, and it was observed that the treatment of him and his friend became worse in consequence. M. de Marolles was called to no less than three conferences, but all the arguments that were used against him over to the Romish faith proving ineffectual, about six weeks afterwards, removed from the galley to a dungeon in the citadel of Marseilles, which was either occasioned by the noise his suffering caused, or by the fear that his example might



impression favourable to the Protestant cause, among those who witnessed his patience and fortitude, or, as is most likely, to the resentment of the ecclesiastics, at having been foiled by a heretic and a layman. Hitherto he had been able to keep up some correspondence with his friends, but that intercourse was now interdicted; so that he could only write by stealth, and that at long intervals.

In this close confinement he lay six years, enduring the extremity of nakedness, hunger, cold, and darkness. After a long suspense, his afflicted wife received an anonymous letter, dated the 25th of October, 1687, in which the writer says, "You desire, madam, to hear from your husband. This is what we learn from the report of the city. The 12th of February, he was taken out of the galley, and put into the citadel. He is there shut up in a little room which served before as a soldier's lodge; but they have made such an alteration in it, that most of the light comes down the chimney. The king allows him five pence a day for his subsistence, and he is committed to the care of the major, who, for better security, places a sentinel night and day at the outer door of the chamber, and another on the roof." From this time no account was received of him till the year 1691, when he by some means contrived to write an affectionate epistle to another Protestant sufferer, as follows: "I know not how to express to you, my most dear and honoured friend, the pleasure which I have received from your communication. I praise God that he hath heard the prayers which I offered up for your re-establishment; and I beseech him with all the powers of my soul, to preserve you, both for your own sake, and that of those to whom you afford great consolation. It was not without a great sense of grief and sorrow that I heard of what you suffer, in common with our brethren who are with you. Let us all comfort ourselves with the cause of our afflictions. Let us ever fix our eyes upon the recompense which God has in reserve for us. Let us be assured, that all which we endure is a certain sign of our names being written in the book of life. Let us account it as our happiness, that God doth not think us unworthy to suffer for his name. I have not time to say more now, therefore wait always patiently. I am sorry that they have endeavoured to procure a pension for me; write to them, therefore, that they trouble themselves no more about it; for I am content to live on bread and water."

The benevolent exertions of his friends were counteracted by the bitterness of his persecutors; and, at the end of August in that year, he wrote to the same person: "I confess with you, that M. le Fevre is an excellent man. He writes like a complete divine, but what is better, he practises what he says. May the Lord preserve, bless, and strengthen yourself and him, the knowledge of which will afford me great consolation. I thank you both for the encouragement which you give me; and no doubt the Lord will give me grace to profit thereby. Do not turn your eyes upon me, but regard yourselves and the rest of our brethren, as it is there you will find occasion to serve the Almighty. Assure them all, that I daily pour out my soul before God, several times a day, to procure for them the succour and assistance of which they stand in need. To come to the question which you so earnestly put to me concerning my diet: I acquiesce in being content myself with every thing, for it would be useless to contend with the officer, who gives me what he pleases. I put in my pockets the money that is allowed. May the Lord bless, and fill with his blessings and favours all those who interest themselves in my behalf. If I have any opportunity to write again, it shall be in a

more ample manner than at present, for my lamp gives but little light, and my eyes fail me."

In the middle of December, he wrote to his wife as follows: "I must at present satisfy thy curiosity; but I have so many things to say, that I cannot relate them without disguise, and under an imaginary name. The place in which I served formerly was a lodge for soldiers; but on converting it into a dungeon, they have made so much alteration therein, that there does not enter so much light as to hinder me in the daytime from running myself against the walls. After I had been here three weeks, I suffered so much that it appeared impossible for me to live above four months. Yet it will be five years on the 11th of next February, that God hath preserved me. About the 15th of October, in the first year, the Almighty, who never sends me evils but for my good, afflicted me with a painful defluxion, which fell into the elbow and shoulder of my right arm. As I could not undress and dress myself, I spent the night sometimes upon my bed, sometimes in walking backwards and forwards in the dark. In this state I employed my thoughts in reflecting upon the cause of my disease, and concluded that it proceeded from the cold and humidity of the winter, and that, to remedy it, I must drink my wine pure and unmixed, which I did for two days following. At length, finding that my pains increased, I adopted the contrary course, and drank only water; which had the desired effect, and I have ever since continued it. The Lord hath tried me with several other inconveniences, but he hath delivered me out of them all. In regard to my little sanctuary, it is ten of my feet in length, and twelve in breadth; all my furniture is a bed from the hospital; and I lie upon one of their quilts, with a straw mattress underneath, in which respect I am better than in the galley. This is the fourth winter that I have spent almost without fire; and during the first I had none at all; in the second, they began to give me some on the 28th of January, but took it away before the end of February. In the third, they gave me some for about fourteen or fifteen days; but, during the present season, I have seen none, nor will I ask for any. I have sensibly felt cold, nakedness, and hunger; but for all that is past and gone, I thank God. My dungeon is only opened once a day, and my meals are brought so very irregularly, that sometimes it is eleven at night before I receive any food, and once I had no bread for three days. Let not the relation of these miseries afflict you; consider, as I have done, that this privation was appointed me by the sovereign Physician of my body and soul, to whom I have resigned myself, for I know that he would not have appointed it, unless he had judged it to be necessary. It is by this means, and the sparing manner in which I have lived during the whole of the present year, that God hath preserved me in life and health. Beware, therefore, of giving way to regret, when you should rather bless God for his goodness towards me. I have been about a year without shirts; my clothes are more torn and tattered than those of the poorest beggars who stand at the doors of the churches. I went barefoot till the 15th of December, or at least having only stockings without feet, and a pair of old shoes, unsewed at the sides, and perforated through the soles. An intendant, who came to this city three years ago, saw me in this magnificent dress, but though he promised much, he left me in this destitute condition for ten months; at the end of which time God raised me up succour, by putting it into the heart of a charitable and pious person to visit me, as I have reason to believe, with the consent of the king's lieutenant. On seeing me in this sorrowful condition, he would have gone and fetched me some of his own linen, had I not hin-

dered him. But at length he solicited so well for me, as to procure me the entire suit of a galley-slave, and he also compelled the major to purchase me a pair of shoes, and other articles, though it was out of my own money. By the attention, therefore, of this good person, I am better clothed than I have ever been in all my captivity. He procured me likewise a singular advantage, which is, that for this year and a half past, the king's lieutenant gives me every day a lamp full of oil, which affords me light, six, seven, or eight hours. This enables me to read the scriptures more than I did before. I must further add, that I have been for these five or six months troubled with an oppression on the lungs, which almost took away my breath. I have likewise been occasionally affected with a dizziness; so as to fall down and hurt my head; which I attribute to the want of food. But I am now, by the grace of God, in more perfect health than for these forty years. For these last two or three months, they have given me regularly three small loaves, and sometimes soup, since which my head has been more composed. I sleep much better, and my giddiness is almost gone. After the comfortable news which I tell you, think only of the joy which it should afford, praise God for it, and take care of your own health, which I value as my own."

The last letter written by our martyr, was to his wife, dated March 25, 1692. He begins by expressing his satisfaction at the one he had received from her friend; then proceeds thus: "The Christian manner in which you received the account of my sufferings, engages me to hide nothing from you. All that you know is but very little in comparison of what I am going to relate. I am well assured that I cannot perform what I propose to myself, without making an open confession of my infirmities, and of the weakness of my spirit; but I have always been sincere, and will continue so to the end. When I was taken out of the galley and brought hither, I found at first great pleasure in the change. My ears were no longer offended with the horrid and blasphemous sounds with which those places continually echo. I had the liberty to sing, in solitude, the praises of my God; and I could prostrate myself before him as often as I pleased. Moreover, I was released from that uneasy chain, which was infinitely more troublesome to me than that of thirty pounds weight, which you saw me carry. But notwithstanding all these things, the Lord, who had a mind to make me experience his succour and assistance in a rare and extraordinary manner, suffered me to fall into a terrible trial. The seclusion and perpetual darkness in which I spent my days, filled my poor soul with frightful and shocking ideas, that produced a very fatal impression thereon. Thus a million of false and vain imaginations were created, which often occasioned deliriums and idle fancies, that lasted sometimes two hours together. My prayers were ineffectual against this evil, which it pleased God to continue two months, so that I was plunged into a profound abyss of affliction. When I considered how little bodily rest I had in this sorrowful condition, I concluded that it was the high road to distraction, and that it was impossible for me to avoid falling into it. I incessantly implored the succour of my God; and entreated him not to suffer mine enemies to triumph over me in this suffering state. At length, after much prayer, and many sighs and tears, the God of my salvation heard my petitions, dissipated the tempest, and sent me a perfect calm and serenity. He also completely scattered all those illusions which occasioned me so much trouble. Therefore, after having delivered me out of so severe a trial, never entertain any doubt, my dearest wife, that God will fail to do the same for the future. Trust

always in the divine goodness, and your hopes shall not be in vain. I ought not, in my opinion, to omit taking notice of a considerable circumstance, which tends to the glory of God. The duration of so great a temptation was, in my mind, the proper time for the old serpent to endeavour to cast me into rebellion and infidelity. But the Lord always kept him in such profound silence, that he never once offered to infest me with any of his pernicious counsels, and I had not, under all my disquietude, a single inclination to apostatize. Ever since those sorrowful days, God hath always filled my heart with joy: and I possess my soul in patience. He makes the days of my affliction speedily to pass away; so that they are no sooner begun than I find myself at the end of them. With the bread and water of affliction with which he tries me, he continually affords me most delicious repasts."

This is the last letter which the pious sufferer wrote, for the extreme weakness of his body, and the failure of his sight, hindered him from reading or writing a month or two before his death. That event happened on the 17th of June, 1692, and his remains were interred by the Turks in the burying-ground appropriated to slaves who died out of the Catholic communion. He was pressed in his last moments very much to change his religion, but he persevered in the faith with the same constancy that he had uniformly manifested through the long period of his persecution.

Another eminent martyr of this period, was Isaac Le Fevre, who was also an advocate or counsellor at law. He was a native of Chatehion, in the Nivernois, and received his education first at Geneva, and afterwards at Orleans. On finishing his studies, he was admitted to plead in the court of parliament at Paris, but at the desire of the marchioness of St. Andrew Momburn, who was of the Protestant religion, as well as himself, he undertook the management of her affairs. He was thus employed when the revocation of the edict of Nantz took place, an event which could not fail to affect his patroness and himself. The lady, after resisting some time, gave way to the influence of terror, and was reconciled in form by the bishop of Autun, after being told, that of two things she must do one, either forsake her religion, or resolve to lose her estate and liberty, and besides suffering in her person. Her example was followed by most of her connexions and dependants, but M. Le Fevre held out steadfastly in spite of the bishop. At length this dignitary wrote to the lady, saying, "If that man does not give satisfaction in four days, the subdelegates of the intendants of Dijon and Nevers have orders to take him wherever he is to be found, even though it may be in your house. I have hitherto delayed it; but now divine and human laws oblige us to make him do as you have done, and therefore your ladyship must either constrain or forsake him." M. Le Fevre, being thus pressed, resolved to fly into Switzerland, but on the road he was taken, and robbed of all the property he had about him, and which was never returned. After lying three weeks in prison at Besançon, he was brought into the council-chamber, and though he had a fever upon him at the time, he was, on his refusing to make his abjuration, put into a dungeon with irons on his legs. Here he remained above two months, during which, notwithstanding his weakness, he was cruelly treated and starved. While here, he wrote an account of his sufferings to a friend, in which letter he says, "There can be nothing more outrageously barbarous than their usage of me, and they see me languish, the more they endeavour to increase my misery. For some weeks they would allow me to visit me, and if there was one place worse

they chose it for my confinement. In the meantime, however, truth is uppermost in my soul, and God, who knows my sincerity, supports me with his grace. My weapons are prayers and tears; my faith is weak, and I am a great sinner, but the fountain of mercy, the refuge of the afflicted, the only asylum of the destitute, who neither quenches the smoking flax, nor breaks the bruised reed, will have pity on me and my manifold infirmities. He will not suffer me to be confounded, for I have put my trust in him; and with the temptation, he will also give me the means to escape."

At this time, the superior of the Jesuits came to inform him that he would be sent to the galleys within a few days; but this intelligence was not so distressing as the account which he had of the persecutions endured by his sister, who had been sent to a convent. While in the prison of Besançon, he wrote to one of his friends, that two days before, five persons had been condemned to perpetual slavery, on account of their religion, one of whom was a nobleman of Montauban, who had been taken from his wife and family, and thrown into a dungeon, with his son, a youth of fourteen or fifteen years of age, but who was afterwards carried to the hospital, to be brought up in the Catholic persuasion.

On the 30th of May, M. Le Fevre was conveyed to Dijon, but in so enfeebled a state, that if his irons, which fretted into the flesh, had not been taken off, he would have died on the road. Here many persons of quality interested themselves in his behalf; some in endeavouring to procure an abatement of the rigour with which he was treated, and others actuated by a zeal for his conversion. But neither could prevail, so that the court finding him proof against all arguments and persuasions, redoubled its severity: and the applications that were made in his favour, did him harm instead of benefit. Several persons sent him sums of money for his relief, but he declined accepting more than was barely necessary to his wants, or the assistance of his fellow sufferers. He used to say, that the condition of a galley slave was of such a nature, that he could support himself with little, and, therefore, all beyond it should be given to the poor people who were condemned with him, and who, though destitute of human aid, were rich in faith. While he lay in the prison of Dijon, he was urged to petition for some indulgence, but he refused on this noble principle, that if he should in consequence be treated more mildly than his companions in affliction, it would betray cowardice on his part, as well as be manifestly unjust on that of the magistrates, on which account he was resolved to be on a level with his brethren in affliction. At the end of two months he was conducted to Chalons, on the Saone, where the chain arrived from Paris, to which M. de Marolles was fastened, though he was then in a very exhausted state of health. M. Le Fevre was now attached to this group, being linked to a military officer who had been condemned to the galleys, for having connived at the escape of some Protestant ladies. On the 20th of August, 1686, the chain arrived at Marseilles, where M. Le Fevre wrote as follows to a friend: "It seems to me as if the journey had taken up six months, for so great have been my sufferings, that I felt in myself the pains of death. Indeed, the guard thinking that I really had expired, robbed me of every thing. I was put into a litter; and now I am associated with a number of slaves; but have been forty-eight hours unable to eat, drink, or sleep." Here he and some others were put into the hospital, which was some of their beds joined, and they dined together: they could refresh each other with their conversation, both forbidden to hold any communication with the slaves who were of the reformed religion;

for such was the refinement of cruelty to which the modern persecutors had attained, that even the exercises of piety were prohibited.

In less than a month, and while the two friends were yet so weak as to be scarcely able to stand, an order was given to separate and remove them back to their respective galleys. The physician of the hospital remonstrated against this barbarous usage, but in vain, and on the 16th of September, M. le Fevre was sent on board the galley called *Granda Reale*, where he was immediately loaded with chains. Even one of the officers pitied his condition, and said, that if he and the other Protestants had been sent there for crimes, they would have experienced gentler treatment. After enduring uncommon hardships, he was shifted into another galley, called the *Magnificent*, where the captain behaved with some kindness towards him; which gave such offence to the clergy who superintended the concern, that they caused him to be deprived of the liberty of writing or receiving letters; nor would they suffer him to hold any conversation with his fellow prisoners of the same religious persuasion. He was now sent for to appear before the bishop, but though the conference was repeated, and every art was made use of to make him abjure his faith, he continued firm and resolved to endure every kind of misery, rather than be guilty of apostasy. He remained on board the galleys till the month of April, when he was removed to a dungeon in Fort St. John, where he lay immured fifteen years. Now as he was far from any intercourse, and closely watched, no news could be obtained of him by any of his disconsolate friends for a considerable time. Money was paid by them to several persons, for the purpose of obtaining through their means some account of his situation, and to convey to him letters and necessaries. But in doing this, the parties ran great risks, and one or two soldiers were actually executed for no other offence than that of carrying some messages to the unfortunate captive. Yet, by some means or other, he managed to procure writing materials, so that he beguiled part of the time of his long confinement in composing a discourse on the necessity of sufferings; several poetical pieces, and a number of epistles, some of which were transmitted to Geneva. The first object of his persecutors, on sending him to the dungeon, was to take away all his books, except the Psalms. The place where he was shut up had been a stable, but being too damp for horses, it was converted into a prison. Light was only admitted by the door, a fire had never been seen there, and the air being foul and offensive, corroded and destroyed every thing. At first the captive lay in the manger, and afterwards in a short and narrow chest, with straw under him, and no other covering than his wearing apparel. In this deplorable state he was visited with a complication of maladies, "but God," said he, "has made use of those evils to wean my heart from the world, and to teach me to persevere in a steadfast resignation to his holy will."

While suffering inexpressible agonies from the rheumatism, no one came near him to minister comfort, nor was any person even suffered to render him the least assistance. Even conversation, that cheap solace of distress, was cruelly interdicted, so that, to use his own language, he considered death as his best friend, and therefore prayed earnestly for deliverance from his troubles. Yet under these trials his soul continued calm, patient, and perfectly submissive to the providential dispensations of the Almighty. He forgave those who had been the cause of his sufferings, and he pitied the agents who were employed in persecuting him, though they deported themselves with as much harshness as

their principals, and would not allow him proper food, his meat being often corrupted, and the water filthy. Besides all this, he was a long time kept without linen or other clothing. "It is likely," said he, "that I should have been destitute of a shirt, if some unknown benefactor had not sent me two, and also the comfort of a pillow; for which I fell upon my knees and gave thanks to God. In the midst of this sore visitation, the martyr called himself happy, "for," said he, "the Almighty comforts and supports me in a sensible manner, he gives me strength to endure my afflictions, with joy, and with an invincible patience and perseverance; so that sometimes I forget I have ever felt any sorrow." At last the oppressors carried their brutality and injustice so far, as to take from him the king's scanty provision, and compelled him to pay for his own subsistence, taking care at the same time that the money supplied by his friends for that purpose should go into their own pockets; while they fed him with offal, and kept him in rags.

The brother of M. Le Fevre having fortunately effected his escape to Copenhagen, prevailed with the king of Denmark to intercede on behalf of his innocent relative; but in vain, for that haughty and hard-hearted tyrant, Louis the Fourteenth, instead of being either ashamed, or moved to compassion by the application, redoubled his cruelties, insomuch that the martyr, on being made acquainted with what had been done, entreated his friends to forbear from such exertions, which only increased his misery. The court of Versailles, indeed, was so little disposed to do any thing honourably, that although, by the treaty of Ryswick, all the Protestant refugees in the service of England and Holland, who had been taken prisoners, were to be delivered up; they were, in defiance of the agreement, sentenced to the galleys, and it was with great difficulty that the two powers were able to carry their point. When the perfidious monarch found himself thwarted in this malicious object, he turned his resentment against the unhappy victims who remained unprotected, and over whom he could exercise his vengeance without control. It was natural that the afflicted Protestants, who had built high expectations upon the approaching peace, should feel sore disappointment at having been neglected by the allied princes and states: and it is painful to reflect that the condition of the confessors, scattered in the dungeons and galleys of France, became much worse, in some respects, after the termination of the war, than it was even prior to the commencement of hostilities. One of these sufferers, in a letter to his friend, written on the 20th of June, 1699, says, "An order is given on board all the galleys, to put every Protestant again in chains, who had purchased some indulgence by the payment of a sum of money; and moreover, it is strictly enjoined, that all without exception shall be present at mass, and uncovered, under penalty of the bastinado. Two have already suffered that bloody flagellation with admirable patience and constancy. But this only served to inflame the fury of their persecutors, who actually beat the Turks for not laying on their blows harder. The persons who acted in this manner were the ecclesiastics, named the Fathers of the Mission. Are not these men (exclaims the writer) good disciples of Jesus Christ, and charitable ministers of the gospel, who use such methods to bring souls into obedience to him that said, "Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly of heart." Rather may we not say on the contrary, that they are the children of him who was a murderer from the beginning? But the strangest thing of all is, that while they treat us so cruelly, they have the assurance to declare that the church does not love the shedding of blood, and that people are to be converted by mildness." And yet at the very time when

the French ecclesiastics pretended that persecution was no mark of their religion, they were themselves guilty of the greatest barbarities to men, women, and children, for no other offence than that of professing a religion different from that of the state. All the Protestant powers in Europe were shocked at the bare reports of the inhumanities which followed the revocation of the edict of Nantz, but it was not till the year 1700, that the least attention was paid to the remonstrances of those states on the subject; and even then, all that could be obtained from the unfeeling despot who ruled France, was a promise that the bastinado should be no longer inflicted upon the sufferers. The slavery of the galleys continued, dungeons were filled with confessors, and to preach the gospel, or to perform divine worship, however privately, according to the reformed ritual, was visited with death.

M. Le Fevre still remained closely incarcerated in the miserable dungeon to which he had been consigned so many years before, and the only person who obtained permission to visit him, was a lady of considerable rank; but this was seldom, and always in the presence of witnesses, to watch the conversation. The last time she saw him was two days before his dissolution, when he appeared very weak and emaciated, but full of faith, zeal, and charity. At length, worn out by a consumptive disorder, which had long preyed upon him, he was released from his captivity of sixteen years and two months, about the 11th or 12th of June, 1702. The benevolent lady just mentioned caused the body to be wrapped in linen, and put into a coffin, which was carried by four of the brethren to the place of interment, for it appears that the extraordinary virtues and unmerited sufferings of the good man made such an impression on the governor of the fortress, that though he had been so strict in the execution of his charge, pursuant most probably to the orders of his superiors, he offered no disrespect to the mortal remains of the martyr.

Another remarkable sufferer in that great persecution was PETER MAURU, a native of Loysi, in Brie. In attempting to make his escape out of the kingdom, he was arrested, and condemned to the galleys for life. At Besançon, he was attached to the same chain with M. Le Fevre, who subsequently wrote the following account of him. "I was a witness how little he valued the money that was taken from him, and of the joy which he felt on receiving sentence of perpetual slavery. He ran the whole of his race with the same courage that he began it. Previous to his arrival at Marseilles, he was linked to Philip Le Boucher, who being too weak to support the yoke about his neck, Mauru raised the collar with his hands above his head, but afterwards he contrived with a forked stick to relieve his enfeebled companion, by elevating and carrying his burden as well as his own, though it was in the middle of the dog-days. When Mauru came to the galleys, the slaves of all religions were witnesses and admirers of his unexampled patience under the most horrible and continual sufferings. Indeed," (observes M. Le Fevre) "the fortitude of this confessor of Jesus Christ, in whom God displayed all the greatness and richness of his grace, cannot be expressed; nor is it to be conceived how a man could endure what he bore for many years, and yet live. His body was covered all over with ulcers, and he was several times reduced to the verge of death; yet amidst these dreadful trials, he found a relaxation of his labour, but was kept continuing in or other employment, and cruelly beaten."

On the removal of his friend to the dungeon, he continued to keep up an occasional correspondence.



and in one of his letters, he says, "I constantly bear in mind what passed, when you fought so valiantly for the truth, and repulsed your adversaries with the spiritual weapons wherewith God has furnished you by his divine grace. The desire of my soul is never more gratified, than when I see the triumph of righteousness and the confusion of superstition. You wish to know the particulars of my treatment, which it would be impossible for me to detail. I have sometimes received above forty blows a day, for one or two weeks together. All this, with the servile labours to which I am doomed, are indeed very distressing, but the joy which I feel in suffering for Jesus Christ, alleviates the pain; and the comfort of the Holy Spirit, like balsam, heals all my sores, and gives perfect health to my soul. In a word, dear brother, as long as we belong to God, nothing can take us out of his hand. I prostrate myself, trembling, at his footstool, confessing my sins, and asking his forgiveness with tears; protesting that, by the assistance of his grace, I will consecrate the remainder of my life to his service, and endeavour to glorify him, by suffering still more for the truth, rather than fall into those snares which have deceived so many persons. The Father of mercy has been hitherto graciously pleased to hear my prayer, and to make me feel the consolations of his Spirit. But besides comforting my soul, he has assisted me in my extremest weaknesses, and even now he gives me the assurance that he will support me to the last breath of my life.

"When I was first put on board the galley, the captain asked what was my offence; and being told that it was on account of religion, he ordered all my books and papers to be taken away; then he sent for the priests to reason with me, all conversation with others being prohibited. The seat where I was fixed happened to be near the pump, and a spy was placed over me to observe my actions, and keep me incessantly employed. This person, after inflicting a series of mortifications, began to relent, and allowed me sometimes conveniences for writing. Upon this he was removed, and others were set to torment me; but by courtesy and patience I made them also my friends. One of the under officers next obtained leave to be my overseer, saying that he could do more than all the missionaries. Accordingly, on being empowered to do what he pleased, short of putting me to death, he exercised his inventive malice every day, in devising his new torments: sometimes he would make me supply all the benches of the galley with water; then, on the most frivolous pretences, he would chastise me severely; and once, when a barrel burst from which I was drawing water, he scourged me in such a manner that the persons present threatened to inform against him to the commander. Afterwards he made me cleanse every part of the galley without help, and then he would point out to the quarter master those places which had not been sufficiently swept, on purpose that I might be beaten with a cudgel by his orders. When it was found that all this proved ineffectual to subdue my spirits, I was taken from the slaves with whom I had before associated, and placed amidst the most wicked of the Turks and Moors, to be ill used by them. On the contrary, however, these barbarians, bad as they were, treated me more humanely towards me, than the nominal Christians.

Another time they compelled me to scour the deck and stanchions of the vessel, which furnished them for inflicting upon me a severe course of discipline. An irremovable spot was made a matter of punishment. Frequently they compelled me, in company with another, to carry bundles of other heavy burdens, thinking that the

fatigue would be my death; but God supplied me with such strength, that I suffered less than my associates who had threatened to kill me with excessive labour. At last, one day, while employed in making a tent, I chanced to break two needles, on which the superintendant beat me so severely, that the captain observed it, and demanded the reason. Upon this, I solicited a hearing, and obtained it, which produced a stop to the rigour for the present. I can truly say, that if my body suffered all day long, my heart rejoiced and was cheerful in the enjoyment of my Saviour's presence. My soul fed chiefly on the hidden manna, and my God made me feel a delight, which the world knows nothing of, inasmuch that the tears which I shed were those of gladness, and not of grief. The rest which had been given me did not last long, for within a little time some new slaves arrived, who were enemies to our religion, and they took every occasion to beat, and otherwise ill use me, saying at the same time, that it was my own fault, and that I had it in my power to avoid these miseries. After this we put to sea, where, the hard work I had to undergo, and the blows I continually received, brought me so low, that death seemed very near. In this condition, the chaplain tempted me with solicitations to change, but he always departed in an ill humour. At the end of that voyage, I fell into a great fit of sickness, wherein I continued for the space of a month, without taking any nourishment but some miserable broth. I was now carried to the hospital, where I expected death every day for three weeks; and said to myself each morning, 'this is the hour of my deliverance, when I shall be freed from pain, and enter into everlasting rest.' But it pleased God not to take me yet, and I began to recover my health. At the same time our dear friend Philip le Boucher was brought sick to the hospital. We were both too weak to rise and approach each other, but we were full of joy at the interview. I left him still there, and very ill. On the very day that I was taken back to the galley, the fever returned, notwithstanding which, they continued the same course of bad usage. I was frequently beaten by the steward, who called the discipline, the painting of Calvin's back. All this only made sport for the officers: and when they saw me lift up my eyes to heaven, they would say, 'God does not hear heretics, they must suffer their desert, until they die or recant.' In short, all the while we were at sea, there was not a day past in which I was not obliged to suffer hardships, that brought me very near death; but those who were with me, miserable as was their own condition, did what they could to assist me, by providing me with nourishment.

"I was always sick after every voyage, and when at leisure, free from labour and blows, I gave God thanks for having supported me by his goodness, and strengthened me by his Spirit." After suffering above ten years, this excellent man contracted a complaint in the lungs, in which state he was tormented continually by the priests, who laboured, according to their habitual practice, by every means in their power to bring him over to their communion; but without effect. He languished a long time, and in the month of April 1696 yielded up his soul to God. One of his friends provided a coffin for his interment, but the bigoted ecclesiastics, enraged at his obstinacy, though at the same time they bore witness to his patience and edifying conversation, caused the body to be thrown into a ditch, without the least mark of decent respect. One who attended him in his last moments, gave this account of him to M. Le Fevre. "He preserved his senses as perfect in his extreme sickness, as when in perfect health, and his faith and constancy appeared brighter than ever; for in proportion as his body grew weaker, his



soul raised itself with more vigour and animation towards heaven. This greatly enraged the tempters who surrounded his bed, and, like so many wolves, seemed ready to devour their prey: but, instead of apostatizing, he repulsed these seducers, and confounded them by his piety and fortitude. He in truth endured all that the fury of men could devise to shake his constancy; so that all their efforts were fruitless, and produced a quite contrary effect, for, like the flames on precious metal, they only served to make his virtue shine more brightly."

There died about the same time at Marseilles, a young woman who had been brought up in the Protestant religion, but, through terror, yielded to the persuasions that were held out, and signed her recantation. She did not long survive this fall. Grief preyed upon her spirits, and threw her into a decline. On her death-bed the priest came to take her confession, but instead of satisfying him, she made such a declaration of her faith as filled him with rage, and he said, "What, do you not believe that Jesus Christ is corporeally in the Host?" "No," said she, "I do not believe it; I know that my Saviour is spiritually every where; but his body is in heaven, where I shall see and adore him as he is." With these words she breathed her last; and the priest immediately made the persons present sign an attestation of what they heard the deceased declare. After this a formal trial took place, and the court adjudged that the naked body, first cutting out the tongue for uttering blasphemy, should be drawn on a hurdle round the city, and then thrown into a ditch, where a pile of stones was heaped over it.

Another sufferer for the truth at that period, was CLAUDE BROUSSON, an advocate and counsellor of the parliament of Thoulouse. He was an elder of the reformed church, which he adorned by his virtues, and his charity was extensive. In his professional capacity he was conscientiously scrupulous, never undertaking any cause, of the justice of which he had the least doubt; and if his client was poor, he pleaded for him gratuitously. On two occasions he distinguished himself by his eloquence; but thereby made many enemies. In 1683, some of the Protestant ministers were thrown into prison, and persecuted with malignant inveteracy by the bishop of Montauban, at the instigation of the other ecclesiastics. The affair was brought before the parliament of Thoulouse, where the court was crowded with prelates, Jesuits, and members of various religious orders. In this assembly M. Brousson exposed the illegality of the procedure with a dauntless spirit, and he defended the members of his church in a manner that made a great impression upon the judges. In the midst of his speech he was interrupted by the impatience of the attorney-general, who asked, "Whether he thought that he was in a temple, by preaching in that strain?" "Yes, sir," replied Brousson, "I am in a temple, for it is that of justice, where every one who speaks truth, may do so freely;" then turning to the court he demanded liberty to proceed, which was granted. When he finished, the attorney-general replied in a very confused manner; observing, that the fine portrait which the Protestant advocate had painted of his sect, was falsified by their conduct. After the court broke up, the crown lawyer extended his hand to M. Brousson, and said, he did not despair of seeing him one day become a good Catholic. The parliament ordered the restoration of those churches; but in a short time they were seized again, as well as all the rest throughout the kingdom. Upon this, an assembly of the reformed ministers was held at the house of M. Brousson, when a project was drawn up, in which it was resolved to meet for divine worship in private dwellings; but this gave a handle to their adversaries, and many disturb-

ances, at the instigation of the clergy, ensued. Brousson now returned to Nismes, where he had not been long before an order came for his arrest, and also of M. Fonfrede, a gentleman, and Messrs. Icard and Perol, two of the Protestant pastors of that city. Fortunately they were all apprized of their danger, and escaped; but judgment of death was passed against the ministers. M. Brousson retired first to Geneva, and next to Lausanne; where he published "The State of the Protestants of France;" and also "Letters addressed to the Clergy" of that country; in which he exposed the persecuting spirit of the Romish church in a very lively manner. In 1685, he was deputed with M. de la Porte, by the refugees, to visit the leading Protestant courts, for the purpose of soliciting their compassion and assistance in behalf of the French who were suffering for their religion. While at Berlin, the elector of Brandenburg, afterwards king of Prussia, directed him to write some affecting "Letters from the Reformed Church of France to all other Protestants;" of which vast numbers were printed and dispersed at the royal expense. Brousson had also great encouragement in Holland, where he obtained several audiences of the prince of Orange, who was subsequently king of England. Upon his return into Switzerland, he printed his "Letters addressed to the Roman Catholics;" calculated for the double purpose of fortifying the zeal of the Protestants, and of softening the rage of their persecutors. On the 2d of July, 1689, he ventured to set out for France, accompanied by M. Debrue, an ancient pastor of the reformed church. The object of this dangerous journey was to visit the afflicted people in the Cevennes, where, in an assembly held on the summit of one of the highest mountains of the country in the depth of winter, M. Brousson was solicited to exercise the ministerial office, with which request he complied, and was ordained by M. Vivens, an old minister, with great solemnity, though in the open air. Here he continued near four years, travelling from one place to another, at the imminent hazard of his life; and in 1691 a proclamation was issued, offering a reward for taking him and M. Vivens alive or dead. The latter having died of excessive fatigue, the vigilance of the officers and ecclesiastics was solely directed against M. Brousson; for whose apprehension another proclamation was published. Stimulated by the inducements held out in these edicts, the enemies of the Protestants made a general search at Nismes, Montpellier, and other places, but without success, and the object of their malice escaped again into Switzerland at the end of 1693. Here his vocation to the ministry was confirmed by the colleges of Lausanne, Berne, and Geneva: as it also was in the synod of the Walloon churches in Holland, where he obtained a pension from the states. While in that country, he printed a relation of the melancholy events that had occurred in the Cevennes and Languedoc; which affecting work was followed by a volume of sermons preached in his mission, or, as he expressed it, under the cross. His ardent zeal for the spiritual welfare of the brethren would not permit him to remain long absent from them, and accordingly, towards the close of 1695, he revisited France, which country he traversed in various directions, particularly the Loire, Champagne, Picardy, and Normandy; but while in the latter province he ran a great risk of being taken, and his escape was almost miraculous. After having been actively employed many months in this perilous mission, he regained Switzerland in September, 1696. What is very remarkable, during these labours he did a great deal, although he visited many families, and held great numbers of reconciliations, gathered assemblies, and in some kind of regular church. Among the per-

composed while thus employed, were several small tracts for the instruction and consolation of the people. The titles of these pieces were, "The Confession of those who Preach in the Desert;" "Religious Adoration; or a Treatise of Kneeling in Prayer;" "Letters to the Persecuted on account of their Religious Assemblies;" "An Epistle to all the Reformed of France, who continue to persevere in this time of revolt;" "An Instruction for the Exercises of Piety in the Reformed Churches under the Cross;" "Christian Considerations, upon the Re-establishment of the Mystic Jerusalem;" "Answers to the Objections which have been made to the Renovation of the Edict of Nantz." This last was written while the negotiations for the peace of Ryswick were going on, at which time the case of the French Protestants came under consideration, and it was generally hoped that the two great powers, England and Holland, would have made the restoration of the Edict a *sine qua non* of the treaty. About the same time, and with the same object, M. Brousson circulated also a piece, entitled, "A Humble Remonstrance to all the Protestant States." On finding that the course of affairs was unfavourable to the just expectations which he, in common with his afflicted brethren, had formed of the general peace, he generously resolved to hazard all for the sake of the persecuted flock of Christ. Accordingly, in the spring of 1698, he ventured into France the third time, although he had been warned of the extreme danger that he would run in so doing, as there were many persons who professed themselves zealous for the reformed religion, on purpose to become acquainted with the secret meetings, and ministers, of the Protestants, in order to betray them to the government. Notwithstanding this, M. Brousson penetrated into Languedoc, where he continued some time undisturbed; but on coming to Oleron, in September of that year, he was arrested, and examined by the intendant of the province, who sent an account of the proceedings to the court, and in the mean time kept the prisoner closely confined at Pau.

On the return of the courier, he was taken from Pau, under a guard of dragoons, to the citadel of Montpellier, where he was condemned to be put to the question, or racked, and then broken alive. The former part of the sentence was dispensed with, on account of his frank confession before the judges, that the charges alleged were true; but they amounted to no more than this, that he had laboured to administer relief to the bodily and spiritual wants of those who were suffering under the rod of persecution. On the fourth of November, he was brought upon the scaffold, which was erected in the esplanade of Montpellier, where an immense multitude had assembled to witness the awful scene. Two battalions of soldiers surrounded the scaffold, and the drummers kept beating all the time of the execution, to prevent the martyr from making an audible discourse to the people. The sympathy, however, excited by his fate, was general, and even the Abbe Crouzat, who attended him to the last moment, was so affected by his Christian spirit, that he shed tears all the time, and for some days afterwards kept himself shut up in his house. No account of the trial was published, but some idea of the effect produced by this iniquitous proceeding upon the people, may be formed, from the circumstance, that the governor deemed it necessary to issue a declaration, purporting, that M. Brousson was not condemned to death, but for attempting to introduce foreign religion into the kingdom. This declaration was wholly unavailing, and was in reality too ridiculous to be believed. There had been any foundation for it, the proceedings would have justified the government, and those who complained of its tyranny.

It was known to Catholics as well as Protestants, that M. Brousson had been for some years diligent in preaching; but it was also admitted by all, that no tumult was ever occasioned by his ministration. The states of Holland, immediately on hearing of this melancholy transaction, published a memorial, in which they declared that "Claude Brousson had gone at different times into France, for no other object than to instruct in the way of truth the members of the church of God, and that it was for this alone he had suffered death." They also granted to his widow a yearly pension of six hundred florins, in addition to that of four hundred which had been accorded to her husband.

Some of the apologists of Louis XIV. pretend that he half repented having revoked the edict of Nantz; but if so, he never suspended the rigorous laws which he enacted against his Protestant subjects. These sanguinary decrees continued in full force, when the author of them was mouldered into dust.

A lady of literary celebrity, who long resided in France, says in one of her letters, "How often have I listened to the narrative of the sufferings of the Protestants. How often have I heard my friends relate the trials and dangers of their fathers. They had often heard the story of the hairbreadth escapes of their parents from Catholic fury, when they assembled in caves and deserts to celebrate divine worship; when pious families, shrouded by the night, bent their way, amidst darkness and danger, towards the spot assigned for their religious ceremonies; a dark lantern guiding their perilous steps. Arrived at their temple amidst the rocks, two walking sticks hastily stuck in the ground, and covered with a black silk apron of the female auditors, formed what was called the pulpit of the desert. To such an assembly, how eloquent must have appeared the lessons of that preacher, who braved death at every word he uttered: how impressive must have been that divine service, the attending of which incurred the penalty of fetters for life. These were the glorious days of Protestantism in France; these were her proudest triumphs; she could then boast of votaries of whom the world was not worthy; her martyrs then bore testimony to their faith at the fatal tree, or were chained for life to the oar of the galleys; and women, with the same noble feelings in the same sacred cause, shrunk not from perpetual imprisonment in the gloomy tower that overhangs the shores of the Mediterranean. Often have I listened with emotion to the details of the inflexible constancy, the persevering zeal, of that intrepid and venerable pastor, M. Paul Rabaut, who, deeming his existence more useful than the example of his death, to the Protestant cause, had the fortitude to be a fugitive from home, and a wanderer in the provinces, during forty years, in order to encourage and console the faithful, and preside over the performance of their religious duties. The Protestants in Languedoc, notwithstanding their calamities, formed still the most respectable part of the community, and became at times objects of dread even to the government. During the reign of Louis XV. when the frontiers of the kingdom were threatened, measures were taken to secure the fidelity of the neighbouring provinces, by giving them hopes of ameliorating their condition. This expedient was resorted to in the war of 1741. The war was concluded, and the promises were forgotten. But though the clergy and the populace continued still to denounce the laws against the Protestants, humanity had not so abandoned this afflicted country, as to have left the latter without defenders. In this merciful cause the military and judicial powers sometimes distinguished themselves. At Aix, where a Catholic went to thank a judge for a decision in his favour, against a Protestant, the magistrate ordered him sternly

to quit his house. "I have been compelled," said he, "to pronounce the sentence of an iniquitous law, which I regret: on you be all the ignominy! Go, and never let me see you more."

At Nismes, where a number of Protestants had assembled in the house of the younger Rabaut, on his father's momentary return, whilst the company were kneeling in prayer, the door burst suddenly open, and a man muffled up presented himself, and, throwing aside his cloak, discovered the commander of the town. "My friends," exclaimed he, "you have Paul Rabaut with you: in a quarter of an hour I shall be here with my soldiers, accompanied by Father D—, (the most virulent persecutor of the Protestants, and the universal terror,) he has just laid the information against you: be prepared." The guard soon after arrived, headed by the commander and the friar. They found the company seated at card tables, and the house was searched in vain for Paul Rabaut. "Look ye, Father," said the commander sternly, "this is the third time that you have harassed my troops by your false denunciations: I beg you will be more cautious in future."

The impolicy of this persecution had been strongly felt by the court, and its cruelty had been long deprecated by the wise and humane, when the excess of the evil produced its remedy. In the month of October, 1761, a son of John Calas, a merchant of Thoulouse, hung himself one evening in his father's warehouse, while the family, with M. Lavoisier, one of their friends, were at supper. About two hours afterwards, as the visitor was retiring, conducted by another son of M. Calas, they perceived that the door of the warehouse was open, and on going to shut it, were struck with the appalling spectacle. The cry they raised brought down the father and the rest of the household. The body was cut down, and a surgeon was sent for, but vitality had been extinct for some time. A great crowd now assembled, and the magistrates attended, to take an account of the tragic event. While they were thus employed, a stranger in the multitude exclaimed that young Calas had been strangled by his parents, to prevent his embracing the Roman Catholic religion. This calumny, though unsupported, and coming from an unknown quarter, had such an effect, that the father, mother, and brother of the deceased, together with M. Lavoisier, and the female servant, who was a Catholic, were all committed to prison. The next day this strange story was spread through the city, and all was uproar and confusion. Malignant bigotry was at work to clothe the tale in the blackest colours, to the prejudice of the unhappy family, whose religion alone brought upon them a general indignation. The credulous populace swallowed with avidity the improbable reports that were forged on this melancholy occasion. Every one was persuaded that young Calas had died a martyr for popery; and strange to tell, he was, in consequence, buried with great pomp in consecrated ground, according to the solemn forms of the Roman ritual. At the same time preparations were made for the trial of the supposed murderers; but, with such precipitation, animosity, and partiality, were the proceedings conducted, that nothing of a like nature was ever heard of among barbarous nations. A proclamation was published by the bishop, commanding all the ecclesiastics who might have had any conversation with the deceased upon the subject of religion, to appear before the judges, to give evidence of his intentions to become a proselyte. This mandate had not the effect intended; for no priest could be found hardy enough to declare upon oath what had never occurred. So far was there of any shadow of proof that the unhappy youth had formed

the idea of changing his religion, that it was known he wished to study the law, and, on being disappointed, had turned his views to trade. It was also proved, that he constantly evinced an attachment to the Protestant faith; and upon examining his books, papers, and other effects, no article appeared that indicated the least tendency towards popery.

In spite, however, of a clear proof of suicide, the judges found the father guilty of murdering his son, and he was sentenced to undergo the ordinary and extraordinary torture; then to be broken alive on the wheel, afterwards to be strangled, his body to be burned, and his ashes scattered to the winds. This horrible judgment was carried into execution with the utmost rigour on the 11th of March, 1762. When under the torture, he said to the priests, who exhorted him to confess his crime and associates, "I am innocent, and an innocent man can have no accomplices." After enduring the rack with fortitude, he ascended the scaffold, and disregarding all the speeches of the officious ecclesiastics, looked round on the innumerable multitude that were assembled; then laid himself down on the cross, and stretched out his arms and legs, without the least perturbation. At each blow, indeed, he cried out; but afterwards he did not utter one word of complaint, except saying, that he was cold.

The other prisoners were discharged, but the eldest son was banished for six years. Thus matters stood till the beginning of March, 1765, when the parliament of Paris, on an appeal, revised the judgment that had been passed, declared the elder Calas innocent of the crime for which he suffered, and gave permission to the family to sue their persecutors for damages. This act of justice was obtained through the zealous exertions and eloquence of M. Beaumont, an eminent counsellor, upon whom in the same year the degree of doctor of laws was conferred by the university of Oxford, as a tribute of respect for his service in the cause of truth and humanity. It is but justice to state that the public feeling was roused on this occasion chiefly by the powerful pen of Voltaire, whose own account is more particularly deserving of notice, as it contains an additional instance of popish barbarity. "You desire to know," says he in a letter to a friend, "how the general cry of Europe against the murder of this unhappy man, committed at Thoulouse by a judicial sentence, should have been first excited in an obscure unknown corner of the world, between the Alps and Mount Jura, one hundred leagues from the theatre on which this odious tragedy was acted. I shall satisfy your curiosity in this matter, and you will thus see how an invisible chain connects all the events of this wretched world. Towards the end of March, 1762, a gentleman who had passed through Languedoc, and made me a visit at my country seat, about two leagues from Geneva, informed me of the execution of Calas, and assured me that he was innocent of the crime for which he suffered. I answered, that the crime appeared highly improbable; but that it was equally unlikely that eight judges should, without any temptation or interest, condemn an innocent person to be broken on the wheel. I was informed the next day, that one of the sons of this unfortunate father had fled from the scene of horror, and taken refuge in Switzerland, near my residence. His flight made me suspect that his family was guilty. But reflecting that his father had been executed on a supposition of having killed his son from a religious principle, and that he had suffered death at the age of sixty-nine, I formed a very different opinion. In such a circumstance a strong presumptive innocence. I could not recollect any fanatical fury at that advanced age: I observed that the frenzy of enthusiasm is

confined to young people, whose ardent imaginations render them subject to the worst dictates of superstition. This consideration made me doubt of the crime laid to the charge of Calas, but I wanted to know more fully the circumstances of this transaction. I therefore sent for young Calas. I expected to find in him some marks of that fanatical and furious spirit which grows in the soil of Thoulouse; but I was most agreeably disappointed; for there were in his air, countenance, and manner, striking appearances of innocence, simplicity, mildness, and candour. While he spoke to me, he made many efforts to restrain his tears, but in vain. He told me, that he was apprenticed to a manufacturer at Nismes, when he learned, from public report, that his whole family were on the point of being condemned to death, and that they were almost generally looked upon as guilty of the horrid crime that was laid to their charge. This he alleged as the reason for leaving his native country, and seeking a place of retirement in Switzerland. I asked him whether his father or mother were of a hasty and passionate temper, or had ever treated their children with severity and violence? He assured me that they were not, but had always been the fondest of parents, and had even manifested to their children proofs of tenderness and indulgence. This furnished strong presumption in favour of the unhappy Calas; and further observation convinced me fully, that instead of being a fanatic and parricide himself, he was an innocent victim to the rage of bloodthirsty superstition and fanaticism. I was, however, astonished to find, by letters from Languedoc, that Calas was generally regarded as guilty; but all this did not hinder me from making farther inquiries. I wrote to the governor of the province, and to the minister of state, but received the same discouraging answer; and they advised me to avoid appearing in such a bad cause. Nevertheless, I still persevered in the resolution of coming at the truth. The widow of Calas, that no barbarity might be left unemployed to aggravate her anguish, saw her daughters torn from her bosom, by a set of monsters called ministers of justice. In this forlorn situation she sought for a solitary retreat, where she might vent her sorrow without interruption, and shed the tears of conjugal tenderness to the memory of a murdered husband, until death should put an end to her calamities. I made no inquiry into her particular mode of faith, I only desired to know whether she believed in a supreme Being, the rewarder of virtue, and the avenger of guilt. I had the following question proposed to her: Whether she was ready to declare, in the presence of God, that her husband was an innocent sufferer? She made this declaration in the most solemn manner, and then I redoubled my zeal in her cause, and engaged M. Mariette to appear in her defence in the cabinet council. Then it appeared that illustrious virtues are mixed with atrocious crimes, in this strange world; and that if superstition produces the most horrid disorders, philosophy repairs them. A lady of distinction, who was at that time at Geneva for the inoculation of her children, was the first who lent an assisting hand to the unhappy widow. Several English gentlemen, who passed here in their travels, also evinced their generosity on this occasion. Their example was imitated by the French who reside in the country, and the two rival nations vied with each other in their zeal for the support of oppressed innocence and truth. The final result of all this is now universally known. The rage of bigotry and fanaticism are silenced, for the commanding voice of equity and wisdom. The first council of the nation declare Calas innocent, and the sentence that condemned him pronounced void. Reason and justice have triumphed.

ed; but he astonished my friend, to know that the family of Calas was not the only one, which at this very time was accused of parricide by the voice of fanaticism, and sacrificed to the fury of religious faction.

"An inhabitant of Castres, named Sirven, had three daughters; and, as they were Protestants, an inhuman priest tore away the youngest child from her parents, and forced her into a convent, where she was barbarously scourged, on account of her reluctance to learn a new catechism. The poor girl, overcome with terror, and pressed down by severe treatment, lost her senses, and drowned herself in a well. Though this happened at the distance of three leagues from the house of her friends, the bigots affected an alarm, and spread a report, that the father, mother, and sister of the unhappy suicide, had put her to death, that she might not become a Papist. This happened at the very time that Calas was in chains, and about to be murdered at Thoulouse. The story of this unfortunate girl reached that place, where it passed for a new instance of parental ferocity; and the rage of the populace was increased. Calas meanwhile was broken upon the wheel; and then the wretched Sirven, his wife, and daughters, were cited to appear before the same tribunal, that was already stained with innocent blood. Sirven, terrified at the prospect of a like iniquitous judgment, had but a moment left to save himself by flight, with a sick family. They travelled barefoot over rocks and mountains covered with snow. One of his daughters, who was married, was taken in labour, and delivered of a child in the open field; notwithstanding which, they all at last arrived in Switzerland. Poor Sirven applied to me for succour; and never did I behold such an affecting picture of innocence and affliction. Only think of four harmless sheep, whom the butchers accuse of having devoured a lamb. I lamented their case; but as my tears alone could not help them, I wrote immediately to the first president of the parliament of Languedoc; but he was at that time absent from Thoulouse; and in the mean time, Sirven, his wife, and two daughters were hung in effigy at Castres, where also all their goods were confiscated."

After the exculpation of Calas, and the restoration of his family to their property, the king suspended all the judges that had so grossly perverted their office. The president on this occasion stammered out an apology in the royal presence, by saying, "That the best horse might stumble." To which the monarch replied, "Yes, one horse might, but not a whole stable."

The tragedy of Calas was not the only one that was acted the same year, on account of religion, at Thoulouse. Francis Rochette, a young minister in his twenty-seventh year, having occasion to go to a village at a small distance from Montauban, where he resided, to drink the mineral waters, was met by the guard belonging to Caussade, and carried before the judge. On his examination, he acknowledged his pastoral character, upon which he was loaded with irons and thrown into prison. This arbitrary act excited a general ferment among the Protestants, and three brothers, of a noble family named Grenier, resolved to effect the escape of M. Rochette. Others also engaged in the same design; but the scheme was frustrated, and the minister with his three friends were condemned to die, which sentence was put in execution at Thoulouse, February 19, 1762. Of this scene we are enabled to give the following account in a letter written by an eye-witness to his friend in England:--

"The only resource we have now left is to let our tears flow, and to render our sorrow supportable by giving it a free course. The day before yesterday the prisoners were tried



by the two chambers of the parliament of Thoulouse, and yesterday they were executed. The three noblemen were beheaded. All the four martyrs behaved with invincible constancy and firmness of mind, attended with a certain cheerfulness and serenity, adapted to excite the highest admiration. They finished their days like true saints and Christian heroes. As soon as they heard their sentence read, they beheld each other steadfastly, and said, 'Let us then die, since things are so! and let us pray to God to accept the sacrifice that we are now to make of our lives to him and to the truth.' Upon which M. Rochette prayed aloud in a most moving and pathetic manner. They then embraced two of their companions who were condemned to the galleys, congratulated tenderly another, who had been set at liberty, and in all their conduct they seemed to be full of the Spirit of God. Monsieur Billot, one of the secretaries, who was present at this first scene of their trials, never speaks of it without shedding tears. The martyrs were next committed to the care of the four principal curates, whom the attorney-general sent to attempt their conversion. But the exhortations of these ecclesiastics produced as little effect as those of the Abbe Crouzat, who had been in the prison every day during three months, and had been as often empowered by the magistrates to promise them their lives and liberty, on condition of their embracing the Romish religion, which offer they rejected without the least hesitation. M. Rochette begged of these ecclesiastics, that they would put an end to their useless importunities, and not continue to trouble him and his friends in their last moments, but suffer them to die in peace: expressing at the same time his grateful sense of their well-meant zeal. One of the curates threatened him and his companions with damnation, upon which the worthy minister replied with his usual serenity, 'That they were going to appear before a more equitable judge than he was, even before that merciful Judge who had shed his blood for their salvation.' At the same time he exhorted his fellow martyrs to fortitude and perseverance, and when the curates interrupted him with accusations of heresy, and with pompous discourses about the power of granting the remission of sins which was lodged in the church, he told them that the Protestant religion acknowledged no such power, nor looked for the pardon of sin from any other source than the mercy of God in Jesus Christ.

"Being delivered about two o'clock from the importunity of the priests, these pious martyrs employed those precious moments in prayer and praises to the God who enabled them to behold death without terror or dismay, and they encouraged each other to persevere unto the end. So calm and undisturbed was the state of their minds, that they did not shed a single tear. But this was not the case with the persons who were the spectators of this moving scene. While these good men thanked the sentinels and keepers of the prison for the kind treatment they had received from them, and asked their pardon if they had given them any offence, the latter burst into tears, and shed the anguish of humanity upon the martyrdom of their prisoners. The minister perceiving one of the soldiers weeping still more bitterly than the rest, addressed himself to him thus, 'My good friend, are you not willing and ready to die for your king? Why then do you pity me, who am going to death for the cause of God?'

"The priests returned to their importunities in the afternoon, and were entreated to retire; but to no purpose. One of them said, 'It is from a concern about your salvation that we come here:' upon which the youngest of the three brothers replied, 'If you were at Geneva, at the point of

death, in consequence of a mortal disease, (for there nobody is put to death on account of religion,) would you choose to be teased and importuned in your last moments by four or five Protestant ministers, under the pretence of zeal? Do therefore as you would be done by.' This mild remonstrance was insufficient to put an end to the vain and cruel attempts of these blind zealots, who, furnished each with a crucifix, which they presented from time to time to the prisoners, continued to perplex them in the most indiscreet manner. 'Speak of him,' said one of the noblemen who was to suffer, 'speak of him who died for our sins, and was raised for our justification, and then we will listen to you, but do not trouble us with your vain superstitions.'

"About two o'clock the martyrs were led out of the prison, placed in a waggon with the four curates, and thus conducted to the gate of the cathedral. Here M. Rochette was desired to step out of the waggon, and to ask pardon on his knees, of God, the king, and the law, in that he had wickedly persevered in performing the functions of his ministry in opposition to the royal edicts. This he twice refused to do. He was told, that this was no more than a formality; to which he answered, 'That he neither would acknowledge nor submit to any formality that was contrary to the dictates of his conscience.' At length, however, being obliged by force and violent treatment to leave the waggon, he fell upon his knees, and expressed himself thus, 'I humbly ask of Almighty God the pardon of all my sins, in the full persuasion of obtaining the remission of them through the blood of Christ. With respect to the king, I have no pardon to ask of him, having never offended him. I always honoured him as the Lord's anointed; I always loved him as the father of my country; I have always been to him a good and faithful subject, and of this my judges themselves have appeared to be fully convinced: I always recommended to my flock, patience, obedience, and submission, and my sermons have always been confined to the two great objects contained in these words of holy writ, "Fear God and honour the king." If I have acted in opposition to the laws that prohibited our religious assemblies, I did this in obedience to the laws of him who is the King of kings. With respect to public justice, I have nothing to say but this, that I never offended it, and I most earnestly pray that God would vouchsafe to pardon my judges.'

"This was the only confession that the officers of justice, after much importunity and contestation, could obtain from M. Rochette; and though it did not answer their purpose, yet they were obliged to be satisfied with it, perceiving the invincible resolution with which this noble martyr protested against going any farther. No such acknowledgment was required of the three noblemen who suffered with him, as, by the laws of France, it is never demanded of such as are beheaded. They were, however, conducted with M. Rochette to the place of execution. The ordinary place appointed for the tragedy was not chosen upon this occasion; but one much less spacious, that so glorious an instance of martyrdom might have the fewer spectators. All the streets which led to it were lined with soldiers, and that on account of the pretended apprehension of a rescue. But this they could only fear from the Roman Catholics, (on whom, indeed, the shedding thus deliberately the blood of the innocent, seemed to make a lively impression,) for the small number of the Protestant families that live in this city, filled with contempt of the unrighteous sentence, had shut themselves in their houses, where they were wholly employed in their prayers and lamentations to heaven. The scene was transacting. In the streets



of execution, the windows were hired at very high prices; and wherever the martyrs passed, they were accompanied with the tears and lamentations of the spectators. One would have thought, by the expressions of sorrow that appeared every where, that Thoulouse was all of a sudden become a Protestant city. The curate of Faur could not bear this affecting spectacle. Yielding to the power of sympathy, (and perhaps of conscience,) he fainted away, and one of his vicars was sent for to supply his place. The circumstance that was most affecting, and that made every eye melt into tears, was the inexpressible serenity that appeared in the countenance of the young clergyman, as he went on to death. His graceful mien, the resignation and fortitude that marked his expressions, his blooming youth, every thing, in short, in his conduct, character, and appearance, interested all ranks of people in his favour, and rendered his fate the subject of universal affliction. This sorrow was augmented by one particular incident, which was, that M. Rochette might have saved his life by an untruth, but he refused to hold it at so dear a rate; for as his being a pastor was his only crime, and as there were no specific charges brought against him, nor advertisements describing his person, or witnesses to prove his having preached, he had only to have denied being a minister, to save his life. But he chose rather to lose his life, than deny his profession. He was the first of the four that suffered; and in the face of death he exhorted his companions to perseverance, and sung those sublime verses of the 118th psalm, "This is the day which the Lord hath made, we will rejoice and be glad in it, &c." When the executioner, among others, conjured him to die a Roman Catholic, the minister answered him in this gentle manner; "Judge, friend, which of the two is the best religion, that which persecutes, or that which is persecuted." He added, that his grandfather and one of his uncles had died for the pure religion of the gospel, and that he would be the third martyr of his family. Two of the three gentlemen who suffered with him, beheld him tied up to the gibbet with amazing intrepidity; but the third covered his eyes with his hand, that he might not see such a terrible spectacle. The commissaries of the parliament, and the deputies of the other courts of justice, discovered by their pensive looks, and downcast eyes, how deeply they were affected upon this occasion. The three brothers embraced each other tenderly, and mutually recommended their departing souls to the Father of spirits. Their heads were struck off at three blows. When the scene was finished, the spectators returned to their respective habitations in solemn silence, reflecting on the fate of innocence and virtue, and scarcely able to persuade themselves that the world could present such a spectacle of magnanimity, and such an instance of cruelty, as they had just witnessed."

These sanguinary acts, done in the name of religion at so enlightened a period as the middle of the eighteenth century, spread consternation over Christendom, and roused a general outcry against a government that could sanction such atrocities. The reversal of the judgment that had been passed upon Calas produced a favourable change in the condition of the French Protestants: who, though still vexed with occasional prosecutions, continued their nocturnal assemblies for religious worship, and ventured to send up petitions to the king, praying for a redress of their grievances. The other hand, were active in their efforts to prevent the king from being granted to heretics and they prevented the king from bringing down the divine fire upon the kingdom. At length Louis XV. said to the prince of Beauveau, "I am perplexed with

the complaints of the Protestants; they appear so well founded, that I cannot but pity these poor people, and yet the clergy are continually pestering me with bitter accusations of them. These applications are so contradictory, that I can never discover the truth, which I wish much to know; you alone can assist me." The prince answered, "If your majesty will give me the commission, I will seek information on the spot." The Prince of Beauveau was accordingly named governor of Languedoc; and he traversed the whole of the south of France, made his report to the king, received further instructions, and became the angel of consolation to the afflicted Protestants. The associate of his labours in this mission was the old marshal de Richelieu; and he could not have had a more efficient auxiliary. The first exploit of the marshal, in his new career, was at Montauban. He alighted at the bishop's palace, and opened his commission, which was that of examining the prelate's complaints on the disorders of the Protestants. After hearing the charges, M. de Richelieu proposed convening the elders of the Protestants at the episcopal palace, in order to hear their answers, since it was impossible to condemn people unheard. The bishop readily assented, and the elders were summoned by the marshal to receive the king's orders at the palace of the bishop. The elders assembled, in consternation, at the house of one of the brethren; and joined in prayer to Heaven for strength to bear the new persecutions which they expected were about to fall heavily upon them. Having thus fortified themselves, they proceeded silently and sorrowfully to the palace; where the bishop opened the business by a charge respecting the secret solemnization of marriages and baptisms, and the keeping of registers of the same. The Protestants could not deny the charge. "Gentlemen," said the marshal, "the king is wearied with these complaints against you: he will have no clandestine marriages, nor illegitimate children. Go, marry, baptize, and take your secret registers to the intendant, that they may be publicly enrolled like those of the marriages and births of other citizens. I have given orders that they shall be legalized."

"But, my lord duke, do you remember the ordonnance of his late majesty?" exclaimed the astonished prelate. "Very well, my lord bishop," drily answered the marshal; "and I now beg, that the orders of his present majesty may be recorded and obeyed."

"But," continues the duke, "I have here a heavier charge against these gentlemen, namely, that they assemble by night, as well as by day, in secret places, in the country around, to the great annoyance of the rest of the community, and contrary to the good order and peace of the realm."

The Protestants admitted the charge, but pleaded that they were driven to these expedients, since they were not permitted, by the severity of the laws, to perform divine worship in any other manner. The bishop did not deny the apology; and the duke observed, that as it was the duty of every man to worship God, it seemed to him, that it would be more convenient to do so nearer home, and that a large barn, or other building, would be more suitable than rocks, caves, and the open air. "Besides, my lord bishop," said he, "they will be more under your cognizance."

The prelate, chagrined and irritated more than ever, said, "But, my lord duke, the ordonnance of the late king!" To this the marshal replied, "My lord bishop, I beg you to observe, that it is not good for his majesty's subjects to be unnecessarily exposed to the night air. It cannot be well done at our age, and at this season:—such is the order of his present majesty." Here the audience ended; the elders returned with lightened hearts; they fell on their knees in

thanksgiving to the Almighty, and the joyful news was soon spread throughout the land.

At this period an affecting incident took place at Nismes. Two respectable citizens, who had been seized by the military at divine worship, and condemned to the galleys for life, now obtained their liberty, after having passed twenty-six years chained to the oar. They hastened to their houses, and on the following Sunday presented themselves in the Protestant assembly, dressed in the costume of galley-slaves. When they entered, the whole auditory arose—they were led to the place of honour—they were welcomed with affectionate reverence—every eye was bathed in tears at again beholding these long-lost confessors, and every heart joined in praise to God.

At the same time that the court and parliament of Paris rendered justice to the Protestants, an edict was issued for the suppression of an annual procession at Thoulouse, which tended to keep up a rancorous and persecuting spirit among the Catholics of that city. The occasion of this yearly festival was of such a nature as ought to have produced a yearly fast in sackcloth and ashes, instead of a ceremonial of exultation. The history of its origin is this. On the 13th of May, 1562, after a long persecution of the Protestants, the Romish inhabitants of Thoulouse began a general massacre of them, burning their houses, and murdering old and young without any discrimination. This lasted four days, during which, above three thousand persons were butchered by the authority of the parliament, for on the day preceding the massacre, the members of that assembly went about the city in their robes, and ordered all the papists to arm themselves for the work of destruction that was to be perpetrated the next day, that every one engaged in this infernal crusade should wear a white cross on his arm, and place a similar mark of distinction on his house. Besides the numbers that fell in this sweeping carnage, four hundred were condemned to suffer death by the hands of the executioner, and sixty more were afterwards hung up in a summary manner by the mayor. These things were done under the pretext of law: but with what equity the proceedings were conducted even when they condescended to adopt that formality, the following case will shew. John Teronde, a Protestant gentleman of great merit, who had always behaved with the utmost propriety and courtesy towards his Catholic neighbours, kept himself closely concealed during the massacre; but when it subsided, he made his appearance, thinking his person was safe. But he was mistaken, the parliament caused him to be seized, and dragged to their bar, where the president said to him, "Mr. Teronde, the court do not find you guilty of any outward crime; nevertheless, being very well convinced that in your heart you would have been glad to see your miserable and reprobate sect uppermost; the sentence is, that you shall be beheaded, and your estates confiscated." This iniquitous judgment was immediately put into execution: and the infamous assembly not only acted in the same way towards several other persons; but decreed that there should be a yearly procession for ever of the ecclesiastics and laity, to commemorate with praise and thanksgiving the immolation of innocent blood for the honour of their religion. This abominable custom was accordingly kept up with great pomp every year till 1765, when the king and council published an order for its cessation; but such was the bigotry of the people of Thoulouse, that, though covered with confusion by the disgrace which had fallen upon them, they had the audacity to despise the royal mandate, and nothing but force could compel them at last to lay aside their annual worship of Moloch.

The French revolution could not fail to produce a material alteration in the situation of the Protestants; but it is due to the memory of the unfortunate Louis the Sixteenth, to say, that his habitual benevolence was continually exercised in favour of toleration, and that he never neglected to retort severely, and sometimes wittily, on the clergy, who made complaints to him of the conduct of those whom they called the pretended reformed. After the overthrow of the throne, the Protestants enjoyed the liberty of worshipping God in their own way, but they paid a yearly tribute for the privilege. It is a curious fact, that in the confusions which followed, when the Catholics became the objects of republican persecution, some of the higher order of ecclesiastics actually proposed a union between the two churches. An assembly was held on the subject, at which an English Protestant was present; but though the debate was liberally conducted, the project fell to the ground. On the final downfall of Buonaparte, the bigotry of the Romanists, in the southern provinces of France, revived, and the Hugonots became the objects of fanatical vengeance. The city of Nismes was the principal seat of this disorder, and here an infuriated mob committed dreadful outrages on the persons and property of the Protestants.

By some unaccountable fatality, a considerable time elapsed before the government became acquainted with the lawless scenes that were occurring at Nismes; but as soon as the complaints of the Protestants were known, general La Garde was sent thither with a military force to protect them. On his arrival, the general ordered the temples to be opened, which was announced to the public at eight o'clock on the Sunday morning. The summons was obeyed with alacrity by the Protestants, who had been long deprived of the consolation of meeting together for worship, and they felt with the psalmist, "How amiable are thy tabernacles, O Lord of hosts!"

The church was crowded, but the congregation was almost entirely composed of the higher order of citizens, who perhaps felt the obligation that their situation imposed on them of shewing an example of courage, and of publicly displaying their steadfast adherence to the faith which they professed. The holy service began; but what must have been the emotions of the congregation, when in less than half an hour the solemnity was interrupted by the horrible vociferations of the frantic populace, who loudly assailed the doors to break them open! M. Juillera, the minister, continued the service with a firm voice, and the audience listened with that calm, which is the privilege of those who feel that their witness is in heaven. The uproar increased; the tumult became horrible; the preacher ceased; and his hearers recommended themselves to God. "I held my little girl in my hand," says madame Juillera, the wife of the minister, "and approached the foot of the pulpit—my husband joined us—and I thought of my infant boy whom I had left at home, and should embrace no more! I recollected that this day was the anniversary of my marriage—I believed that I was going to die, with my husband and my daughter. It was some consolation that we should die together; and it seemed to me that this was the moment in which we were best prepared to appear in the presence of God—the victims of a religious duty; in the performance of which we had braved the fury of the wicked—we had flown with eager footsteps to our temple—we had clung to the altar of our God, not heeding that the assassin's dagger might creep on behind and impede our purpose."

At this critical moment general La Garde arrived at the post of danger, but he had scarcely arrived, when the

fired, and he was mortally wounded. He covered his blood, however, with his cloak, and protected the rest of the Protestants from the church: after which he was conveyed to his house, where he died in a few hours. The fury of the populace was not satiated, for, in the evening of the same day, the temples of the Protestants were broken open, and every thing contained in them—the registers, service books, and the gowns of the ministers—were torn into shreds, and burnt. On receiving tidings of these events, the duke of Angoulême instantly left Thoulouse and repaired to Nismes. As he passed along the streets, he received with repulsive coldness the acclamations of a multitude, and sternly rejected the proffered attendance of the national guard. He turned with disgust from the fulsome adulations of the priests, nor would he listen to the false allegations of the bigots, who, seated on the ruins of the deserted dwellings of the Protestants, bereft of their murdered inhabitants, dared to assert that there had been no massacre at Nismes. The duke issued an order for opening the Protestant churches, but, at the earnest entreaty of the persecuted people themselves, he suspended the execution of it for the present. He said, however, that it was the will of the king to preserve toleration inviolate; and he evinced, in the most unequivocal manner, to the Catholic clergy his abhorrence of their conduct towards the members of the reformed communion. From this period order was observed, tranquillity was restored, and, by a vigilant attention on the part of the civil and military authorities, the Protestants regained confidence, and held their assemblies without disturbance.

### REBELLION IN IRELAND.

It has been frequently said, that the Roman Catholic profession is favourable to loyalty; but how truly, the following narrative of what has occurred within our own times, will abundantly shew. After a series of grants made to the Irish Romanists, the disposition of that people became more refractory: and every new bounty only served to increase their rancour against the Protestants. At length, the disasters encountered by the English during the French revolutionary war, encouraged two factions in the attempt to overturn the national establishment. A curious coalition was formed between men of no religion at all, and the bigoted priests of the church of Rome; who cordially entered into an association under the title of "United Irishmen," for the purpose of erecting a pure republic on the ruins of the monarchy. At the head of this association presided a directory of five persons, whose affairs were managed with a mystery equal to that of the secret tribunals in Germany, and all the members were bound together by solemn oaths. Neither their own means, nor the resources of the country, being sufficient to stand against the power of England, they resolved to call in foreign aid, and accordingly an agent was sent to Paris, to solicit an invasion of their native country, at the certainty of inundating its fields with blood. But immediately their schemes were discovered, and fourteen members of the Irish convention were apprehended. But before many of the chiefs were secured, a partial revolt took place, at which the stoppage of the mail coaches was the signal. An attempt was next made on the town of Naas, May 14, 1798, but the insurgents were repulsed, and three of the leaders were executed. Another rising occurred about the same time near Kesh, where also the military proved victorious, and many of the rebels suffered. But the priests were busy in implanting seditious principles into

the minds of the common people; and these appear to have struck their roots into a congenial soil. Father John Murphy, who had received the degree of doctor of divinity in Spain, and at this period officiated as priest in the barony of Gorey, and parish of Kilcormick, was the first to arm in that quarter. He collected his forces, by lighting a fire on a hill, called Corrigrue, which was answered by a similar signal on an eminence contiguous. After disarming the Protestants, and burning their houses, they repaired to the village of Onlart; and as their numbers had now increased to about fourteen thousand, armed chiefly with pikes, they began to acquire confidence, especially on defeating a party of militia, the whole of whom, with the exception of five, were butchered. On the succeeding day, Dr. Murphy issued circular notices, written in blood or red ink, commanding all persons capable of bearing arms to join him immediately, for the purpose of attacking Enniscorthy; and such was the reputation he had gained by his late victory, that great numbers flocked to his standard. Having said mass, and set fire to some houses, their leader marshalled about six thousand of his followers, and advanced along the road against a small body of troops, who were obliged to give way, and the insurgents formed a camp on Vinegar hill, where they threw up batteries, and regulated all military affairs by means of a committee of twelve, four of whom were priests.

Having converted the ruins of an old windmill into a gaol, they collected prisoners, and after trying them by a pretended court-martial, caused them to be shot or piked at the head of the line. Several Protestant women also, who fell into the hands of these barbarians, were brutally violated. To inure their followers to military exploits, irruptions were made in various directions. One body, under the direction of father Kearns, seized the town of Borris, and burnt all the houses of the yeomen; and about the same time another camp was formed on the hill of Forth, whither the detachment marched in religious procession from Enniscorthy, headed by father John Murphy, carrying a large crucifix. On the 30th they gained possession of Wexford, where they liberated the prisoners from the gaol; and these successes gave them such assurance, that they formed their army into three divisions, one of which was commanded by father Philip Roche, and another by father Michael Murphy, while Dr. John Murphy engaged to attack Gorey. This attempt failed, but another party succeeded in defeating colonel Walpole, who fell into an ambuscade at Tubberneering. The insurgents now determined to attack Ross, which, by its commanding situation, was calculated to increase their power. They accordingly set out for that place, and on the route halted at a chapel, where mass was said at the head of each column by the priests, who also sprinkled an abundance of holy water. Thus encouraged, they proceeded on their enterprise, but met with a determined resistance from the military, commanded by general Johnson. The rebels, however, rushed on with hideous yells, their energy being roused by the priests, who, clad in vestments, and carrying crucifixes, moved continually between the ranks, urging on the assailants, and absolving the dying. The impetuosity of these desperate fanatics carried all before them, and they entered the town at one end, while the garrison retreated at the other. General Johnson, indignant at the idea of being defeated by a rabble, rallied his troops, put himself at their head, and re-entered the town, where he charged the insurgents with such vigour, that they were obliged to abandon their conquest, leaving two thousand six hundred dead behind them. On the same day the rebels committed a shocking massacre on several persons whom

they had confined at Scullabogue; and this was done in cold blood with such horrible barbarity by the priests, that the lay commander, of the name of Murphy, refused to sanction their proceedings, and turned away with horror from the disgusting scene which he was unable to prevent. The ill success of the attack on Ross disconcerted the schemes of the leaders; but the ecclesiastics still continued their exertions, and having assembled in council, issued requisitions to all the people of their persuasion, commanding them to repair to the holy standard. Father Michael Murphy at the same time acted in the capacity of general at Gorey; and as his troops had been very successful, he meditated a bold attempt against Arklow, although defended by a strong garrison. The attack was desperately conducted, but the assailants were repeatedly repulsed by incessant volleys of musketry and grape shot. At length, the military ecclesiastic, after haranguing his followers, advanced with a standard, on which the cross was emblazoned; but being soon after killed by a cannon shot, his troops instantly dispersed, and retreated in a disorderly manner. Notwithstanding these miscarriages, a numerous body, to the amount of twenty thousand, occupied the heights called Vinegar Hill, where they assumed the appearance of an army, and continued to sustain a drooping cause, till attacked by general Lake, who routed them with great slaughter. The fugitives retreated in different directions, and part of them entered Wexford, where they committed many horrid murders on the bridge; while another and more numerous detachment, headed by fathers Murphy and Roche, reached the hill of Forth, commonly called the Three Rocks, where a council of war was held, and then they crossed the mountains to the county of Kilkenny. Here they burned the village of Kil Edmond, and then proceeded to Goresbridge, which was defended by lieutenant Dixon with a party of dragoons; but he was obliged to retreat. The success of the rebels, however, was of short duration, for they were pursued by general Dunn and sir Charles Asgill, and having made a stand at Kilcomney hill, experienced a complete defeat. Father John Murphy, the commander-in-chief, fled from the field of battle, but was soon taken, and being conducted to Tullow, was tried and executed immediately, his body burned, and his head placed on the market-house. Thus the spirit of rebellion in the south, which had assumed all the appearance of a war of religion, was completely subdued; and in the north it never exhibited a very formidable shape, for the Protestant inhabitants in that quarter, shocked at the enormities perpetrated, the intolerance displayed, and the pretended miracles said to be wrought by the two Popish priests Roche and Murphy, determined to resist the seduction. On the arrival of the marquis of Cornwallis, as commander-in-chief and lord-lieutenant, he informed the Irish house of commons, by a message, of his majesty's orders to acquaint them, that he had signified his gracious intention to grant a general pardon for

all offences committed previously to a certain time, upon such conditions, and with such exceptions, as might be compatible with the public safety. His lordship accordingly, while he held out the immediate prospect of pardon and forgiveness to the ignorant rabble, was determined to bring several of the principal chiefs to trial. Yet even of these ringleaders only a few suffered; and as the insurrection was now completely crushed, and public justice vindicated, a general amnesty took place.

Of the character of the priests, and the spirit of the deluded people, an exact judgment may be formed from an information given upon oath, by Richard Grandy, a farmer, who was taken prisoner by them in the county of Wexford, and kept confined with many other Protestants in Scullabogue house. This man in his deposition swears, that "about nine o'clock, John Murphy, who had the command of the rebel corps, ordered them out by threes or fours to be shot, till thirty-five were massacred: that the rebel spearmen used to take pleasure in piercing the victims through with their spears, and in exultation licking their bloody spears: that while this horrible scene was acting, the barn at Scullabogue, in which were about one hundred Protestants, was set on fire, and all consumed to ashes: that this examinant's life was spared, because Murphy knew that Bagenal Harvey, the rebel chief, had given him a pass; and through his intercession with the said Murphy, Loftus Fressel was likewise spared. This deponent also saith, that he was kept to dress the wounded, till Friday, the 22d of this instant June, when he effected his escape to Duncaunon fort. He further saith, that he attended mass, celebrated by Edward Murphy, parish priest of Bannow: that after mass, he heard Murphy preach a sermon, in which he said, 'Brethren, you see you are victorious every where, that the balls of the heretics fly about you without hurting you; that few of you have fallen, whilst thousands of the heretics are dead, and the few that have fallen, was for deviating from our cause, and want of faith: that this visibly is the work of God, who now is determined that the heretics, who have reigned upwards of one hundred years, should be extirpated, and the true Catholic religion established.' And the deponent saith, that this sermon was preached after the battle of Ross, and saith he has heard several sermons preached by other priests to the same effect; and further saith, that he has heard several of the rebels, who had been at the battle of Enniscorthy and elsewhere, declare, that Edward Roche the priest did constantly catch the bullets that came from his majesty's army in his hand, and give them to the rebels to load their guns with. This deponent further saith, that any Protestant, who was admitted into the rebel army, was first baptized by a Roman Catholic priest, and that every Protestant who refused to be baptized was put to death, and that many, to save their lives, suffered themselves to be baptized."

THE END.











